

SLAVERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES

SLAVERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES

A SOCIAL, POLITICAL,
AND HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

VOLUME ONE

Junius P. Rodriguez, Editor

A B C  C L I O

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TO

GERALD T. PELTIER

(1932–1999)

Teacher, mentor, and friend

O Mother Race! to thee I bring
This pledge of faith unwavering,
This tribute to thy glory.
I know the pangs which thou didst feel,
When Slavery crushed thee with its heel,
With thy dear blood all gory.

— PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR,
“Ode to Ethiopia”

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From the moment that I began envisioning *Slavery in the United States: A Social, Political, and Historical Encyclopedia* it was clear that this was going to be a massive undertaking but the necessity of the work made it a worthy challenge. Three years in development, the task certainly had its highs and lows as looming deadlines created euphoria when met, but more long nights and weekends when targets were missed. In the process, the project taught me much about dedication, focused determination, and humility—lessons that I hope have made me a better editor and a better person.

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The work of seventy-five scholars who have examined the history of slavery appears in this work in the form of 305 encyclopedia-style entries. Having worked

with many of these authors over the years, I have developed an admiration for their work and am pleased that they contributed their scholarship to this publishing effort. I value the friendships that have formed in the development of these volumes as many of these colleagues have also extended their encouragement and support to me.

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I take responsibility for the failings and inevitable shortcomings of this work. Any attempt to examine an issue as large and as perplexing as slavery in the United States in an encyclopedia format will undoubtedly require editorial choices that will not be pleasing to everyone. The necessity of blending social history with political history in a historical context is a chal-

lenging task, but these volumes represent a genuine effort to strive for the mean and fashion a viable synthesis. It is hoped that students, scholars, and general readers alike who use this work will find it to be informative and insightful.

— JUNIUS P. RODRIGUEZ
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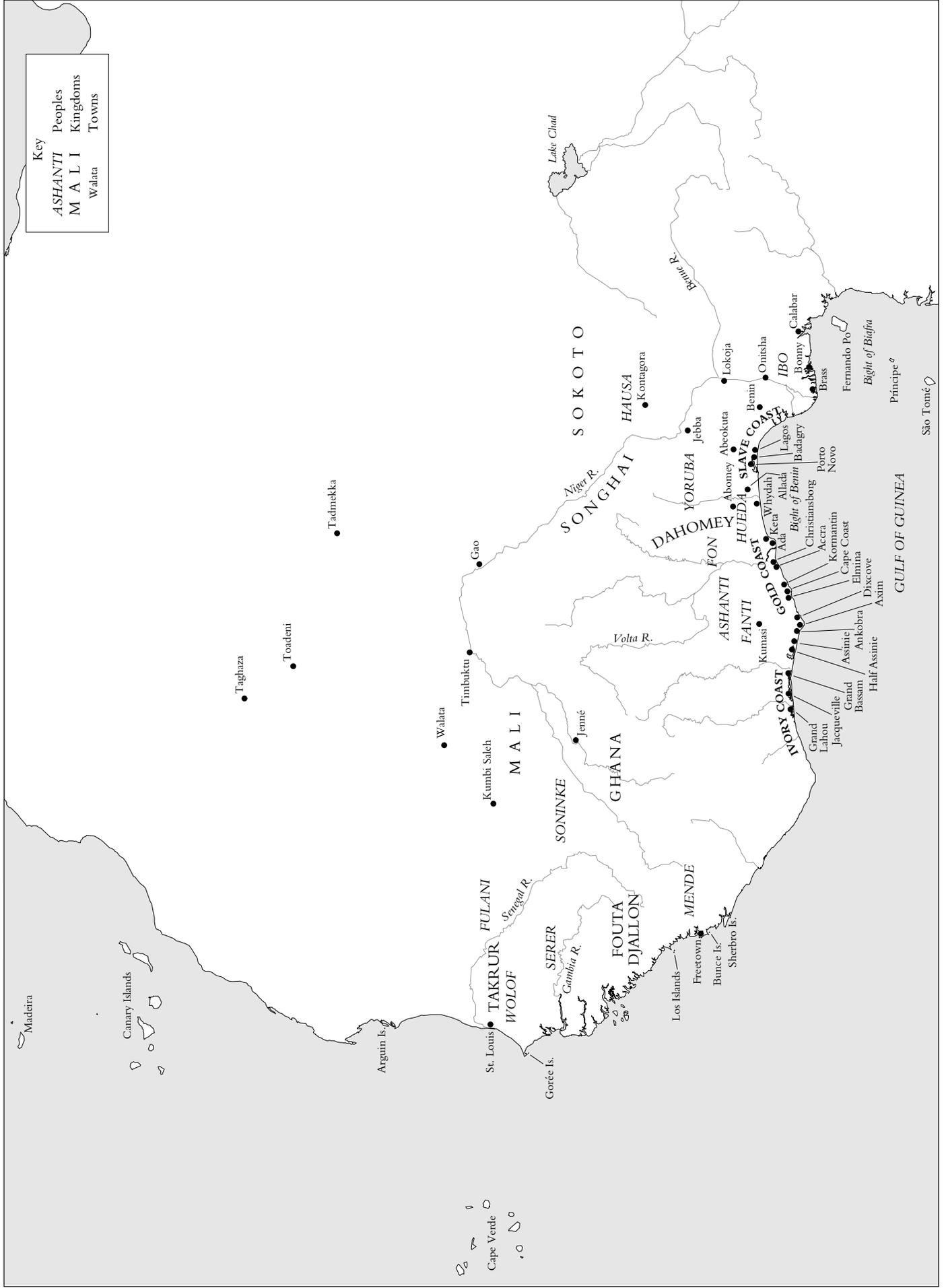
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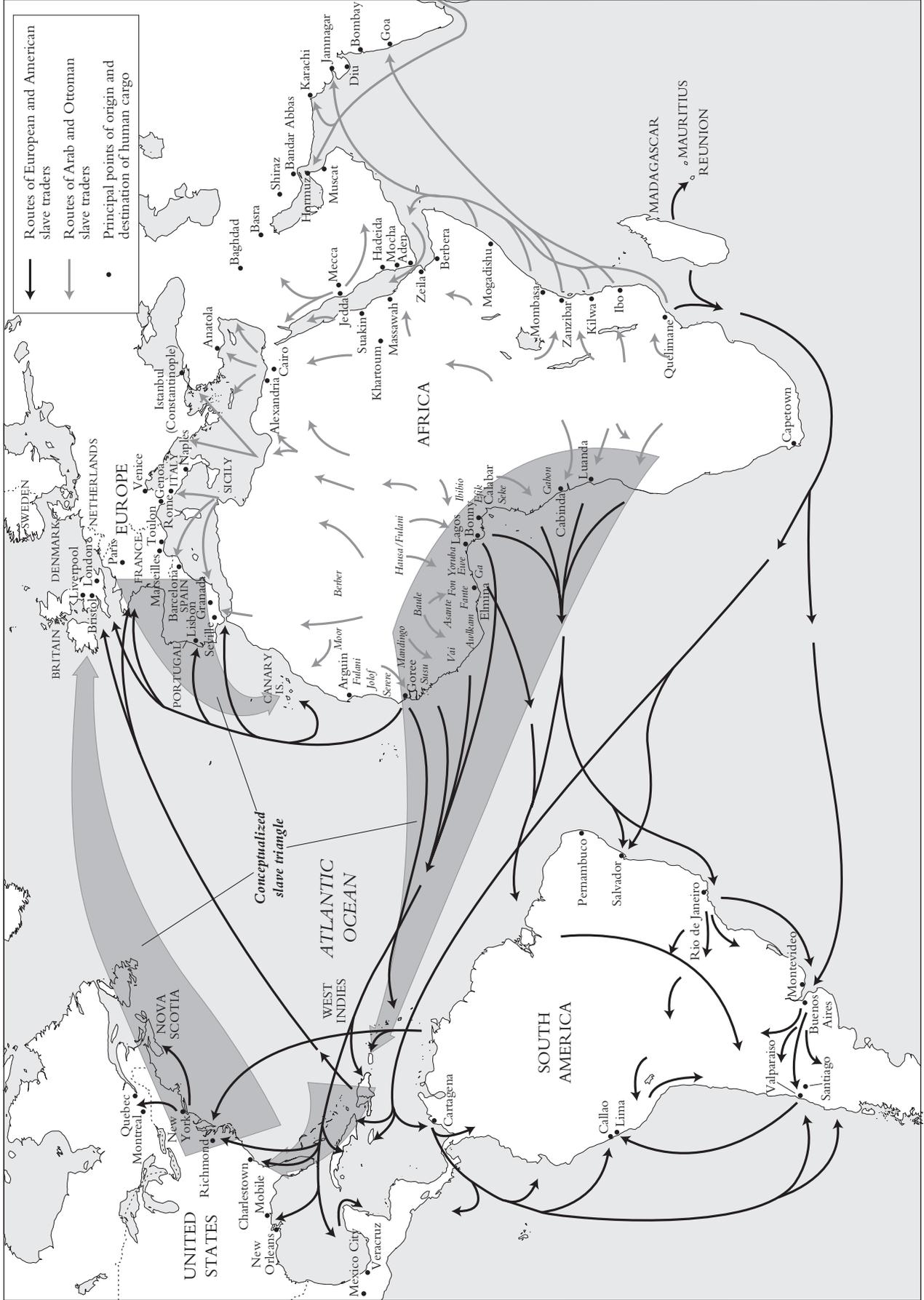
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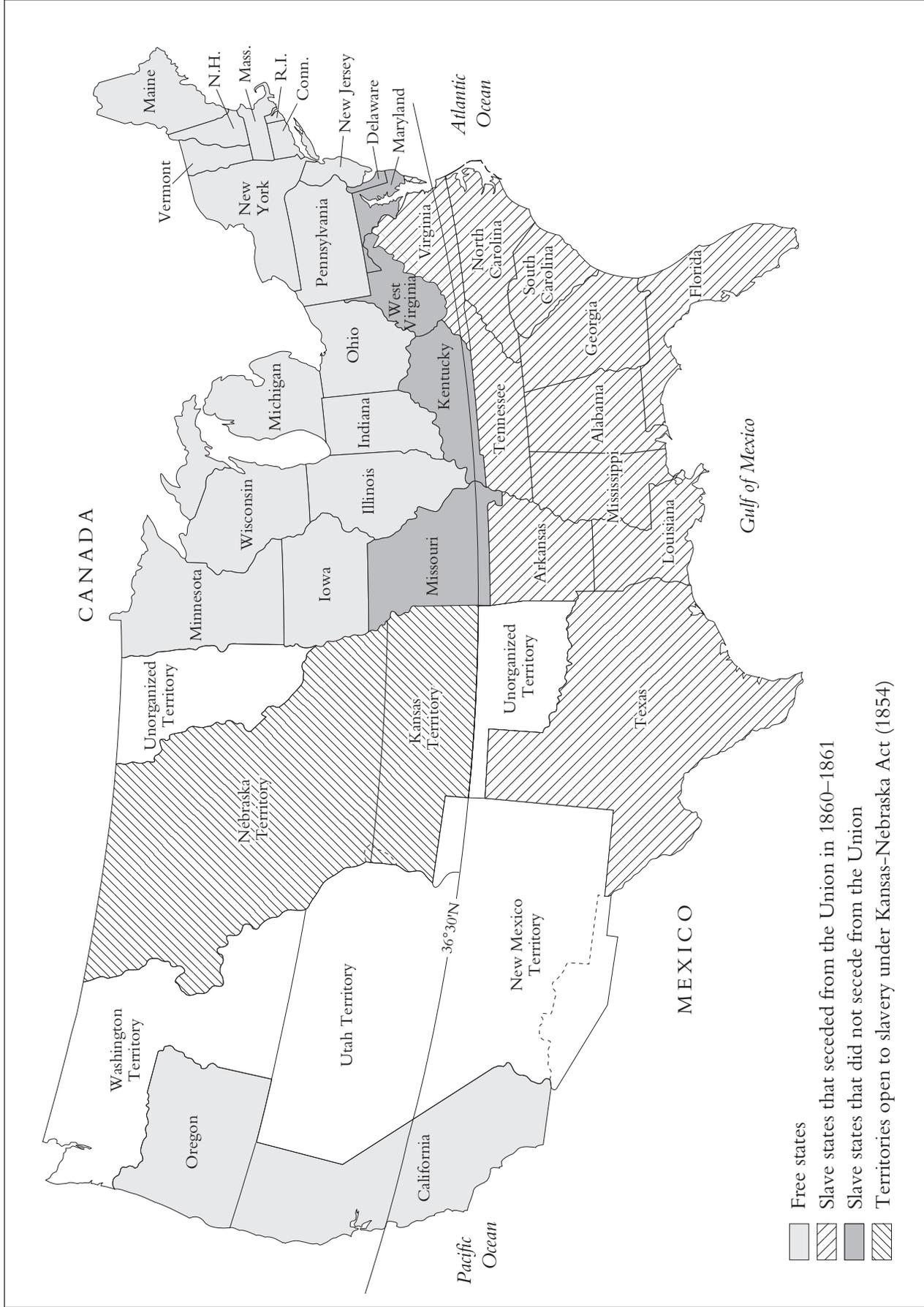


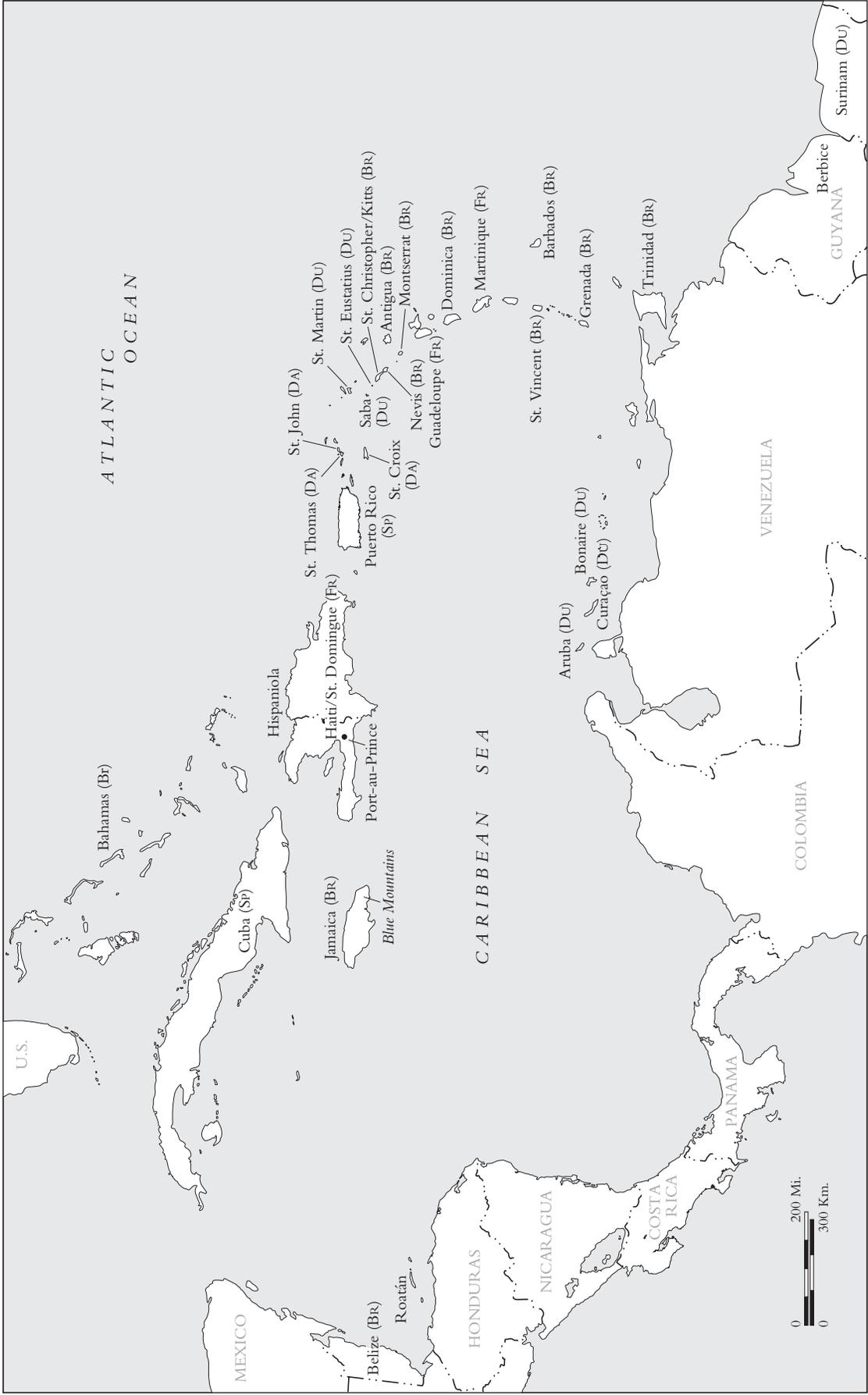
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SLAVERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES

Chronology of Slavery in the United States



1528

Estevanico, also known as Esteban or Black Stephan, was likely the first person of African descent to set foot upon North America during the expedition led by the Spanish explorer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.

seven years, and then were allowed to become property owners and participate in civic affairs. Within the first generation of their arrival in Virginia, most of the initial African servants had their period of indenture extended to the point where they became servants for life.

1563

A French Huguenot refuge was established at Fort Caroline, near modern-day Jacksonville, Florida. Slaves were used as laborers in the Fort Caroline settlement.

1620

A public school that taught both blacks and Indians was established in the Virginia colony. As time went by, most of the colonies would enact restrictions that prohibited most nonwhite inhabitants from receiving an education.

1565–1568

The Spanish founded St. Augustine in Florida, the oldest town in what eventually became the United States. During the first three years of the settlement's existence, five hundred slaves were introduced to the area.

1621

The Dutch West India Company, a corporation that would be very involved in establishing colonial outposts and in conducting the transatlantic slave trade, was created. Willem Usselinx and other Dutch merchants chartered this corporation to organize trade and to encourage further colonization efforts by the Netherlands in the New World. The Dutch West India Company received a trading monopoly in its charter and soon established the colony of New Netherlands (New York) as the headquarters for its colonial enterprises.

1619

On August 20, African American history began when a Dutch ship delivered “twenty and odd” Africans to the English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, where they were sold by bid as indentured servants. Although they did not become slaves immediately, these twenty individuals represented the first permanent involuntary African immigrants to come to the region that eventually became the United States. According to the contemporary records of John Rolfe, “About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars.” Most indentured servants were released after serving a term, generally four to

1622

The Virginia House of Burgesses enacted a law that “imposed fines for fornication with a Negro” in an effort to prevent interracial liaisons within the colony.

Virginia would not adopt an antimiscegenation law until 1691. The primary justification for laws of this type was that colonial assemblies were particularly concerned about the problems that arose in determining the legal status of children who were born from interracial encounters.

Virginia colonial court records from Old Accomack (Northampton) County indicate that the first free blacks in the colony were Anthony and Mary Johnson. Anthony Johnson eventually became an owner of African slaves.

1624

John Phillip, one of the Africans who arrived at Jamestown, testified in court against a white man. This was the first time in England's North American colonies that a black man testified against a white man in a court of law.

Church records indicate that William Tucker was baptized at Jamestown, Virginia. He was the first black child to be born in England's North American colonies. Although this child's parents were likely to have been indentured servants, it is probable that this young man grew up to be a slave in the Virginia colony. Throughout the colonial and early national periods, churches would continue to record significant genealogical information about the lives of those slaves who were Christians.

1626

The Dutch introduced eleven Africans as indentured servants into their newly established colony of New Netherlands. Dutch colonial records identify Paul d'Angola, Simon Congo, Anthony Portuguese, and John Francisco as four of these early servants. These Africans were imported to serve as laborers on Hudson Valley farms. As was the case in Virginia, many of the African servants saw their period of indenture extended to the point where they became servants for life. According to Dutch law as applied within the colony, the children who were born to slaves who had been manumitted (freed) were still bound to slavery in New Netherlands.

1629

Africans were imported as slaves into the region that became the colony of Connecticut.

1630

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a fugitive law that protected slaves who fled owners because of ill treatment was enacted. According to the language of this statute, those fugitive slaves who sought self-protection because of abuse were protected "till due order be taken for their relief."

In Virginia, the white colonist Hugh Davis was publicly whipped as punishment for his being guilty of "defiling his body by lying with a Negro."

1634

Africans were imported as slaves into the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Slavery was first introduced into the colony of Maryland.

1634

In the French colony of Louisiana, Catholic settlers urged colonial authorities to provide educational opportunities for blacks, including those blacks that were slaves in the colony.

1636

Slavery was first introduced into the colony of Delaware.

1638

On December 12, Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony reported that Boston received its first shipment of black slaves from Barbados with the arrival of the slave ship *Desire*. The slaves were transported as cargo along with other commodities including cotton and tobacco. Captain William Pierce of Salem, Massachusetts, who commanded the *Desire*, regularly traded indigenous Pequot Indians as slaves in the West Indies in exchange for Africans whom he transported (as slaves) to Boston.

1639

Virginia's House of Burgesses enacted a statute that prohibited blacks from carrying firearms within the colony.

1640

In Virginia in July, the black indentured servant John Punch was sentenced to lifetime service for having run away. Two other white indentured servants who ran away with John Punch were sentenced to lesser punishment. In this episode it becomes clear that black indentured servants were quickly becoming enslaved in the colony of Virginia.

A slave trader named Captain Smith carried a group of Africans to Massachusetts after he had illegally attacked their village in West Africa. Massachusetts authorities refused to accept the cargo of Africans and ordered that they be returned to Africa at the colony's expense. Captain Smith was arrested for the offense of capturing Africans who were not taken as a result of a "just war" situation in which enslavement would have been morally acceptable.

Events in Virginia demonstrated the extent to which racial distinctiveness had already affected crime and punishment within the colony. A Virginia court charged that a white man and a black woman had been "associated" in an inappropriate manner and meted out the punishment deemed necessary. The man was ordered to do penance while the woman was publicly whipped.

1641

In December, Massachusetts became the first colony to legalize slavery by giving statutory recognition to the practice in Section Ninety-one of the *Body of Liberties*, but added a caveat that forbade capture by "unjust violence." This provision was later incorporated into the Articles of the New England Confederation, and all of the other New England colonies eventually added this provision to their statutes regarding the institution of slavery. The Massachusetts law recognized the slave trade as a legal enterprise and allowed for the enslavement of blacks and Indians.

1642

The Virginia House of Burgesses passed a law imposing fines upon anyone who harbored runaways. The penalty assessed for harboring a runaway was 20 pieces of tobacco per night of refuge granted. The same measure authorized the branding of slaves who attempted a second escape. This measure is viewed as the precursor of other fugitive slave acts that would be imposed in future years.

1643

An intercolonial agreement drafted for the New England Confederation stated that mere certification by a local magistrate could serve as enough evidence to convict a runaway slave. This decision formed the basis for many of the fugitive slave acts that would be enacted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Virginia House of Burgesses took action to standardize the period of service for indentured servants to a span of four to seven years (previously a range from two to eight years had been common). Colonial records do indicate that the period of indenture assigned to African servants tended to be longer than that assigned to white servants. By 1661, Virginia authorities would consider black servants to be servants for life.

1644

The first recorded marriage of blacks in the region that eventually became the United States occurred at the Boulweire Chapel on Manhattan Island in the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands. In this ceremony Antony van Angola and Lucie d'Angola were married.

Dutch authorities in New Netherlands presented land grants to the first eleven blacks introduced into the colony in 1626. The land grants were located in the areas that today comprise Brooklyn and Greenwich Village.

1645

The *Rainbowe*, which was the first slave ship ever constructed in England's North American colonies, sailed for Africa and began to operate in the transatlantic slave trade.

Slavery was introduced into the colony of New Hampshire.

1648

Governor William Berkeley of Virginia began to plant rice on his plantation. Some of Berkeley's slaves had suggested the crop because they noted the similarity between Virginia and their former homeland in West Africa.

1649

A colonial census states that there were only three hundred indentured servants of African descent in Virginia.

The British Parliament incorporated the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. This missionary effort, which was established by John Eliot, had enjoyed a great deal of success in converting Native Americans, and Eliot would expand the society's efforts into areas of educating blacks and converting them to Christianity.

1650

The colony of Connecticut legally recognized the institution of slavery by passing statutes to regulate the practice.

1651

In North Hampton, Virginia, Anthony Johnson, a free black man, imported five servants, which entitled him to receive a 200-acre land grant along the Puwogoteague River. Johnson and a group of other free blacks attempted to establish an independent black community; at one point the community contained twelve homesteads.

With passage of the British Navigation Act of 1651 Parliament attempted to limit the commercial influence of the Dutch West India Company in the British North American colonies. The act limited the colonial slave trade to English merchants only. The British would fight against the Netherlands in two colonial wars in the hope of winning greater concessions in the African slave trade. By the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War), 1701–1714, the British would wrest control of the slave trade away from the Dutch.

1652

On May 18, the colonial assembly of Rhode Island enacted the first legislative measure in America to declare slavery illegal, but later legislation enacted in 1700 would reverse this decision.

Also on May 18, Quakers meeting in Warwick, Pennsylvania, approved of a resolution that black slaves should be afforded the same status as white indentured servants within the colony of Pennsylvania. The language of the resolution stipulated that no one could be enslaved for a term of more than ten years.

The government of the Netherlands granted the Dutch West India Company specific permission to import African slaves into the Dutch colony of New

Netherlands. Colonial laws prohibited the mistreatment of slaves, and whippings were not allowed without the specific permission of colonial authorities.

1654

In Northampton County, Virginia, Anthony Johnson, himself a free black, filed suit in court to make his black indentured servant John Casor a servant for life. This is the first recorded case in a Virginia civil court where an indentured servant was effectively transformed into a slave.

1657

Quaker founder George Fox encouraged his American brethren to “the duty of converting the slaves” and demonstrated his personal commitment to this ideal by ministering to the slaves in the West Indies.

1658

A group of black and Indian slaves revolted in the area of Hartford, Connecticut.

1660

The English political philosopher John Locke drafted a constitution for the Carolinas that gave every free man in the colony complete power and authority over his slaves. Locke's constitution was never enacted, but subsequent colonial and state charters would grant slaveowners much power over their slaves.

1660

On March 13, the Virginia House of Burgesses enacted a measure that limited the amount of tax that could be charged upon the sale of a slave.

The colonial assembly in Connecticut enacted a statute that prohibited blacks from serving in the militia.

1661

By this point, slavery had come into practice in the British colony of Virginia. A law that was passed in 1661 recognized the condition in which some blacks

were assumed to serve their masters for life. Although white indentured servants who committed an offense might be punished by an extended period of indenture, the law described blacks as “persons incapable of making satisfaction by addition of time.” This measure suggests that a gradual transformation occurred between 1619 and 1661 as the condition of indentured labor for black servants became transformed into a condition of enslavement.

Administrators of the Dutch colony of New Netherlands received a petition for freedom presented by a slave.

1662

The colonial assembly in Virginia passed a law declaring that the status of all children—whether bound or free—shall be determined by the condition of the mother only. With the passage of this measure, slavery became hereditary in the colony of Virginia.

1663

Laws within the British colony of Maryland reveal that all imported black servants within the colony were servants for life (slaves). The law further declared that free white women who married slaves became slaves themselves during the lifetime of their spouse. Children born of such a union were also slaves. This measure was later repealed in order to prevent the forced marriages of white servant women to slaves.

Governor Charles Calvert of Maryland wrote to Lord Baltimore in England and suggested that the colony had a great need for African slaves. Calvert was looking for other means of acquiring slaves: he had become concerned that the Company of Royal Adventurers might not be interested in providing slaves to Maryland, which was too poor to purchase large numbers of Africans.

On July 27, the British Parliament approved the second Navigation Act, which developed a stronger mercantile arrangement between the mother country and its colonies. According to this legislation, all imports were to be carried to the colonies on British vessels, but an exception was made for certain imports, including servants. At this time, the British were not yet actively involved in the African slave trade, but this situation would eventually change.

On September 13, a house servant named Berkenhead in Gloucester County, Virginia, betrayed a planned uprising that involved a conspiracy between

black slaves and white indentured servants. This episode is believed to be the first serious slave conspiracy in the British North American colonies. Throughout the colonial and early national periods, local authorities would maintain a careful vigilance to suppress all episodes of organized resistance by slaves.

As settlement of the Carolina colony began, settlers were promised 20 acres of land for each male slave that they brought into the colony and 10 acres for every female slave.

1664

Maryland law stated that Christian baptism did not affect the slave status imposed on black servants within the colony—effectively, blacks were considered servants for life. This measure was necessary because certain precedents in English common law allowed for the emancipation of slaves who became converts to Christianity and then established a legal domicile within the colony. Eventually, colonial assemblies in New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia (but not Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware) would enact similar laws.

The colonies of New York and New Jersey legally recognized the institution of slavery, by passing respective statutes to regulate the practice. Slavery had existed in both of these colonial regions prior to 1664, when the area was still under Dutch control, but the statutes passed in these colonies in 1664 marked the first time that British authorities in these colonies officially recognized slavery’s legal status.

On September 20, the colonial assembly in Maryland enacted an antimiscegenation statute to prevent “freeborn women from . . . shameful matches.” The assembly was particularly concerned about the problems that arose in determining the legal status of children who were born from interracial encounters.

1665

The laws that the duke of York (the future King James II of Great Britain) developed for governing the colony of New York recognized the legality of slavery within the colony and did not prevent the enslavement of Native American peoples or Christian Africans.

1667

In England, Parliament passed the “Act to Regulate the

Negroes on the British Plantations.” This measure described persons of African descent as possessing a “wild, barbarous and savage nature, to be controlled only with strict severity.”

On September 23, Virginia repealed an earlier enacted statute that enfranchised blacks who converted to Christianity. The new law stated that Christian baptism did not affect the slave status imposed on black servants within the colony—effectively blacks were considered servants for life. In the Preamble to this statute, Virginia lawmakers urged the colony’s slaveowners to be more diligent in converting slaves to Christianity.

Virginia authorities declared that it was not to be considered a felony if one’s slave died while being “corrected”—that is, punished.

1668

The Virginia House of Burgesses enacted a measure declaring that free black women in the colony should not “be admitted to the full fruition of the exemptions and impunities of the English.”

1669

In October, the Virginia House of Burgesses enacted a statute that acquitted slaveowners who killed their slaves. The law stated that “it cannot be presumed that premeditated malice (which alone makes murder a felony) should induce any man to destroy his own estate.” The law was based on the assumption that the slave’s value as an item of property superseded the slave’s value as a person.

1670

On October 13, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed legislation asserting that all non-Christian servants who were imported by sea were thereafter to be considered as servants for life and that the condition of all issue must follow the status of the mother. Because of the moral concerns raised by the possible enslavement of Christians, the law further stipulated that blacks who were Christians before their arrival in Virginia could not be enslaved for life, but this provision was repealed in 1682. The law also stated that servants who entered the colony by land were to serve until they reached the age of thirty if they were

adult men and women when their period of servitude began.

Statutes within the Body of Liberties for the colony of Massachusetts were revised so that the enslavement of a slave woman’s offspring was legalized. According to this policy, the status of the child was viewed as the same as the status of the mother in all circumstances. The previous language of this section had created a legal loophole in which the children of certain slaves had attempted to sue for their freedom.

The settlement of South Carolina began in earnest as two thousand emigrants from the island of Barbados in the British West Indies moved to the mainland colony and brought their slaves with them.

1671

Virginia governor William Berkeley believed that there were two thousand blacks in Virginia and six thousand white indentured servants out of a total population of forty thousand inhabitants. Slaves constituted about 5 percent of the colony’s population.

The colonial assembly in Maryland enacted a measure declaring that the conversion of blacks to Christianity, either before or after their enslavement in the colony, did not affect their condition of service for life. This measure was necessitated by the apprehension of slave traders who believed that their economic welfare was dependent on such a declaration. With passage of this measure, slave importers were more likely to encourage the conversion of slaves to Christianity.

1672

The British Parliament passed enabling legislation that chartered the Royal African Company and granted it a monopoly in conducting the British slave trade between Africa and the Americas. The British were eager to acquire profits from the slave trade that previously had enriched other rival European powers. The Royal African Company held its exclusive monopoly status until 1698, when the Parliament opened the slave trade to all British subjects.

In Virginia, a new law placed a bounty on the head of “maroons”—black fugitives who formed independent communities in the mountains, swamps, and forests of the colony. These communities were viewed with disdain; occasionally the residents of maroon communities would raid towns and plantations in order to obtain needed provisions.

1674

After having had success with Native American peoples, John Eliot and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England began to support the education of persons of African descent.

1676

Dutch slave traders carrying Africans to the Americas were engaged in a lucrative business. Africans purchased in Angola cost the Dutch traders 30 florins each, and they sell slaves in the Americas for prices ranging between 300 and 500 florins. The Dutch traders transport approximately fifteen thousand Africans per year for sale as slaves in the Americas.

English Quaker William Edmondson addressed a general letter to the slaveholders of Great Britain's North American colonies. In the letter Edmondson argued that Christianity was incompatible with slaveholding, and he urged his colonial brethren to separate themselves from the vile institution of slavery.

Colonial legislators in New Jersey prohibited the practice of slavery from the western portion of that colony.

1680

A Virginia law prohibited blacks from gathering in large groups or carrying weapons of any type.

On October 31, the General Court of Massachusetts imposed fines and prohibited any ship from sailing from a Massachusetts port with "any servant or Negro" aboard without having obtained specific permission from the governor.

1681

A colonial census estimated that three thousand blacks resided in Virginia.

A slave girl named Maria was burned alive in the colony of Massachusetts after she was convicted of setting fire to her master's home. This case of arson was especially disturbing because it had caused the death of a child in the home.

A Maryland colonial law freed black children who were born either of European mothers or of free black mothers. With the passage of this measure, the status of slaves in the colony of Maryland effectively followed the status of the father. Legislators enacted this mea-

sure because many colonial planters had been encouraging white indentured women to marry slaves so that their offspring would become slaves.

1682

The British colony of South Carolina legally sanctioned the practice of slavery within its borders, thus giving statutory recognition to the "peculiar institution."

The Virginia House of Burgesses passed a law that reduced all non-Christian bondservants to permanent status as slaves regardless of any future religious conversion experiences. The new law also allowed slaves who were Christians at the time of their arrival in Virginia to be enslaved for life. This measure reversed existing policies that had been established in 1670. The previous legislation had caused economic distress by limiting the number of slave imports into the Virginia colony.

The Pennsylvania colonial assembly chartered the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania that recognized the legality of slavery in the colony but sought to introduce a new commercial scheme. The society established a system of slave apprenticeship in which slaves would be freed after fourteen years, provided that they continued to cultivate plots allotted to them and submitted two-thirds of their agricultural produce annually to the society.

1685

The French government enacted the *Code Noir* in all of its colonial settlements. In North America, this involved the French colony of Louisiana, but settlers often ignored the provisions of this decree. The code required religious instruction for slaves, permitted intermarriage, and outlawed the working of slaves on Sundays and on holidays. The code also forbade the liberation of mulatto children who reached the age of twenty-one if their mothers were still enslaved.

The Virginia House of Burgesses passed a statute that prohibited slaves within the colony from participating in any of the Quaker meetings that were held for educational purposes.

1687

In Westmoreland County, Virginia, rumors of a planned slave insurrection abounded. Public gatherings of slaves

in the region were banned by local authorities, and slaves were not allowed to hold public funerals for other slaves.

In New England, fugitive slaves were often captured and returned to slavery by various indigenous peoples who served as slave catchers and were paid a small bounty by colonial slaveowners to perform this service.

1688

On February 18 in Germantown, Pennsylvania, the famous “Germantown Protest” occurred as a group of Pennsylvania Mennonite Quakers declared openly at their monthly meeting that slavery was contrary to Christian principles and signed an antislavery resolution to that effect. The document was prepared by Franz Daniel Pastorius and his brethren. This antislavery tract is viewed as the first public condemnation of the institution and practice of slavery in the Western Hemisphere, and it is also viewed as one of the first examples of nonviolent protest in American history.

1690

The colonial assembly in Connecticut enacted a pass law, which made it unlawful for black and Indian servants to travel freely in the colony without specific written permission from their masters or some other person of authority. Those guilty of violating this policy were deemed fugitives and could be disciplined accordingly.

1691

Virginia’s House of Burgesses enacted an antimiscegenation law designed to prevent intermarriage between races. Virginia officials also sought to restrict the practice of manumission within the colony and ordered any blacks who were freed to leave the colony within a six-month period. If a slaveowner did free a slave under this new policy, it was the responsibility of the owner to pay all costs necessary for transporting the freed slave beyond the borders of Virginia. Officials in Virginia did not desire to have a large free black population within the colony because they feared that such a group might endanger regional security “by their either entertaining . . . slaves or receiving stolen goods or being grown old and bringing a change upon the country.”

1692

The colonial assembly in Maryland imposed a penalty of seven years of indenture on any white man who either married or fathered a child with a black woman. The law also imposed penalties on both the white women who were “associated” with blacks and the black men themselves.

Virginia colonial law stated that a fugitive slave might be legally killed and that the owners who experienced such a loss would be compensated by the colony with 4,000 pounds of tobacco.

Pennsylvania statutes imposed strict penalties on any slave who was loitering in an unauthorized area without a pass from his owner. Such a slave could be imprisoned without food or drink and could receive thirty-nine lashes “well laid on, on their bare backs” as part of a public whipping.

In Salem, Massachusetts, the frenzy of a witch craze swept the community, and twenty citizens of Salem were executed after having been accused and convicted of being witches. Much of the initial fear had grown from stories of black magic that a slave woman named Tituba had shared with a group of adolescent girls in the home of Reverend Samuel Parris. Tituba was not executed for her role in Salem’s witchcraft hysteria, but she remained a slave in Massachusetts.

1693

Quaker George Keith published *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes*. Keith’s hoped that Quakers who owned slaves would free them as soon as possible. This tract was presented as a paper at the Quaker annual meeting in Philadelphia.

In Boston, Puritan minister Cotton Mather prepared the “Rules for the Society of Negroes.” This group represented the first black religious association known to have formed in early America.

1695

In Goose Creek Parish, South Carolina, Reverend Samuel Thomas established a school that taught black children.

1696

During their annual meeting, American Quakers (Society of Friends) admonished their membership

for participating in the importation of slaves. The Quakers threatened those who continued to import slaves with possible expulsion from the Society of Friends.

1698

Blacks comprised 12 percent of the population in the colony of New York.

Pennsylvania Quaker William Southeby petitioned Quakers in Barbados to stop shipping blacks to Pennsylvania as slaves. As a result of his sustained efforts against slavery, Southeby was eventually expelled from the Society of Friends.

The Royal African Company lost its monopoly status for conducting the British slave trade between Africa and the Americas. As a result, participation in the slave trade was opened to all British subjects, and many New Englanders became involved in extensive slave trading as they realized the lucrative profits that this enterprise afforded. Parliament considered the slave trade to be “highly beneficial and advantageous to this kingdom and to the Plantations and Colonies.” Private traders could enter into the enterprise once they paid a 10 percent duty to the Royal African Company for the maintenance of the West African forts and factories. From this date onward, the so-called triangular trade developed as slaves, sugar/molasses, and rum would become the dominant goods exchanged between Africa, the West Indies, and the colonies of British North America.

Officials in Massachusetts changed the colonial tax codes so that “all Indian, mulatto, and Negro servants be estimated as other personal estate.” Prior to 1698, Massachusetts listed slaves as persons on tax lists, but this action changed their legal status to property.

1699

Virginia’s House of Burgesses imposed an import duty of 20 shillings on each slave that was imported into the colony.

1700

The British colonies of Pennsylvania and Rhode Island passed legislation that sanctioned the practice of slavery within their borders.

Slave population in the British North American colonies was estimated at 27,817, with 22,611 of these

living in the southern colonies and 5,206 living in the northern colonies. As a group, slaves constituted 10 percent of the total population in the British colonies.

On June 24, Judge Samuel Sewall published *The Selling of Joseph* in Boston, Massachusetts. This anti-slavery tract based its arguments against the institution and practice of slavery on biblical sources and questioned those who used biblical interpretation to condone the practice of slavery.

In the same year, Judge Sewall organized an anti-slavery organization known as the Boston Committee of 1700 that lobbied for implementation of a high duty on slave imports. The group believed that excessive taxation might be one means of destroying the slave trade in Massachusetts, but the group’s efforts were unsuccessful.

1700

Quakers began to make an effort throughout the colonies to provide religious instruction to slaves. In Pennsylvania, William Penn organized a monthly meeting for blacks.

1701

The Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, better known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was founded in England by Thomas Bray. One of the group’s primary concerns of the society was the religious conversion of Native American peoples and persons of African descent in the British colonies.

1702

New Jersey colonial legislators enacted statutes that gave legal recognition to the practice of slavery within the colony.

1703

Colonial legislators in South Carolina imposed a duty on all slave imports into the colony.

A work entitled *John Saffin’s Tryall* was published in Boston. This work initiated the literary genre of the slave narrative that would be popular throughout the colonial and early national periods. Many of the slave narratives would be published and used by antislavery

supporters as powerful propaganda tools to agitate for an end to the slave trade, and eventually, an end to slavery itself.

Rhode Island colonial legislators enacted statutes that gave legal recognition to slavery within the colony.

1704

The first school established to educate black children in what eventually became the United States was founded when Elias Neau, a French Huguenot immigrant, opened the Catechism School for Negroes at Trinity Church in New York City. The school was suspected of being somehow involved in a antislavery plot when rumors of revolt surfaced in the city in 1712.

In Connecticut, a mulatto slave named Abda sued his owner, Thomas Richards of Hartford. Abda maintained that he should be free because of his white blood; a Connecticut court agreed and set him free. Later, the Connecticut General Assembly reversed the colonial court's decision and returned Abda to slavery.

1705

On October 23, Virginia's black code placed severe restrictions on slave mobility and also authorized heavy penalties to discourage the practice of miscegenation within the colony. The measure also recognized slaves as being real estate rather than persons, thus serving to dehumanize the slaves, conferring on them the status of nothing more than chattel property that could be bought, sold, and traded at whim.

Following the lead taken by other colonies, legislators in Massachusetts imposed a duty of £4 on all slaves imported into the colony. This customs imposition was not severe enough to tax the slave trade out of business as Samuel Sewall and the Boston Committee of 1700 had desired.

Also on October 23, the Virginia Assembly declared that "no Negro, mulatto, or Indian shall presume to take upon him, act in or exercise any office, ecclesiastic, civil, or military." Blacks were also forbidden from serving as witnesses in court cases. They were condemned to lifelong servitude, unless they had previously been Christians in their native land or free men in a Christian country. In addition, slavery was defined as a legal condition that was limited to blacks only with the exception of "Turks and Moors in amity with her majesty."

The colonial legislature in Massachusetts enacted

an antimiscegenation law designed to prevent intermarriage between races. The goal of "An Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mist Issues" was to insure that problems arising from determining the legal status of such offspring would be reduced in colonial Massachusetts. This prohibition remained in effect until its repeal in 1843.

The colonial legislature in New York developed a measure to reduce the incidence of slaves running away from their owners by enacting stiff punishments for fugitives. The legislation called for the death penalty to be imposed against any fugitive slave who was captured in the region beyond a line forty miles north of Albany, New York, as capture within that area was sufficient evidence of the fugitive slave's desire to reach Canada.

1706

A statute enacted by colonial legislators in New York prohibited the testimony of a slave against a freeman in both civil and criminal cases.

1707

Colonial legislators in Massachusetts imposed a fine of 5 shillings on any free black who helped to harbor a fugitive slave. A significant number of slaves were imported into Massachusetts at this time, and the problem of slave runaways was becoming acute in the colony.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a group of mechanics and artisans banded together into a guild to protest the economic competition that their crafts faced because of the amount of work performed by slaves who were hired out within the city. The mechanics and artisans believed that they faced unfair competition from the labor performed by slaves.

In Massachusetts, selected free blacks were allowed to join the colonial militia.

1708

Virginia officials estimated that twelve thousand blacks resided within the colony.

A census in the Carolina colony showed that the combined total of black and Indian slaves in the region surpassed the population of whites.

In October, a slave uprising in the community of

Newton, on Long Island, New York, killed seven whites. The event was suppressed and four blacks were executed. The legislature responded to this event by enacting a new law aimed at preventing slave conspiracies.

Pennsylvania authorities responded to the protest of white mechanics and artisans and moved to restrict the further importation of slaves into the colony, but the British Crown invalidated these restrictive policies.

1709

Colonial authorities in Virginia discovered and suppressed a conspiracy in which black and Indian slaves had planned to revolt.

1710

Slave population in the British North American colonies was estimated at 44,866. Approximately 36,563 of slaves were in the southern colonies, and 8,303 were in the northern colonies.

Virginia's House of Burgesses agreed to manumit a slave named Will because he had informed colonial authorities of a planned slave conspiracy. The practice of rewarding slave informants with freedom was a common practice during the colonial and early national periods as local authorities sought to maintain peace and security in the plantation districts by discouraging conspiracies.

Colonial Governor Alexander Spotswood tried to discourage the further importation of slaves into Virginia as white residents became alarmed at the growing number of blacks within the colony.

1711

At the insistence of Quakers and Mennonites, the Pennsylvania colonial assembly outlawed slavery, but the action was immediately overruled by the British Crown.

The South Sea Company was organized in England, and this trading company received the right to transport Africans to the Americas where they could be sold as slaves.

In South Carolina, Governor Robert Gibbes and other colonial authorities struggled to combat a sustained campaign of slave resistance that was inspired by a large community of maroons led by a fugitive slave named Sebastian. The people of the colony were

fearful of the maroon attacks until Sebastian was killed by an Indian hunter.

On September 22, the Tuscarora Indians became alarmed when British colonists in the Carolinas moved into their lands in the region of the Roanoke and Chowan rivers. A series of skirmishes between the Tuscarora and the colonists followed, and a number of slaves were able to use the chaos as an opportunity to escape from their owners.

1712

From April 7 to 8, nine white residents were killed and seven were wounded in a slave revolt that erupted in New York City. Once the tumult subsided, twenty-one slaves were convicted and sentenced to death for their roles in the uprising. Six other blacks committed suicide.

On June 7, the colonial assembly in Pennsylvania banned the further importation of slaves into the colony. In taking this action, Pennsylvania became the first of the British colonies to prohibit the slave trade. The Pennsylvania action followed efforts by William Southeby to have the assembly abolish slavery within the colony.

The colonial assembly in South Carolina enacted "An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Slaves." This comprehensive measure became the model that was used by many other slave codes developed in the South during the colonial and national periods.

In response to the slave revolt that occurred in New York City, the colonial assemblies in New York and Massachusetts both enacted measures designed to prevent, suppress, and punish slave conspiracies and insurrections within their colonies.

1713

On March 26, during the negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War, 1701–1713), the British South Sea Company received the *asiento*, the contract to supply slaves to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. This contract permitted the South Sea Company to carry 4,800 slaves per year to the Spanish colonies in the Americas for a period of 30 years (144,000 total). In addition, the British were allowed to send one merchant ship per year to the Spanish colonies for trading purposes. British slave traders would hold the *asiento* throughout most of the eighteenth century.

1714

Rhode Island colonial legislators enacted a measure to limit the mobility of slaves within the colony. Slaves were not permitted to travel on a ferry without the specific written permission of their owners.

Colonial legislators in New Hampshire enacted statutes that recognized the legality of slavery within the colony.

1715

A census taken in the New England colonies revealed that two thousand blacks lived in the region.

Approximately twenty-five hundred slaves were imported into the British North American colonies annually. In 1715 the population of the British colonies was estimated to be 434,600, and the total population of slaves was 58,850. According to these estimates, slaves constituted 13.5 percent of the colonial population at this time.

The colony of North Carolina enacted legislation that legalized the practice of slavery within its borders. The legislature also enacted an antimiscegenation law designed to prevent intermarriage between races. Slaves within the colony were also denied the right to have their own religious meetinghouses.

Quaker John Hepburn published the tract entitled *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule*. Hepburn presented many arguments against slavery, but stressed that most importantly, slavery was a practice that robbed individuals of the freedom of choice.

Quaker Elihu Coleman published the tract, *A Testimony Against that Anti-Christian Practice of Making Slaves of Men*.

Virginia officials estimated that 24 percent of the colony's population consisted of slaves.

Encouraged by agitators from Spanish Florida, on April 15 the Yamassee Indians attacked colonial settlements in South Carolina and killed hundreds of white settlers. During this conflict the Yamassee freed many slaves who had been held in South Carolina.

1716

On June 6, in the French colony of Louisiana, the first slaves were introduced by two slave ships of John Law's Company of the West.

An antislavery tract appeared in the Massachusetts colony. It argued that the presence of slavery in the British colonies had a debilitating effect on encourag-

ing the immigration of additional white settlers. The author contended that slavery reduced the number of occupations that remained open to white settlers and that this type of economic competition did not encourage whites to immigrate to the British colonies.

1717

In Boston, Massachusetts, Cotton Mather established an evening school to educate Indian and slave youth.

The colonial legislature in South Carolina enacted an antimiscegenation law designed to prevent intermarriage between races. Many colonies adopted similar measures because of the problems that were associated with determining the legal status of children born of interracial unions.

The colonial legislature of Maryland enacted a measure designed to discourage interracial marriage within the colony. According to the provisions of this statute, if a free black married a white colonist, the black spouse became the slave of the white spouse.

1719

In the summer, the first large shipment of slaves arrived at New Orleans in the French colony of Louisiana. The ships *Grand Duc du Maine* and *Aurora* delivered approximately five hundred Africans to the colony. John Law, who was then the proprietor of the colony through his Company of the Indies, built a slave-trading station along the Mississippi River directly across from New Orleans. At this so-called Plantation of the Company, Africans were sold and distributed to the Louisiana colonists.

1720

It was estimated that two thousand slaves resided in the colony of Pennsylvania.

The population of the British North American colonies was estimated to be 474,000 and the total population of slaves was 68,839. According to these estimates, slaves constituted 14.5 percent of the colonial population at this time.

In May, a slave insurrection that was described as "a very wicked and barbarous plott" occurred in Charleston, South Carolina, and was put down by local authorities. Twenty-three slaves were arrested in conjunction with the incident, and three were eventually executed for their role in the revolt.

1721

The colonial legislature in Delaware enacted an antimiscegenation law designed to prevent intermarriage between races. According to this statute, the child who was born to a white mother and a slave father was legally bound to the county court until the mixed-race child reached the age of thirty-one.

On May 21 in Boston, Zabdiel Boylston administered the first smallpox inoculations in America; he gave them to his son and two African slaves. Reverend Cotton Mather had recommended the experiment after one of his slaves, Onesimus, had informed him that various African tribes had successfully used inoculations. This use of an African medical technology in a Western setting helped to save the lives of many Boston residents during the smallpox epidemic of 1721.

1722

In Virginia, authorities detected a conspiracy among slaves in several counties. The leaders of the plot were imprisoned, and several others associated with the plan were sold and transported out of Virginia.

The colonial assembly in Pennsylvania denounced the “wicked and scandalous practice” of blacks cohabitating with white colonists.

Pennsylvania officials again responded to the protest of white mechanics and artisans by declaring that the practice of hiring slaves into the trades was “dangerous and injurious to the republic and not to be sanctioned.” Pennsylvania’s action applied to both slaves and free blacks, and several other colonies followed the lead of Pennsylvania and enacted similar prohibitions designed to protect white mechanics and artisans against “unfair” competition from blacks.

1723

The Virginia legislature disenfranchised free blacks and Native Americans within the colony and also discriminated heavily against them in the imposition of colonial taxes. With its reliance on race as a controlling factor, this law represented a departure from policies that had been in effect since 1670, policies that had only restricted the suffrage on the basis of property qualifications. In addition, free blacks were also denied the right to carry weapons of any sort within the colony.

On April 13, after an extensive arson campaign affected the colony, acting governor of the Massachu-

setts colony, William Dummer, issued a proclamation announcing “fires which have been designedly and industriously kindled by some villainous and desperate negroes or other dissolute people as appears by the confession of some of them.” Apprehension was high for many weeks as the white citizens of Boston feared that blacks planned to destroy the city.

In May, seven slaves from Middlesex and Gloucester counties were sold and transported out of Virginia because of their involvement in a planned slave uprising.

1724

In March, the *Code Noir* (or Black Code) went into effect in the French colony of Louisiana when it was instituted by Governor Bienville. The Code contained fifty-five provisions that regulated the life of slaves within the colony of Louisiana. Although this code primarily affected the slaves of the colony, certain provisions also directed the liberties afforded to free blacks. In addition, the code ordered that all Jews leave the colony and prohibited “the exercise of any other religion than the Catholic.”

A religious tract published in Virginia encouraged slaveowners to baptize and educate their slaves. The author of this document suggested that owners should be exempt from paying taxes on baptized slaves who were under the age of eighteen.

1725

After many years of pressure by white settlers, the colonial assembly in Pennsylvania enacted an antimiscegenation law designed to prevent intermarriage between races. The assembly was particularly concerned about the problems that arose in determining the legal status of children who were born from interracial encounters.

An estimate placed the population of slaves in the British North American colonies at seventy-five thousand.

The Virginia House of Burgesses granted permission for free blacks in Williamsburg to establish the first Church of Colored Baptists.

The South Carolina colonial assembly imposed a £200 fine on those slaveowners who brought slaves to the western frontier of the colony. It was believed that such close proximity to the wilderness beyond the frontier would prompt slaves to escape. The law also sought to diminish the likelihood that slaves might

conspire with Native Americans to harm the frontier settlements.

1726

Colonial Governor William Burnet of New York requested that the chiefs of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy surrender all fugitive slaves who had sought asylum among the Iroquois. Although the chiefs agreed to comply with Burnet's request, no fugitives were ever returned to colonial authorities.

Peter Vantrump, a free black, was kidnapped under false circumstances and sold into slavery in North Carolina by a Captain Mackie who had promised to take Vantrump to Europe. When Vantrump sued for his freedom, the General Court of North Carolina denied his petition, and he remained a slave.

1727

In Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin, a noted opponent of slavery, established a benevolent association called the Junto. Upon joining the organization, members pledged that they would work toward the abolition of slavery and other forms of inhumanity to man.

In the French colony of Louisiana, the Roman Catholic Ursuline Nuns began to educate black children in New Orleans.

1729

In Rhode Island, the colonial assembly required slaveowners to post a one-hundred-pound bond to insure that their slaves would not become a public charge "through sickness, lameness" or for other reasons.

Quaker Ralph Sandiford [Sandiford] published an antislavery tract entitled *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times, By the Foregoing and the Present Dispensation*. The work was published in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, who supported efforts to abolish the institution of slavery.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was reorganized, and the group changed its name to Dr. Bray's Associates. Reverend Thomas Bray had worked since 1701 to support the religious education of blacks in the British colonies.

1730

In Virginia, white residents were placed on heightened alert as slave conspiracies were detected in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties. Governor William Gooch authorized white males in the affected region to carry weapons with them when attending church services. Other conspiratorial plots were detected and suppressed in 1730 in South Carolina and in the French colony of Louisiana.

Slaves constituted 13.9 percent of the total inhabitants of the British North American colonies. Of the 91,021 slaves who lived in the colonies, 17,323 lived in the northern colonies and 73,698 lived in the southern colonies.

At Williamsburg, Virginia, slaves planned a rebellion as a rumor spread that the former colonial governor, Alexander Spotswood, had returned to the colony from London with the authority to free all persons who were baptized as Christians. Authorities in the colony crushed the conspiracy and executed four of the slaves who were believed to be the leaders of the planned rebellion.

On August 15, authorities in South Carolina discovered a plot that involved as many as two hundred slaves who were planning to revolt. Part of the plan allegedly included an attack on a church at the mouth of Virginia's Rappahannock River.

1731

British monarch George II provided royal instructions to all colonial governors that specifically prohibited the imposition of any customs duties on slave importations. This action was consistent with British mercantile policy and reflected the Crown's concern with the well-being of the slave-trading enterprise, which was quite lucrative for British merchants.

1732

The Virginia House of Burgesses imposed a 5 percent import duty on all slaves brought into the colony, and this provision remained in effect for many years. In 1759, colonial authorities attempted to raise the duty to 20 percent, but the British Crown rejected this duty as excessive.

1733

Georgia was founded as the last of the thirteen British North American colonies. It was viewed as an experi-

mental colony in that slavery was not permitted when the colony was founded, but eventually authorities within the colony relaxed this prohibition. Philanthropist and colony founder James Oglethorpe was a slaveholder himself in the Carolinas, and he also served as the deputy governor of the Royal African Company, which was actively involved in the slave trade.

Because of persistent attacks by maroons upon plantations and farms in South Carolina, Governor Robert Johnson announced a reward of £20 for anyone who assisted in apprehending fugitives who operated as maroons within the colony.

Slaveowners in several southern colonies feared that slaves might conspire and organize an exodus to Spanish Florida. Spanish officials in Florida had promised to liberate any slave who escaped from a Protestant colony and sought refuge in Catholic Florida. This call was in large part responsible for much of the unrest that rocked South Carolina in 1739.

1735

In New York, the Dutch burgher John Van Zandt whipped to death a slave who had been picked up outside of his quarters beyond a curfew. A coroner's jury heard Van Zandt's case and declared that the slave was killed "by the visitation of God" rather than the actual beating. Van Zandt was found innocent of any criminal wrongdoing.

1736

Virginia planter William Byrd II commented on the hypocrisy of New England Puritans who criticized slavery but nonetheless participated actively in the African slave trade. Byrd commented that "the Saints of New England" were responsible for importing so many Africans into Virginia that "the Colony will some time or other be Confirmed by the name of New Guinea."

1737

The Quaker author Benjamin Lay published a radical antislavery work entitled *All Slave-Keepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage; Apostates*. The controversial tract, which blended biting satire and advocacy of nonviolent resistance, was printed by Benjamin Franklin, who was himself an opponent of slavery.

1738

In Nantucket, Massachusetts, authorities discovered a well-planned conspiracy among Native American peoples to attack the community in the night and kill all the white settlers while sparing the blacks.

The Moravian Church established a mission in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, that was created specifically to minister to blacks in the region.

1739

On September 9, in the British colony of South Carolina, a slave named Cato led a serious slave revolt along the Stono River in a region in which blacks constituted a very large majority of the population. The group of slaves involved reportedly sought to leave the South Carolina colony and travel to St. Augustine, Florida, where Spanish missionaries had reputedly promised liberation. Anyone who tried to prevent the migration was targeted as a victim. Thirty white residents and forty-four blacks died during the insurrection and its eventual suppression. This revolt was the most intense of three outbreaks that plagued South Carolina during the year. The two other events took place at Stone Creek and in St. John's Parish in Berkeley County, South Carolina.

The trustees of the Georgia colony received petitions from two groups, one supporting the introduction of slavery into the colony and the other opposing such action. For the time being, the trustees decided that it was best to keep slavery out of the colony.

Fugitive slaves who escaped to Spanish Florida and thus liberated themselves built a fort at St. Augustine, Florida. The purpose of this installation was to protect their own self-earned freedom and to prevent the British from sending expeditions into Spanish Florida to try to recapture fugitives.

1740

Of the 150,024 slaves who lived in the British North American colonies, 23,598 lived in the northern colonies, and 126,066 lived in the southern colonies.

In January, in response to concerns raised by the Stono Rebellion, fifty blacks were put to death by hanging when rumors of another slave conspiracy were uncovered in Charleston, South Carolina.

The colonial legislature in South Carolina imposed a harsh slave code that prohibited slaves from raising livestock, provided that any animals previously owned

by slaves be forfeited, and set very high penalties for slaves who made “false appeals” to the governor on the grounds that they had been enslaved illegally.

Colonial governor James Oglethorpe mounted a limited incursion into Spanish Florida and captured Forts Picolata and San Francisco de Pupo, but his small force was eventually pushed out of Florida. The Spanish forces were assisted by Seminole Indians and nearly two hundred fugitive slaves who had escaped to Florida and found refuge there.

An insurrectionary panic swept New York City when it was believed that slaves in the city had poisoned the water supply in an effort to kill their masters and win their freedom.

1741

Between February and April, a series of arsonist acts in New York City helped spread wild rumors about a unified conspiracy in which slaves and poor whites planned to burn or to seize control of the city. Although evidence for such a plot was slight, a general hysteria developed and eighteen blacks were hanged, eleven were burned alive at the stake, and seventy were banished from the colony. The white backlash against slaves stemmed from their presence in the city rather than from any hard evidence of their connection with a criminal conspiracy.

1742

On April 15, the General Court of Massachusetts granted a divorce to a slave named Boston. Boston had charged that his wife Hagar had an adulterous affair with a white man and had given birth to a mulatto child.

Spanish officials in Florida mounted an invasion of the Georgia colony in retaliation for Oglethorpe’s raid in 1740. The Spanish troops that fought in Georgia included a regiment of black troops that was commanded by black officers.

1743

In the New Jersey colony, John Woolman, an itinerant Quaker clergyman, initiated a series of sermons that called for an end to slavery and urged greater consideration of racial equality. Woolman eventually published his ideas in *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (1754). Woolman would carry his antislavery message to Quaker meetings in several colonies.

In Charleston, South Carolina, Mr. Garden’s School was established. This institution was created to teach black youth in the city, and the school was supported by both the free black and the white residents of Charleston.

A school specifically designed to train black missionaries was established in Charleston, South Carolina by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

1744

The Virginia Assembly revised its 1705 law regarding the rights of blacks to serve as witnesses in court proceedings. The amended statute entitled “any free Negro, mulatto, or Indian being a Christian,” the right to serve as a witness in criminal or civil suits involving another Negro, Mulatto, or Indian.

Anglican missionary Samuel Thomas established a school for free blacks in South Carolina.

1745

Thomas Ashley published *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*. In this work, Ashley responded to those proslavery supporters who said that slavery was beneficial to the African. Ashley challenged that if slavery was indeed beneficial, it would follow that the Africans should be allowed to choose for themselves whether or not they wanted to be enslaved.

1746

Lucy Terry, a slave poet, wrote “Bars Fight,” a commemorative poem that is considered to be one of the best accounts of the Indian massacre of Deerfield, Massachusetts. Terry is generally considered to be the first black poet in America. She later unsuccessfully tried to convince the Board of Trustees at Williams College to admit her son to the school.

In New Jersey, the colonial assembly met at Perth Amboy and authorized John Hamilton, the commander of the colonial militia, to raise a regiment of five hundred free blacks and Native Americans to be used as soldiers against the French in Canada.

1747

The South Carolina Assembly thanked black slaves for demonstrating “great faithfulness and courage in re-

PELLING attacks of His Majesty's enemies." The Assembly also made cautious provisions for using black troops in times of dire emergency, but warned that black recruits should never constitute more than one-third of the colony's troop strength.

1748

The Virginia Militia Act became law within the colony of Virginia. According to this measure, free blacks and Native Americans were prohibited from carrying weapons. During the years of the American Revolution, this provision was revised so that free blacks could serve as soldiers in the Continental Army.

1749

On October 26, the trustees of the Georgia colony repealed their initial prohibition against the importation of slaves into the colony. This measure was later approved by the British Parliament, which indicated Parliament's effectual endorsement of slavery within the British North American colonies. This same measure also attempted to protect slaves from being hired out and from cruel treatment that might be imposed on them. Legislation within the Georgia colony established a ratio stipulating that four slaves could be kept in the colony for every white servant.

1750

On September 30 in Framingham, Massachusetts, Crispus Attucks escaped from his master. Attucks would later become a heroic figure for his role in the Boston Massacre (1770).

An estimated seventy-five hundred slaves were imported into British North America each year.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Anthony Benezet and a group of his Quaker brethren established an evening school for free blacks in the city. The school was taught by Moses Patterson.

The slave population was estimated to be 236,420, with 206,198 living in the southern colonies and 30,222 in the northern colonies. Although slaves comprised roughly 20 percent of the entire population of all colonies combined, they formed more than 40 percent of the population of the Virginia colony alone.

The French had established five colonial villages in the western territory that eventually became the state of

Illinois. The population in this region was indeed sparse, but the 1,100 white settlers in those communities owned 300 black slaves and 60 Native Americans were also held in slavery. Although the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 would later prohibit slavery in this region and Illinois would eventually join the Union as a free state in 1818, a strong proslavery element remained active in some of the region's older French communities.

The British Parliament enacted a modification to its slave trade policies that had far-reaching implications on the enterprise. When Parliament ended the Royal African Company's monopoly on the trade in 1698, lawmakers opened the enterprise to other English corporations (syndicates) that were willing to pay a set duty in order to participate in the trade. The 1750 modification allowed private individuals to engage in the slave trade provided that they paid the duty to the Royal African Company for maintaining the West African forts and factories. The net result of this change was that more people became involved in the African slave trade and the business became more notorious at the same time that increased calls to end the trade were coming from many British colonists.

1751

Benjamin Franklin wrote a pamphlet entitled "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries." In this tract, Franklin argued that slave labor represented one of the most inefficient forms of production that was used in the world.

The Jesuits introduced the cultivation of sugarcane into the French colony of Louisiana. The large-scale cultivation of sugarcane in Louisiana that ensued necessitated the more massive importation of slaves into the region just as the "sugar revolution" of the previous century had brought enormous numbers of slaves to Brazil and to the islands of the West Indies.

1752

In July, there were eighteen slaves at the estate of Mount Vernon in Virginia when George Washington inherited the property upon the death of his half-brother. During his ownership, the number of slaves at Mount Vernon grew to 200. Washington was concerned with the physical well-being of his slaves, but he was never certain about his willingness to grant them freedom or to do without their services to the estate. After Washington's death in 1799, however, his final testament did manumit his slaves.

Maryland became the first of the British colonies to enact a manumission statute.

1753

Phillis Wheatley, the future child-prodigy poet, was born in West Africa.

1754

In Philadelphia, John Woolman published *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes: Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination*, a tract designed to challenge his fellow Quakers to manumit their slaves on moral grounds. Woolman was one of the most influential Quaker abolitionists of the eighteenth century.

In Baltimore, Maryland, a twenty-two-year-old free black named Benjamin Banneker became the first person in the British North American colonies to build a clock. Although Banneker had never before seen a clock, the device that he created worked accurately for twenty years.

In Charleston, South Carolina, two female slaves belonging to an owner named Croft were burned alive because they had burned some of the buildings on the owner's estate.

1755

Having previously made a denominational stand against the practice of slavery, American Quakers (Society of Friends) excluded from their denomination all members who continued to import slaves.

Two slaves belonging to John Codman of Charlestown, Massachusetts, were executed after they conspired and poisoned their owner. The slaves Mark and Phillis had learned that they were to be freed upon the death of Codman, and they decided to expedite the date of their liberation. Authorities tried to set an example to other slaves with swift and certain punishment. Mark was hanged and disemboweled, while Phillis was burned to death.

The colonial assembly in Georgia enacted statutes making slavery legal within the colony.

1756

The population of the Virginia colony was estimated

to have reached two hundred fifty thousand; slaves constituted 40 percent of the population.

1757

The English writer Edmund Burke wrote *An Account of the European Settlements in America*. In this work Burke encouraged methods of increasing colonial productivity, and he warned of the danger of possible slave insurrections if steps were not taken to improve the conditions of slaves in the colonies.

1758

In Mecklenburg, Virginia, William Byrd established the Bluestone African Baptist Church on his plantation located near the Bluestone River.

Antislavery supporter Anthony Benezet and other Pennsylvania Quakers began meeting yearly to discuss and plan strategies for the abolition crusade. This group became the basis of the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage that was later organized in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in April 1775.

1760

The slave trade was banned completely in South Carolina upon action to that effect taken by the colonial assembly, but the British Crown disallowed this measure because of its conflict with British mercantile interests.

On February 14, Richard Allen, who would eventually become a religious leader and founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born a slave in Philadelphia.

In Boston, Briton Hammon published a pamphlet entitled *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man*. This work is considered to be the first prose work to be published by a black author in America.

On December 25, in New York City, the black poet Jupiter Hammon published *Salvation by Christ with Penitential Cries*.

1761

The colony of Virginia tried to impose an importation duty of 20 percent upon slaves who were brought into the colony, but the British Crown did not allow this

action to stand. The British government viewed such a measure as an excessive tax that was contrary to the economic interests of the British mercantile system.

The Society of Friends (Quakers) voted to exclude slave traders from church membership, but many of the Quakers continued to be slaveowners.

An eight-year-old African child named Phillis Wheatley arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, as a slave. She would become known as a poet of the late-colonial period.

1762

James Derham, who became recognized as the first black physician in America, was born a slave in Philadelphia.

Anthony Benezet, a Pennsylvania Quaker who was an opponent of slavery, published *A Short Account of that Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes*. Although the work was ostensibly a study of African life and culture, Benezet also included a clear antislavery message in his study.

1763

In Massachusetts, free blacks formed a significant social group constituting 2.2 percent of the colony's inhabitants. Out of a total population of 235,810 residents, there were 5,214 free blacks in Massachusetts.

1764

With Parliament's passage of the Sugar Act, New England merchants and slave-ship captains protested the increase in the price of sugar and molasses, declaring these items to be indispensable to the slave trade, which they described as "vital commerce" for the region. A group of merchants published a pamphlet entitled *A Statement of the Massachusetts Trade and Fisheries*, in which they protested that the increased duties on such essential commodities might bring economic disaster to the region.

James Otis wrote *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* to protest the British Parliament's action in imposing the Sugar Act on the colonists. Otis maintained that the British action represented "taxation without representation," and he further claimed that slaves had a right to be free. Sensing an inconsistency between coercive action and liberalism, Otis viewed a connection between the infringement upon colonists' liberties by the British and the institution of slavery. Otis criticized slavery as an evil that "threatens

one day to reduce both Europe and America to the ignorance and barbarity of the darkest ages."

1765

The population of the British North American colonies was estimated to be 1,750,000, and slaves constituted approximately 20 percent of this total.

1766

"Negro Tom," one of George Washington's slaves at Mount Vernon, was punished for running away. As punishment, Washington ordered that the unruly slave be sold to the West Indies for a hogshead of rum and other goods including molasses, rum, limes, tamarinds, sweet meats, and spirits. Washington ordered the ship captain who carried Tom away to keep the slave chained until he was at sea.

On November 6, a group of Massachusetts slaves tried to initiate court action against their owners by citing a violation of trespass laws, but the colonial courts did not support the claim.

1767

"A Poem by Phillis, A Negro Girl, On the Death of Reverend Whitefield" is written by Phillis Wheatley, a fourteen-year-old slave girl in Boston. The poem was eventually published in 1770, and Wheatley was soon thereafter recognized internationally as a prodigy.

Denmark Vesey was born. In 1822 Vesey would be put to death for allegedly organizing a vast conspiracy of slaves and free blacks who had planned an insurrection at Charleston, South Carolina.

1769

At the age of twenty-six, Thomas Jefferson was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses. His first action as an elected official was to lead an unsuccessful attempt to pass a bill that would emancipate slaves within the colony of Virginia.

1770

The population of the British North American colonies was estimated at 2,312,000, which included

462,000 slaves. Slaves constituted approximately 20 percent of the colonial population.

On March 5, Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave from Framingham, Massachusetts, was the first to fall in the Boston Massacre. In November 1750 Attucks had escaped from his owner, Deacon William Browne.

On June 28, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Anthony Benezet led a successful campaign among the Quakers to establish a school for blacks in the city. When Benezet died in 1784, he left his personal fortune to endow the school, known as the Binoxide House, which had been established in 1770.

In Virginia, George Washington was one of several planters who signed a petition circulated by the Association for the Counteraction of Various Acts of Oppression on the Part of Great Britain. Washington and the others who signed promised not to purchase slaves who had not been in North America for at least one year. This measure was designed to create economic distress for the British government by not supporting the African slave trade.

The colonial assembly in Rhode Island enacted a statute that prohibited the further introduction of slaves into the colony.

The colonial assembly in Massachusetts debated a proposed bill that would have prohibited the further introduction of slaves into the colony, but legislators defeated the measure.

1771

The Massachusetts colonial assembly approved of a resolution calling for an end to the importation of Africans as slaves in the colony, but Colonial Governor Thomas Hutchinson refused to support the measure.

For the first time in many years, the average annual number of Africans imported as slaves into the American colonies declined. This statistical change reflected the growing opposition of many people within the British colonies to the slave trade.

The colonial assembly in Connecticut enacted a statute that prohibited the African slave trade within the colony.

1772

In May, in a landmark judicial ruling, Chief Justice Lord Mansfield's (William Murray, first earl of Mansfield) decision in the case of *Somerset v. Knowles* abolished slavery within England. In this decision Mansfield declared that "the air of England has long been

too pure for a slave, and every man is free who breathes it. Every man who comes to England is entitled to the protection of English law, whatever oppression he may heretofore have suffered, and whatever may be the color of his skin."

In Virginia, the House of Burgesses enacted a substantial tariff on slave imports in an effort to curtail the practice within the colony. Officials in Virginia requested that the British government support this action against "a Trade of great Inhumanity," but the Crown did not allow this action to stand. The British government viewed this measure as contrary to the economic interests of the British mercantile system. The House of Burgesses enacted thirty-three different measures that called for an end to the slave trade, but this action was taken primarily in defiance of Parliament's passage of the Townshend Acts rather than in sincere support of the end of the slave trade upon moral grounds.

In Boston, Massachusetts, John Allen published the tract "Oration upon the Beauties of Liberty." Allen used a philosophical natural rights argument in this pamphlet to support the slaves' right to rebellion, and he called for the immediate end of slavery in the British colonies.

1773

On January 6 in Massachusetts, a group of slaves petitioned the colonial legislature for their freedom. During the years of the American Revolution, eight petitions of this type were presented to the legislature of Massachusetts. Much of the action of slaves seeking liberation from their enslavement in the colonies was inspired by the success of the *Somerset* case, which had effectively ended slavery in England.

A slave child named Sally Hemings is born in Virginia. In subsequent years she would become the slave mistress of Thomas Jefferson.

The idea of colonizing West Africa with free blacks was first discussed and promoted publicly by Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale College, and Samuel Hopkins, a Congregational minister. The idea of colonization would continue to be popular, and in the early nineteenth century the American Colonization Society would support such a program, but some white abolitionists and many free blacks were opposed to this strategy. Stiles and Hopkins also sent a circular to many New England churches urging their opposition to the slave trade.

The slave Phillis Wheatley published her first book of poetry, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and*

Moral, when she was about twenty. It was the second book to be published by an American woman. Wheatley was manumitted shortly after the publication of the book of verse.

1773

In Savannah, Georgia, David George, George Lisle, and Andrew Bryan established the first Negro Baptist church in the colony. Another church was established in Silver Bluff, South Carolina.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Dr. Benjamin Rush published the antislavery tract *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements, on the Slavery of the Negroes in America*. This document is perhaps the most significant expression of the American antislavery position to be published in the eighteenth century.

Residents of Leicester, Massachusetts, urged their elected representatives to enact legislation against slavery and the slave trade.

1774

On December 1, George Washington chaired a meeting at which delegates from several Virginia counties approved of the Fairfax Resolves, authored by George Mason, which condemned the slave trade. Resolution Number 17 stated, “it is the opinion of this meeting that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade.” As a result of this action, the Virginia Association suspended further importation of slaves into the colony and threatened a boycott of all British exports.

During the First Continental Congress, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin convinced delegates to approve a measure that called for an end to the slave trade effective December 1, 1775, and sought to impose economic sanctions on those countries that continued to participate thereafter in the slave trade. These pledges were included in the Articles of Association that were adopted by the Continental Congress.

After a slave conspiracy was discovered in Boston, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, who was attending the Continental Congress and discussed the matter. She wrote, “I wish most sincerely there was not a slave in the province. It always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me—fight our-

selves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have.”

In Philadelphia, the Society of Friends (Quakers) adopted rules at the society’s annual meeting that prohibited Quakers from buying or selling any additional slaves. Those Quakers who owned slaves were advised that they should prepare their slaves for emancipation.

The Rhode Island legislature enacted a measure that freed any future slaves that were introduced into the colony, but the measure did not change the status of those persons who were slaves within the colony at the time the measure was enacted.

Thomas Jefferson wrote his first published work, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*. In this pamphlet, Jefferson argued that the British colonists supported the abolition of slavery. Jefferson wrote that “the abolition of slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced,” but also cautioned that it would first be necessary “to exclude all further importations from Africa.”

In Rhode Island and Connecticut, the colonial legislatures in each colony forbade the continuation of slave imports into each colony. The Rhode Island legislation declared that any new slave who was brought into the colony would be made free, but the legislation did not emancipate the slaves who were already laboring within the colony.

Delegates met at a convention in New Berne, North Carolina, for the purpose of organizing a provincial congress. The delegates who gathered there believed that the colonies should immediately end the importation of African slaves.

In St. Andrews Parish, Georgia, a slave revolt resulted in the death of four white colonists and the injury of three others. The two slaves who led the revolt were burned to death as punishment.

1775

On April 14, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a group of Quakers organized the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, the first secular antislavery society in the American colonies. Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush were among the founding members of this group. The society would suspend its operations during the years of the American Revolution, but it was reorganized again in 1787.

On April 19, the American Revolution began as shots were fired at Lexington and Concord. Free blacks were among the minutemen who took part in these opening battles for American freedom.

On the Natural Variety of Mankind (*Humani Varietate Nativa*) was published in Germany by Johan Friedrich Blumenback. This work was the first of its kind to challenge the prevailing racist assumptions that viewed blacks as racially inferior and thus prone to be enslaved by superior peoples. Blumenback's work challenged the ideas of "enlightened" thinkers such as Voltaire, Hume, and Linne, who had argued that blacks were somehow related to apes. Blumenback proved that the skulls of blacks and Europeans and the brain size of each were similar.

On May 10, the black soldier-patriots Lemuel Haynes, Primas Black, and Ephram Blackman fought with Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys during the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, generally considered to be the first aggressive action taken by American forces during the American Revolution.

On June 17, during the battle of Bunker Hill, several black soldier-patriots, including Peter Salem and Salem Poor, fought and distinguished themselves.

On July 10, General Horatio Gates, in his capacity as adjutant general of the Continental Army, issued a general order that banned free blacks from serving in the Continental Army.

On October 8, in a decision made by the Council of General Officers of the Continental Army, it was determined that neither slaves nor free blacks would be allowed to fight in the Continental Army.

On October 23, the Second Continental Congress specifically prohibited blacks from joining the American Continental Army.

On November 7, in an effort to raise a local Loyalist army, Lord Dunmore, the British governor of the Virginia colony, promised to free any male slave who deserted their plantations and farms and joined British forces in an effort to suppress the rebellion that had been begun by the American patriot forces. Approximately eight hundred Virginia slaves accepted Dunmore's invitation and joined the king's forces. Dunmore lost the support of many Loyalist planters by initiating this policy.

On November 12, General George Washington, commander of the Continental Army, issued a general order prohibiting all recruiting officers from enlisting blacks, both slave and free, into the service of the Continental Army.

On December 31, apparently alarmed by Lord Dunmore's action, George Washington, who originally opposed the use of black troops, modified his initial position on the matter and ordered his recruiting officers to enlist any free blacks who offered their services to the Continental cause, but Washington continued to resist the use of slaves as soldiers.

Sally Hemings, then a two-year-old child, arrived as a slave at Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home in Virginia.

The colonial assembly in Delaware approved of a measure that would have prohibited the introduction of any additional slaves into the colony, but Governor John McKinly vetoed the bill.

Thomas Paine published his first antislavery essay entitled "African Slavery in America" in *The Pennsylvania Journal*. Paine signed the article "Humanus" and argued that slavery should be abolished and that land and other economic opportunities should be offered to freed slaves.

1776

On January 16, the Second Continental Congress gave its approval to George Washington's policy of accepting enlistments from free blacks who wished to join the Continental Army.

On April 9, by resolution, the Second Continental Congress called for an eventual end to the importation of slaves from Africa. During the course of the American Revolution, it is estimated that five thousand slaves supported the Continental forces in their efforts against the British.

On July 4, Thomas Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence while serving as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. Jefferson was swayed by the protest of southern delegates from South Carolina and Georgia and finally deleted lines critical of the slave trade and denouncing slavery from the final draft of the Declaration. The deleted passage had stated that King George encouraged "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 in another hemisphere."

Later that year, Jefferson drafted a plan proposing a colonization plan to return former slaves to Africa.

The marquis de Lafayette praised the efforts of black troops for their role in covering Washington's retreat to Long Island.

In December, two black soldiers, Prince Whipple and Oliver Cromwell, took part in Washington's crossing of the Delaware River in order to attack British forces and their Hessian mercenaries at Trenton, New Jersey.

Reverend Samuel Hopkins, a Congregational minister in Newport, Rhode Island, published an antislavery tract entitled "A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans." Hopkins forwarded a copy of his work to the Second Continental Congress in hopes

that his argument might help to sway the officials there to abolish slavery within the colonies.

In Delaware a new constitution was drafted. It included a provision that prohibited the further importation of slaves into the region.

In Philadelphia, the Society of Friends (Quakers) approved of a measure at their annual meeting that urged other Quakers to shun fellow Quakers who refused to manumit their slaves.

In Williamsburg, Virginia, a group of free blacks organized the African Baptist Church.

1777

In North Carolina, the assembly readopted an older colonial statute that had prohibited the manumission of slaves by private citizens except for cases of meritorious service that were documented and verified by a local magistrate. It was the intention of North Carolina officials to make “the evil and pernicious practice of freeing slaves” more difficult.

On July 2, Vermont’s state constitution abolished slavery within its borders. At this time Vermont had declared itself to be an independent state on January 16, 1777, but it was not yet an official part of the United States. Therefore, Pennsylvania’s action against slavery in 1780 is generally considered to be the first time that a state abolished the institution of slavery in the United States.

Schools within the colony/state of New Jersey began to segregate black and white students.

1778

In Maryland, Quakers decided that the continuing ownership of slaves by fellow Quakers after the Society of Friends had declared manumission a moral offense that warranted disownment.

In February, in an unprecedented act made necessary by wartime exigencies, a black battalion of three hundred slaves was formed in Rhode Island after they were promised freedom upon the successful conclusion of the war. This group eventually engaged in battle and was responsible for killing one thousand Hessians. The same group eventually took part in the battle at Ponts Bridge in New York.

Upon the motion of Thomas Jefferson, the House of Burgesses enacted a statute that prohibited the importation of additional slaves into Virginia.

1779

On November 12, the New Hampshire colonial assembly received a petition from twenty slaves urging that body to abolish slavery. The petition requesting emancipation argued that “the God of nature gave them life and freedom upon the terms of most perfect equality with other men; that freedom is an inherent right of the human species, not to be surrendered but by consent.”

In the Continental Congress, South Carolina representative Henry Laurens proposed that 3,000 slaves be used as soldiers in the southern colonies. Many of the southern representatives contested the proposal, but Alexander Hamilton of New York supported the idea. Hamilton stated: “I have not the least doubt that the Negroes will make very excellent soldiers . . . for their natural faculties are as good as ours.” Although the Continental Congress approved of the recommendation, the South Carolina legislature rejected the proposal.

1780

On February 10, in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, Paul Cuffee led a group of seven free blacks that petitioned against the Continental Congress for imposing taxation without representation because they were denied the benefits of citizenship.

On March 1, Pennsylvania’s legislature passed a measure aimed at the gradual abolition of slavery within the state’s borders. According to this legislation, no child born after its enactment would be a slave in the state of Pennsylvania. According to the terms of this legislation, children who were born to slaves after 1780 would be considered to be bond servants until they reached the age of twenty-one. With this action, Pennsylvania effectively became the first state to abolish slavery. (Vermont had not yet become a state when action was taken there in 1777.)

In April, in Botecourt County, Virginia, a slave named Jack was hanged because he had threatened to lead a group of slaves to the British army of Lord Cornwallis in an effort to escape.

It was estimated that there were 575,420 slaves in the United States in 1780, with 56,796 in the northern states and 518,624 in the southern states.

There were rumors of a slave conspiracy in and around the city of Albany, New York, and a combined force of slaves and a few white associates did plot and burn the Half-Moon Settlement near Albany.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Newport Gardner and

his associates formed the African Union Society, a mutual-benefit organization designed to assist free blacks in the region. In 1803 the society merged with the African Benevolent Society.

1781

On July 20, shortly after the defeat of British General Cornwallis at Yorktown, there were reports of maroon attacks on plantations in the region, and a report of a planned slave uprising near Williamsburg surfaced when slaves burned several buildings including the capitol. One white colonist was killed in this incident.

1782

Thomas Jefferson wrote his *Notes on Virginia* in which he presented a mixed view of slavery and of the role of blacks in society. Jefferson wrote that “the whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions,” but he later penned the strange assessment that blacks’ “griefs are transient.”

Virginia’s slave population was estimated to be 260,000.

As a result of Thomas Jefferson’s insistence, the Virginia legislature enacted a measure legalizing the emancipation of slaves by private citizens through manumission in the state. According to this measure, it was permissible for one “by last will and testament or other instrument in writing sealed and witnessed, to emancipate and set free his slaves.” It is particularly ironic that when Jefferson died in 1826, he freed some, but not all, of the slaves that he had held in bondage.

The state legislature of Rhode Island freed the slave Quaco Honeyman because of the services he rendered as a spy during the American Revolution.

British ships carried off an estimated five thousand slaves when they departed from Savannah, Georgia. Many of these “black Loyalists” would eventually settle in the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The following year the British ships left the New York City area carrying off three thousand slaves, and other ships that left Charleston, South Carolina, transported sixty five hundred slaves out of the region.

In the state of Massachusetts, the legislature received a “Petition of an African” from a seventy-year-old slave woman named Belinda. She was requesting freedom and protection for herself and her daughter from their owner. This petition seeking freedom from slavery is believed to be the first to be filed by a slave in the United States of America.

1783

Legislative action in Maryland prohibited involvement in the African slave trade, but not the institution of slavery, within the state.

The slave James C. Derham purchased his freedom from his owner, Doctor Robert Dove. Derham remained in New Orleans as a free black and established his own practice there as a doctor.

A Massachusetts court heard a case that was brought by Paul Cuffee and his brother John. The judges ruled that free blacks who paid taxes to the state of Massachusetts were entitled to suffrage rights within the state.

Diplomats in Paris signed the Treaty of Paris, which officially ended the American Revolution. Article VII of the treaty included a provision in which the British government agreed to return all slaves that were taken from their American owners. The British government did not comply with this provision.

By the end of the American Revolution, at least ten thousand blacks had served in the continental armies. Nearly half of these served as regular soldiers.

The county court in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, heard a case brought by a fugitive slave woman named Elizabeth [Mumbet] Freeman who had escaped her abusive master in 1742. Freeman was fighting efforts against reenslavement, which had been threatened, and she appealed to Thomas Sedgwick, an attorney, to defend her. Freeman won her case, and her former master was ordered to pay damages in the amount of 30 shillings.

On July 8, in a landmark judicial decision, slavery was abolished in Massachusetts by the action of the Massachusetts Supreme Court in the case of *Commonwealth v. Jennison*, which involved efforts of the slave Quock Walker to obtain his freedom. The decision in this case was based on an interpretation of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, which was included in the Massachusetts state constitution of 1780 and which stated that all men were “born free and equal.” Chief Justice William Cushing and other Massachusetts jurists interpreted this phrase to be a repudiation of slavery. Many opponents of slavery believed that the Massachusetts ruling signified the removal of any judicial sanction for the institution and practice of slavery.

On October 7, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a measure that granted freedom to those Virginia slaves who served in the Continental Army during the American Revolution.

On December 31, by the end of 1783, all states north of Maryland had taken effective legislative action to

ban the further importation of Africans for use as slave laborers.

Shortly before his death in 1784, Anthony Benezet published *A Serious Address to the Rulers of America*. In this antislavery pamphlet, Benezet chided the American people for having shrouded the rhetoric of the American Revolution as a struggle against British tyranny and slavery while keeping thousands of people in bondage as slaves themselves in a land that claimed to love liberty.

1784

The Pennsylvania Abolition Society was organized in Philadelphia.

The Congress under the Articles of Confederation government considered a “Report of Government for the Western Territory,” which Thomas Jefferson had drafted. Before enacting the measure, Congress deleted certain controversial provisions. By a vote of seven to six, the Congress defeated Jefferson’s proposal that would have prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude from all western territories after 1800.

Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church met at a conference in Baltimore, Maryland, to adopt proposals that required Methodists who owned slaves to begin manumitting them or face the possibility of excommunication from the church.

The states of Connecticut and Rhode Island enacted legislative bills aimed at providing for the abolition of slavery within their respective states.

On December 5, the black American poet Phillis Wheatley died in Boston.

In Virginia, the Society of Friends (Quakers) required all Quakers in the state who owned slaves to manumit them.

1785

The New York state legislature took action making slavery illegal within the state. An effort to enact a program of gradual emancipation failed to win legislative approval because the measure would have denied civil and political rights to free blacks living within the state.

On September 28, the future abolitionist David Walker was born as a free child in Wilmington, North Carolina. In 1829, he would publish his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*.

The New York Society for Promoting Manumission was chartered, with John Jay selected to serve as the first president of the group.

The General Committee of Virginia Baptists took action within their denomination to condemn the institution of slavery as being “contrary to the word of God.”

John Marrant published *A Narrative of the Lord’s Wonderful Dealings with J. Marrant, a Black . . . Taken Down from His Own Relation*. This work was the first autobiography of a person of African descent to be written in the English language.

The Methodist Conference, meeting at Baltimore, voted to suspend the 1784 ruling that required Methodists to manumit their slaves.

1786

The New Jersey state legislature declared slavery illegal within the state and adopted a program of gradual emancipation.

The state legislature of Virginia freed the slave James, who had been owned by William Armstead, because of the services that James rendered as a spy during the American Revolution.

George Washington wrote a letter to the marquis de Lafayette, the young Frenchman who had assisted him during the American Revolution. In the letter, Washington shared some of his views on the question of slavery. Washington wrote, “To set the slaves afloat at once would, I believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but, by degrees it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be, effected, and that too, by legislative authority.” On the basis of this statement, it would seem that Washington endorsed a plan of gradual emancipation to bring an end to slavery.

1787

John Cabot and Joshua Fisher established the first cotton factory in the United States at Beverly, Massachusetts. As the factory system spread throughout New England, textiles became a major item of manufacture and northern-based production of cotton cloth became increasingly dependent on southern-based cotton production.

On April 12, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones formed the Free African Society in Philadelphia, which they described as “the first wavering step of a people toward a more organized social life.”

On April 23, Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush were among the members of the recently revived Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in

Bondage, and Improving the Condition of the African Race. Franklin served as the honorary president of the organization.

On July 13, slavery was prohibited from all territories north of the Ohio River (the Old Northwest Territory) when the Congress under the Articles of Confederation approved passage of the Northwest Ordinance.

On September 12, Prince Hall, who had participated in military service during the American Revolution, established African Lodge No. 459, the first black Masonic Lodge in America. The charter for this new group was granted by the Grand Lodge of England.

On September 17, the United States Constitution was created. This document included a “three-fifths clause,” which counted only three of every five slaves for purposes of representation and taxation. The document also stipulated that Congress could not act to prohibit the African slave trade until 1808.

On September 24, the black poet Jupiter Hammon published *An Address to Negroes in the State of New York*. In this essay Hammon urged slaves to be obedient and faithful to their masters. Hammon wrote, “Now whether it is right, and lawful, in the sight of God, for them to make slaves of us or not, I am certain that while we are slaves, it is our duty to obey our masters, in all their lawful commands, and mind them unless we are bid to do that which we know to be sin, or forbidden in God’s word.”

A group of blacks in Philadelphia led by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones established their own religious congregation when they were forced to leave a white church.

In a detailed proposal quite comparable to the Underground Railroad that would arise in the nineteenth century, Quaker Isaac T. Hopper, of Philadelphia, promoted a plan in which northerners could aid slaves who tried to escape from the southern states.

In response to numerous Quaker petitions, the legislature of Rhode Island enacted a law specifically prohibiting Rhode Island citizens from participating in the slave trade.

On October 17, under the leadership of Prince Hall, Boston blacks petitioned the Massachusetts legislature to establish equal educational facilities for black students within the state.

On November 1, in New York City, the New York Manumission Society established an African Free School.

The South Carolina legislature approved of a temporary halt to slave importations into the state.

1788

From February 27 to March 26, a group of free blacks led by Prince Hall petitioned the Massachusetts state legislature after a shocking incident occurred in Boston. A group of free blacks were seized on the streets of Boston, kidnapped, and transported as slaves to the French colony of Martinique in the West Indies. Governor John Hancock used his influence to win the release of the blacks who had been captured illegally. Legislators in Massachusetts then enacted a measure declaring the slave trade illegal and providing a fund to pay for compensatory damages to victims of such kidnapping incidents.

In Newport, Rhode Island, the Negro Union Society advocated a campaign of repatriating free blacks to Africa through an emigration program, but the Free African Society of Philadelphia opposed this strategy.

In November and December, “An Essay on Negro Slavery” was published in the journal *American Museum*. The anonymous author of this essay used the pen name Othello of Maryland.

Legislative action taken by Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania prohibited citizens of those states from participating in the African slave trade.

1789

On March 4, a sufficient number of states ratified the Constitution of the United States, and the first session of the United States Congress was called into session. At this time the nation consisted of thirteen states, seven of which had become free states and six of which remained slave states.

The Delaware state legislature approved a resolution that prohibited citizens of Delaware from participating in the African slave trade.

The Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade was established in Rhode Island.

A slave named Josiah Henson was born in Charles County, Maryland. He would later become the inspiration for the character of “Uncle Tom” in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852).

1790

The First Census of the United States revealed that 757,181 blacks resided in the United States—59,557 were identified as free blacks and 697,624 were slaves. Blacks constituted 19.3 percent of the total population

of the United States in 1790. In this census only Massachusetts and Maine reported having no slaves.

The United States government entered into its first treaty with the Creek nation. The treaty included a provision requiring the Creek to return any fugitive slaves who sought protection in Creek territory.

Between February 3 and February 11, Congress received its first formal petition calling for the emancipation of slaves. The petition was presented by the American Quaker (Society of Friends) denomination and the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Benjamin Franklin had signed the memorial and urged the Congress to remove “this inconsistency from the character of the American people.”

On March 23, Benjamin Franklin, writing as “Historicus,” wrote “An Essay on the African Slave Trade” in the *Federal Gazette*. In this essay Franklin used biting satire to parody the prevailing proslavery view in the Congress. His essay presented the Muslim argument that could be used for justifying the enslavement of Christians.

The Virginia Abolition Society was organized at a meeting in Richmond.

On November 1, in Charleston, South Carolina, a group of free blacks organized the Brown Fellowship Society. The organization was limited to emancipated blacks of good character who paid annual dues. The group served as a benevolent organization, supported schools, and operated a clubhouse and a private cemetery for society members.

1791

On January 5, free blacks in Charleston, North Carolina, presented a petition to the state legislature protesting recent legislation that prohibited black-initiated lawsuits in the courts and disallowed the testimony of blacks to be heard in the courts. The state legislature rejected the petition, and the condition of inequality before the law remained in effect.

At the request of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Banneker was appointed to the surveying commission that would establish plans for a new national capital at Washington, D.C.

The United States Congress enacted a measure that prevented blacks and Indians from serving in the peacetime militia.

Pierre Charles L’Enfant, the architect who designed the original plans for the District of Columbia, hired slaves from owners in Maryland and Virginia to begin construction of the new federal buildings in the national capital.

After some of President George Washington’s slaves were brought to Pennsylvania, officials there claimed that they could not be returned to Virginia as slaves. Washington asked Tobias Lear to offer his assistance so that the slaves might be returned in a fashion that would “deceive both the slaves and the public.”

1792

George Mason, a noted Virginia statesman, spoke out in opposition to slavery. Mason said that the institution of slavery was a disgrace to mankind, and he compared it to a slow poison that, in time, would corrupt future politicians.

On June 1, Kentucky entered the Union as a slave state. The region had previously been a part of Virginia’s western territory. At this point the United States consisted of fifteen states, eight of which were free states and seven of which were slave states.

In Portsmouth, Virginia, Joshua Bishop, a free black preacher, was appointed to be the new pastor of the First Baptist Church, which served a white congregation.

In April, Presbyterian clergyman David Rice attempted unsuccessfully to have the Kentucky constitutional convention exclude slavery from that state. A later attempt to achieve the same objective failed in 1799.

Virginia Quaker Warner Mifflin sent an antislavery memorial to the United States Congress. The petition created a contentious debate in the Congress. One South Carolina congressman questioned whether the First Amendment’s right to petition expressly included the “mere rant and rhapsody of a meddling fanatic.”

1793

The New Jersey Abolition Society was organized.

On February 12, the United States Congress enacted a federal Fugitive Slave Law, which made it a criminal offense for anyone to harbor a slave or to prevent the arrest of a fugitive. The law based its legality upon Article IV, Section 2, of the United States Constitution, which established the legal mechanism for the recovery of fugitive slaves. This measure would remain in effect until Congress passed a stronger Fugitive Slave Law in 1850.

The General Committee of Virginia Baptists reached the conclusion that since emancipation was a political question, it should be addressed by legislative

action and not through pronouncements agreed upon by church convocations.

On October 28, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in Mulberry Grove, Georgia. This invention revolutionized southern agriculture by making short-staple (upland) cotton easier to process. As planting of upland cotton increased in the Old Southwest, the region of slaveholding also increased. Whitney received the patent for his invention on March 14, 1794.

On November 25 in Albany, New York, a slave revolt took place as a group of insurrectionists rebelled and burned several buildings in the city. The property damages caused by the arsonists were estimated to be \$250,000, and three slaves were eventually executed for these crimes.

Free blacks in South Carolina petitioned the state legislature to express their opposition to the state's poll tax.

The Virginia legislature passed a law making it illegal for any free blacks to enter the state.

The Georgia legislature enacted a measure prohibiting the importation of any slaves from the West Indies or Spanish Florida, but the importation of slaves directly from Africa was still allowed.

1794

On March 22, Congress prohibited the slave trade to all foreign ports and also prohibited the outfitting of any foreign vessels for the purposes of slave trading in any American port.

On July 29, Richard Allen and his followers established the Bethel AME Church ("Mother Bethel") in Philadelphia. This was the first African Methodist Episcopal church established in the United States. The church is the oldest piece of property in the United States that has continuously been owned by blacks.

The Connecticut legislature considered a bill that would have provided for immediate emancipation, but the measure failed to win final approval. This measure would also have required masters to care for old and infirmed blacks and provide for the education of black children.

In Philadelphia, the first meeting of the Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies was held. Delegates representing nine antislavery societies from several states discussed long-range strategies that should be employed to advance the cause of abolition.

George Washington wrote a letter to Alexander Spotswood in which he shared some of his views on slavery. Washington wrote, "Were it not then, that I am principled against selling *African Americans*, as you

would cattle at a market, I would not in twelve months from this date, be possessed of one as a slave. I shall be happily mistaken if they are not found to be a very troublesome species of property ere many years pass over our heads."

1795

In Louisiana in April, Spanish colonial officials put down a slave revolt in Pointe Coupée Parish and hanged twenty-three slaves who were implicated in the conspiracy. Local authorities also deported three white sympathizers from the colony. Officials in Louisiana believed that this rebellion was related to the insurrection that had rocked the French colony of St. Domingue in 1791.

George Washington published an advertisement notice calling for the return of one of his slaves who had escaped from Mount Vernon. Washington stipulated that the notice not be run in any state north of Virginia.

The average price of a slave laborer who worked as an agricultural field hand was \$300.

1796

On June 1, Tennessee was admitted to the Union as a slave state, but the state's constitution did not deny the suffrage to free blacks. At this point, the United States consisted of sixteen states that were evenly divided, with eight being free states and eight slave states.

In New York City the free black community organized the Zion Methodist Church.

Forty-four free blacks were the charter members who organized the Boston African Society.

St. George Tucker, a professor of law and police at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, published a work entitled *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It, in the State of Virginia*, which put forward the view that slavery was inconsistent with the high moral purpose of the Bill of Rights. Tucker called for Virginia to adopt a program of gradual abolition of slavery that would end the practice within a century.

1797

On January 30, a group of free blacks petitioned Congress protesting against a North Carolina law that required that slaves, though freed by their

Quaker masters, must be returned to the state and to their former condition, but the petition was rejected by the Congress.

Sojourner Truth (born Isabella Baumfree) was born a slave on an estate near Hurley, New York.

Polish General Tadeusz Kosciuszko received a land grant in the Ohio Valley as compensation for his service to the American cause during the American Revolution. Kosciuszko requested that his land grant be sold and that the revenues raised be used to establish a school for black children.

In Kentucky, a young lawyer named Henry Clay urged the state legislature to enact a program of gradual abolition of slavery. Clay often defended slaves who sued for their freedom.

1798

During the undeclared naval war with France, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert refused to allow the deployment of blacks on American naval vessels, thus overturning the nonracial policy that the Navy had used previously. Despite this ban, blacks like William Brown and George Diggs did manage to serve on board American naval vessels.

A school for black children was established in the home of Primus Hall, a free black in Boston, Massachusetts.

The Georgia legislature enacted a measure that prohibited the further importation of slaves into the state.

The United States Congress debated a resolution that would have prohibited slavery from the Mississippi Territory, but the measure was defeated.

A collection of stories was published under the title *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture*. The stories were based on the life of Venture Smith, a Connecticut slave, who had been the son of a West African prince.

1799

In his last will and testament, George Washington declared, "It is my will and desire that all the slaves which I hold in my right, shall receive their freedom."

On March 29, a bill that provided for the gradual abolition of slavery was enacted by the legislature of New York.

In Boston the first minstrel performance occurred when Gottlieb Graupner performed a repertoire of songs that he had learned from blacks in Charleston, South Carolina. The young German immigrant would later form the Boston Philharmonic Society.

1800

The Second Census of the United States records that blacks, both slave and free, constituted 1,002,037 persons, or 18.9 percent of the national population.

On January 2, the United States House of Representatives rejected a petition advanced by a group of free blacks from Philadelphia who sought to end slavery in the United States through a system of gradual emancipation.

The petition also protested against the slave trade and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The measure was defeated by an 85 to 1 margin.

On May 9, John Brown, the future white abolitionist who participated in antislavery activities during "Bleeding Kansas" and attempted to seize the Harpers Ferry arsenal in 1859, was born in Torrington, Connecticut.

The Virginia Assembly enacted legislation that supported development of a colonization plan to return former slaves to Africa.

The assembly would enact similar nonbinding resolutions on colonization in 1802, 1805, and 1816.

On August 30, Virginia authorities discovered and suppressed the plot of Gabriel Prosser and Jack Bowler to capture Richmond and surrounding regions in a large-scale slave insurrection involving thousands of slaves.

Prosser and fifteen of his associates were hanged on October 7 for their role in the conspiracy after the betrayal of the plot by two slaves. Governor James Monroe requested that federal troops be sent into the region to quell any further efforts at insurrectionary violence.

On September 2, on a plantation in Southampton County, Virginia, a slave child named Nat Turner was born. He would eventually become a slave preacher and would organize and lead a slave insurrection in the region in 1831.

1801

In the aftermath of Gabriel Prosser's conspiracy in Virginia, the American Convention of Abolition Societies issued a public statement affirming that "an amelioration of the present situation of the slaves, and the adoption of a system of gradual emancipation . . . would . . . be an effectual security against revolt."

1802

Residents of the Indiana Territory met in a convention at Vincennes that was called by Territorial Governor

William Henry Harrison. The convention forwarded a memorial to the Congress asking that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 be suspended so that slaves might be introduced into Indiana. The Congress did not support Governor Harrison's recommendation, but a measure was later enacted that did allow indentured servants to be brought into the Indiana Territory. Since the Northwest Ordinance had prohibited both slavery and involuntary servitude, the admission of indentured servants into Indiana permitted a de facto form of slavery to exist in territory that was deemed to be free. (For more on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, see Document 32.)

The United States Congress considered a proposed bill that would have strengthened the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, but the measure was defeated.

In May, authorities in North Carolina were on alert throughout the year as several rumors of revolt surfaced in Charlotte, Elizabeth, Hertford, Wake, Warren, and Washington counties. In May, a disturbance near Elizabeth City was organized by Tom Cooper, a fugitive slave who lived in the swamps as a maroon. Local authorities restored order in the county, and fifteen slaves were executed for their role in the plot.

In the Mississippi Territory, the legislature considered a bill that would have prohibited the importation of male slaves into the region, but the measure was defeated.

1803

On February 19, Ohio became the seventeenth state to be admitted to the Union. At this point in the nation's history, there were nine free states and eight slave states. Since the area was carved from the Old Northwest Territory, Ohio was the first state to join the Union in which slavery was prohibited by law from the beginning of statehood.

On February 28, the United States Congress enacted "An Act to Prevent the Importation of Certain Persons into Certain States, Where, by the Laws Thereof, Their Admission Is Prohibited." This measure was enacted because many feared that slaves who had been "tainted" by the insurrection in St. Domingue would carry seeds of discontent into the American South if they were permitted into the region.

South Carolina's legislature, which previously had tried to limit slave imports, authorized the importation of slaves from South America and from the West Indies. This move was especially controversial as many feared that slaves who had been "tainted" by the insurrection in St. Domingue would carry seeds of discon-

tent into the American South. With the expansion in cultivation of upland cotton that followed Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, states like South Carolina soon realized the economic pressure for greater numbers of slaves to work the new lands that were brought under cotton cultivation.

In February, free blacks and slaves in York, Pennsylvania, rioted and attempted to burn the town to protest the conviction of Margaret Bradley on the charges that she attempted to poison two white citizens. Governor Thomas McKean ordered the state militia into the city to restore order, and the legislature funded a \$300 reward for information that would aid in the capture of the revolt's leaders.

Lunsford Lane was born a slave on a plantation in North Carolina. By 1839, Lane would become a well-known lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1842, he would publish a narrative of his life.

1804

On January 5, Ohio, a state that was carved from the Old Northwest Territory, enacted Black Laws that restricted the rights and movements of free blacks within the state. Illinois, Indiana, and later Oregon would later adopt similar policies or insert anti-immigration provisions into their respective state constitutions.

Between February and March, the United States Congress debated legislation that organized the Louisiana Territory. In keeping within the guidelines of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, the federal government agreed to recognize and protect the property of Louisiana slaveowners who had been protected by Spanish and French laws. In addition, the Congress voted to restrict the slaves that could be brought into the territory to those slaves who were actual property of settlers moving into the region. The Congress defeated a proposal that would have limited the period of servitude of slaves in the territory to one year.

On February 15, the legislature of New Jersey enacted a bill to provide for the abolition of slavery within the state. After the passage of this measure, all states north of the Mason-Dixon Line took steps to prohibit slavery within their borders or provide for its gradual demise.

On May 14, the Lewis and Clark Expedition left St. Louis on a two-year-long-journey to explore the upper portion of the Louisiana Purchase Territory. A slave named York accompanied the expedition and served as William Clark's valet.

Thomas Branagan, who had been a slave trader himself, published *A Preliminary Essay on the Oppres-*

sion of the Exiled Sons of Africa. This work was a brutally frank denunciation of the African slave trade from the vantage point of someone who had experienced the enterprise directly.

1805

The Virginia state legislature approved of a resolution that was forwarded to the United States Congress calling for establishment of a new territory in the upper portion of the Louisiana Purchase where free blacks could be settled.

On October 9, Benjamin Banneker died. The noted mathematician and astronomer had helped to survey the District of Columbia when a new national capital was established.

A Kentucky court decided the case of *Thompson v. Wilmot*. Thompson, who was a free black man in Maryland, was taken to Kentucky to serve a specified number of years as an indentured servant. When his period of indenture expired, Wilmot attempted to enslave Thompson. The courts ruled that Thompson had been illegally enslaved and ordered him freed. The verdict was sustained upon appeal in 1809.

On December 10, William Lloyd Garrison was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts. In his lifetime, Garrison would become the most famous abolitionist in the United States. From 1831 to 1865 he would publish and edit *The Liberator*, an abolitionist weekly.

1806

The Virginia Assembly enacted legislation requiring anyone who was manumitted after May 1 of that year to leave the state within one year.

On December 2, President Thomas Jefferson sent a message to Congress urging the passage of legislation ending all slave importation to the United States effective January 1, 1808. Jefferson's desire was that the government should act upon this question as soon as it was permissible. When the Constitution of the United States was written in 1787, a twenty-year moratorium on any legislative action regarding the suppression of the African slave trade (Article I, Section 9) had been included as part of the document.

1807

On March 2, the United States Congress passed landmark legislation that prohibited the importation

of African slaves into any region within the jurisdiction of the United States effective January 1, 1808, and President Thomas Jefferson signed the measure into law. Despite the United States government's efforts to enforce this measure, violations of this law would occur until the time of the American Civil War.

In Charleston, South Carolina, two boatloads of Africans who had been brought to the Americas as slaves starved themselves to death rather than submit to slavery.

Although slavery was prohibited in the region by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, legislators in the Indiana Territory enacted a measure that established a strict indenture system in the region. This virtual form of slavery remained in effect for three years until the law was repealed in 1810. (For more on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, see Document 32.)

New Jersey amended its 1776 state constitution to limit the right of suffrage so that only free white males could vote.

In Kentucky several antislavery supporters established a new abolitionist society called Friends of Humanity. Even though it was considered a slave state, there were active abolitionists in Kentucky right up to the time of the American Civil War.

1808

On January 1, the ban on the importation of Africans as slaves took effect. It is estimated that there were 1 million slaves in the United States at this time. Many believed that the elimination of external imports would set the stage for the gradual elimination of slavery within the country, but by 1860 there would be nearly 4 million slaves in the southern states.

Judges in the District of Columbia heard the case of *United States v. Mullany*. The judges declared that free blacks were competent to testify as witnesses in court proceedings.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church decided to remove the church's rules on slavery from copies of its *Discipline* that would be sent to the southern states.

1809

On February 12, Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky. In 1860 Lincoln would be elected the nation's sixteenth president. With his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln

became known as the “Great Emancipator” to future generations.

The population of New Orleans increased dramatically as six thousand new immigrants arrived in the Louisiana colony. These immigrants were originally from the French colony of St. Domingue, but they had left that island when a slave insurrection took place in 1791. They had initially moved to Cuba but were expelled from that island in 1809 after Napoleon’s forces invaded Spain and relations between France and Spain grew cold. Many in the Louisiana colony feared that the introduction of these immigrants and their slaves might bring the taint of insurrection to the colony.

A Louisiana court heard the case of *Girod v. Lewis*. Judges decided in this case that the marriages of slaves had no binding civil effect, while the individuals involved remained slaves; upon manumission, however, such a marriage held the same legal standing as white marriages.

1810

The Third Census of the United States documented that blacks, both slave and free, constituted 19 percent of the national population, or 1,377,808 persons.

Louisiana courts heard the case of *Adelle v. Beauregard* and declared that a black was considered free unless it was otherwise proven that the person in question was a slave. Louisiana courts would issue a similar ruling in the case of *State v. Cecil* in 1812.

On February 1, the black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond was born in Salem, Massachusetts. In 1838 he would become the first black to be hired as a lecturer by the Massachusetts Antislavery Society.

Lewis Dupre published an antislavery tract entitled *An Admonitory Picture and a Solemn Warning Principally Addressed to Professing Christians in the Southern States*. Published in Charleston, South Carolina, this pamphlet urged southern slaveowners to adopt an enlightened view and work to bring about an end to slavery.

1811

Between January 8 and 10, a massive slave revolt erupted along the River Road plantations 35 miles west of New Orleans (a region commonly called the German Coast) in the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. Nearly five hundred were estimated to be involved in the uprising that was organized and led by Charles Deslondes. A combined force of planter militia and United States Army troops quelled the rebellion and restored order but apparently with great bloodshed. It is estimated that one hundred slaves

were either killed in the suppression of the revolt or executed as a result of trials that followed the episode.

On June 14, Harriet Beecher [Stowe], the future author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut.

Paul Cuffee (1759–1818) sailed with thirty-eight blacks to the colony of Sierra Leone in West Africa. Cuffee spent \$4,000 of his own funds to finance this expedition. Cuffee favored a program of colonization in which free blacks could be repatriated to Africa, and he used this voyage to promote that position. In subsequent decades many other individuals and organizations would take up the cause of colonization.

The Delaware state legislature enacted a law that prohibited free blacks from moving into the state. Any free black who arrived in Delaware was given a ten-day grace period to leave the state. After that time expired, free blacks were fined \$10 per week until they removed themselves from the state.

North Carolina militia attacked a maroon community in Cabarrus County that contained several fugitive slaves. As a result of the attack, two slaves were killed and one was wounded, but most of the maroons were captured and returned to slavery.

A Maryland court heard the case of *Commonwealth v. Dolly Chapple*. The judges decided that blacks were permitted to testify against whites in those cases where a white defendant stood accused of having committed an act of mayhem upon a black person.

1812

On April 30, Louisiana entered the Union as a slave state. According to the state constitution, freedmen were allowed to serve in the state militia. At this point the United States consisted of eighteen states that were evenly divided—nine states free and nine states slave.

Paul Cuffee wrote *A Brief Account of the Settlement and Present Situation of the Colony of Sierra Leone*.

The General Conference of the Methodist Church met in New York City. The group decided that slaveowners were no longer eligible to be elders in the Methodist Church.

On May 6, the black abolitionist Martin Robinson Delany was born in Charles Town, Virginia (now in West Virginia).

1813

Judges in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia heard the case of *United States v.*

Douglass. The judges declared that free blacks were competent to testify as witnesses in court proceedings against whites.

Letters from a Man of Color on a Late Bill was published anonymously in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, but it was believed that James Forten was the author. In this tract the author criticized a bill that the Pennsylvania state legislature was considering that would have prohibited the introduction of additional free blacks from the state. The legislature did not enact the measure.

1814

In September, authorities in Louisiana tried to end the slave-trading and other business ventures of Jean Lafitte and his pirates in the Barataria Bay region south of New Orleans. Naval commander Daniel Patterson and Army Colonel George T. Ross conducted an amphibious assault on the pirate's compound and disrupted Lafitte's activities. Eventually, the pirates relocated these illegal activities to the area of Galveston Island, Texas.

On September 21, in an emergency proclamation issued from Mobile, Alabama, General Andrew Jackson called upon free blacks "to rally around the standard of the eagle" and help to defend the American cause during the War of 1812.

On December 18, General Andrew Jackson issued his proclamation to the free black troops at New Orleans. Jackson stated, "TO THE MEN OF COLOR.—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms; I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to you. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

On December 24, in the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain, both nations agreed to cooperate in naval efforts to suppress the African slave trade. Both nations had enacted legislation in 1807 that outlawed the African slave trade in their respective regions.

A Louisiana court heard the case of *Davenport v. the Commonwealth*. In their decision, the judges fined and imprisoned a white man who had kidnapped and sold a free black woman as a slave.

Charles Osborne and other antislavery associates established the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

The territorial legislature in Illinois passed enabling legislation that allowed settlers to hire slaves from outside the territory and to bring them into Illinois as laborers.

1815

On January 8, at the Battle of New Orleans, two battalions of free blacks (about six hundred soldiers) served along with Andrew Jackson's forces to defend the city from the attack of British forces.

Quaker abolitionist Benjamin Lundy organized the Union Humane Society in St. Clairsville, Ohio. This organization was one of the first abolitionist societies to form in the Midwest.

On December 23, Henry Highland Garnet, who later became a minister, an abolitionist, and a diplomat, was born a slave on a plantation in Kent County, Maryland.

In October, George Boxley, a white man, failed in his attempt to foment a slave rebellion in Spotsylvania and Orange County, Virginia. Boxley and his fellow conspirators had planned to attack the community of Fredericksburg during the harvest season. A slave woman reported the conspiracy to authorities, and the leaders of the planned attack were arrested before they could commence their plans. Boxley was never captured, but six slaves were executed for their role in the affair.

1816

The Virginia state legislature asked the federal government to establish a colony in the Pacific Northwest where free blacks from Virginia might be resettled as part of a colonization scheme.

Louisiana law prohibited slaves from testifying in court against whites or free blacks unless the case in question involved a slave insurrection.

North Carolina Quakers who supported the abolition of slavery established the Manumission Society within the state.

The Bethel Charity School for Negroes was founded in Baltimore by Daniel Coker.

Between April 9 and 11, in Philadelphia, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) was organized at a convention. It was the first black church in the United States to be totally free and independent of the white churches. Richard Allen was ordained as its first

bishop. The AME Church established a policy of denying membership to anyone who was a slaveowner.

In June, South Carolina authorities discovered a slave conspiracy that involved a planned attack upon Camden on July 4. A slave who learned of the plot alerted his master before the violence began, and local authorities were able to arrest the leaders of the plot. The state legislature eventually emancipated the slave who betrayed the plot and provided him with a lifetime pension for his services to the state.

On July 27, as part of the United States Army's efforts to stem the anarchy and lawlessness in Florida, United States Army forces attacked and destroyed Fort Blount on Apalachicola Bay. The fort had been renamed "Negro Fort," after it was manned by nearly three hundred escaped slaves and twenty Creek Indian allies who had sought asylum in the Spanish colony of East Florida. During the attack on the fort, the fugitive slaves who defended the site suffered tremendous casualties. Only forty defenders were still alive when the fort was surrendered to the American forces. United States troops also conducted an expedition against a large fugitive settlement in South Carolina.

On December 28, the American Colonization Society (ACS) was founded in Washington, D.C., in the hall of the House of Representatives. The purpose of this organization was to assist former slaves to return to Africa. The ACS would be instrumental in establishing the colonial outpost of Liberia on the West African coast as a homeland for repatriated Africans.

Virginia congressman John Randolph of Roanoke proposed a resolution requesting that Congress halt the "infamous traffic" of slaves in the nation's capital. Since Washington, D.C. was a southern city that was located in a federal district carved out of Maryland and Virginia, two slave states, the presence of the slave trade in the nation's capital was disturbing to many who opposed slavery. Congress would receive many memorials urging the end of the slave trade in the District of Columbia until the practice was finally abolished as a part of Henry Clay's Compromise of 1850 legislation.

George Bourne published his work, *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable*, which is considered to be one of the most radical antislavery tracts to be published in America.

1817

In January, James Forten led a protest meeting of three thousand free blacks in Philadelphia who opposed the work of the American Colonization Society. The

group met at the Bethel AME Church. They protested against the efforts of the American Colonization Society, believing that the organization sought "to exile us from the land of our nativity."

On February 14, Frederick Douglass was born a slave on a plantation near Tuckahoe, in Talbot County, Maryland. He would eventually escape from slavery and become the best-known black abolitionist in the United States.

On April 7, a revolt involving as many as two hundred slaves occurred in St. Mary's County, Maryland.

On August 29, in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, the white abolitionist Charles Osborn began publishing an anti-slavery newspaper entitled *The Philanthropist*.

On October 17, Samuel Ringgold Ward, who became a noted abolitionist, minister, and author, was born a slave on Maryland's Eastern Shore. In 1855 he would publish *The Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro*.

On December 10, Mississippi entered the Union as a slave state. At this point the United States consisted of twenty states that were evenly divided with ten being free states and ten slave states.

The New York state legislature enacted a second gradual abolition bill. According to this measure, all blacks who would not yet have been emancipated by the first gradual emancipation act of 1799 would become free effective upon July 4, 1827.

A Maryland court heard the case of *Burrows Admiralty v. Negro Anna*. In this case, the court decided that a master provided freedom to a slave by implication if he granted the slave a gift of property. This decision was based on the understanding that a slave could not own property; therefore if property was given, it was apparent that the owner desired that the slave be emancipated.

Most abolitionists did not support the colonization plans that had started returning freed blacks to Africa. At the yearly meeting of the American Conventions of Abolition Societies, delegates approved a resolution stating that "the gradual and total emancipation of all persons of colour, and their literary and moral education, should precede their colonization."

1818

On April 18, in the Battle of Suwanee, General Andrew Jackson defeated a combined force of Indians and blacks, thus ending the First Seminole War. Jackson had termed the conflict "this savage and negro war" in his communications during the war.

A Mississippi court heard the case of *Harvy and Oth-*

ers v. Decker. In a case closely related to the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, judges determined that slaves who were transported from Virginia into Indiana and then later brought into Mississippi were legally free. The Mississippi judges ruled that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had made the slaves free when they were brought into the free territory of Indiana. (For more on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, see primary source 32, “Constitution of the Manumission Society of North Carolina”)

Action by the state legislature disenfranchised blacks in the state of Connecticut.

A South Carolina court decided the case of *Arthur v. Wells*. The judges declared that the killing of a fugitive slave was lawful only if the fugitive resisted recapture and thus threatened the safety of the slave catcher.

In Philadelphia a group of free blacks established the Pennsylvania Augustine Society “for the education of people of colour.”

Judges in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia heard the case of *Sarah v. Taylor*. The judges declared that children who were born between the date of promised manumission and the date of actual manumission were entitled to be freed at the same time that their mother was freed.

New York Congressman James Tallmadge, Jr., tried to stall the admission of Illinois into the Union because he was concerned that the proposed state constitution did not contain a clear and strong prohibition of slavery.

A Delaware court heard the case of *Meunier v. Duperrow*. Judges convicted two free black women upon the charge that they had been kidnapping other free blacks and selling them into slavery.

1819

On January 26, Congress considered a measure to create the Arkansas Territory out of Arkansas County in the Missouri Territory. This action was approved, but not before the Congress had to defeat an amendment, proposed by New York Representative John W. Taylor, that would have prohibited slavery from the Arkansas Territory.

On February 13, when the Missouri Territory sought admission to the Union as a slave state, the action was challenged by New York Representative James Tallmadge, Jr. Tallmadge proposed that two antislavery amendments be attached to the bill proposing Missouri statehood. The first would have prevented the further importation of slaves into Missouri, and the second would have emancipated all children born to

slaves in Missouri, after its admission as a state, to be free at the age of twenty-five. Even though the House of Representatives approved both of these amendments, the Senate defeated both measures. Nonetheless, the admission of Missouri into the Union was mired in controversy.

Former President James Madison promoted a plan that slavery should end through gradual abolition, with freed slaves being allotted western homesteads because he foresaw that the difficulties of “incorporation of the people are insuperable.” Although Madison wanted slavery to end, he believed that racial separation would be necessary in America in order to maintain civil order.

On March 3, even though the Congress legally ended the African slave trade, a lucrative illegal trade continued as slave ships tried to smuggle shiploads of Africans into American coastal waters. In order to end these smuggling efforts, the Congress enacted a measure creating a reward of \$50 per slave to any informer who provided reports that helped to stem the illegal importation of slaves to the United States. The measure also gave the president the power to return any Africans who were captured in this fashion back to Africa.

In the spring, a slave named Coot was captured and executed for having organized a conspiracy among slaves who planned to burn the city of Augusta, Georgia.

On December 14, Alabama entered the Union as a slave state, but the state constitution did provide the legislature with the ability to abolish slavery and compensate slaveowners should it see fit to take such action. At this point the United States consisted of twenty-two states that were evenly divided—eleven free states and eleven slave states.

The United States Congress granted authority to President James Monroe to dispatch armed vessels to the coast of West Africa. These American warships became a part of the African Squadron, which was a joint British and American venture launched to try to suppress the illegal African slave trade.

Attorney Roger B. Taney defended Reverend Jacob Gruber who was accused of inciting slaves to riot. In his defense of Gruber, Taney cited slavery as a great evil that had to be destroyed. Years later, Taney would be the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court who sat in judgment over the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* in 1857.

The white abolitionist Charles Osborn began publishing an antislavery newspaper entitled *The Manumission Intelligencer* in Tennessee.

1820

According to the Fourth Census of the United States, the black population of the country, both slave and free, was 1,771,656, or 18.4 percent of the nation's population.

Free blacks organized the New York African Society as a benevolent association to assist the needs of the free black population. The success of this organization would spawn the creation of other such groups including the Union Society, the Clarkson Association, the Wilberforce Benevolent Society, and the Woolman Society of Brooklyn.

In February, President James Monroe signed a Presidential Order that allowed the United States Army to enact a policy denying blacks or mulattoes the right to serve in the United States military.

On February 6, the *Mayflower of Liberia* (previously the brig *Elizabeth*) sailed from New York City to Sierra Leone on the western coast of Africa with eighty-six blacks who had agreed to return to Africa as part of a colonization scheme. The ship arrived in Sierra Leone on March 9. The British had established Sierra Leone as a colony where former slaves could be repatriated to Africa. The colony had been accepting freed blacks and fugitive slaves for the past three decades.

On February 17, the United States Senate passed the measure known as the Missouri Compromise. In this measure it was understood that Missouri would enter the Union as a slave state and Maine as a free state, thus maintaining the delicate balance of votes that existed in the Senate chamber. Senator Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois introduced an amendment to this measure calling for the prohibition of slavery in those areas within the Louisiana Territory north of the line 36°30' north latitude. The measure passed as amended in the Senate.

On February 28, the House of Representatives defeated the Senate version of the Missouri Compromise legislation. Members of the House attempted to pass a modified version of the bill that included the controversial Taylor Amendment that would have barred slavery from the western territories. Taylor had earlier tried to introduce this measure on January 26, 1819, but the proposal had been defeated at that time.

On March 3, Congress agreed to the Missouri Compromise, which allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state provided that Maine entered the Union as a free state. The measure also prohibited slavery from being allowed in any territories north of the 36°30' parallel line. (In developing the Compromise, the Thomas Amendment had been incorporated and the Taylor Amendment had been rejected.)

From April to October, Quaker Elihu Embree began publishing *The Emancipator*, an antislavery newspaper, in Jonesboro, Tennessee. One year earlier, Embree had published the short-lived *Manumission Intelligencer*, which was probably the first antislavery newspaper published in the United States.

On May 15, in an effort to stop the illegal importation of African slaves to America, the Congress of the United States declared that thereafter the involvement in the African slave trade would be considered as an act of piracy. Punishments for those found guilty of such action would be the forfeiture of all vessels and cargo, and execution of any American citizens found to be participating in this illegal activity.

On July 19, the Missouri Territory drafted a constitution for the proposed state of Missouri, but this constitution included a discriminatory prohibition keeping mulattoes and free blacks from entering the future state. This controversial provision would present problems when the Congress reviewed this constitution on November 14, 1820.

The American Colonization Society established Liberia on the coast of West Africa. This site would be used as an outpost for colonization efforts aimed at returning free blacks to Africa. Many antislavery advocates like Margaret Mercer would work tirelessly to support the society's colonization efforts. In 1847, Liberia would declare its independence as an independent republic.

The premise that slaves received their freedom when they were transported from a slave state to a free state or territory was confirmed in two legal decisions of 1820. Kentucky courts upheld this principle in the case of *Rankin v. Lydia*, and Virginia courts reached the same decision in the case of *Griffith v. Fanny*.

1821

In January, Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, began publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Mount Pleasant, Ohio. This publication was one of the earliest abolitionist newspapers in the United States. Although Lundy relocated his publication to Baltimore (1824), Washington, D.C. (1830), and Illinois (1838), the newspaper remained in print rather regularly from 1821 to 1839.

In New York the State Constitutional Convention altered provisions made in the state's 1777 constitution by increasing property and residence requirements for blacks. This action effectively limited the suffrage to fewer free blacks.

On March 2, Speaker of the House Henry Clay ne-

gotiated a last-minute Compromise as the Congress balked at discriminatory provisions in the proposed constitution of Missouri that would have barred free blacks and mulattoes from the state. The Congress voted to approve statehood for Missouri provided that state officials did not attempt to limit the rights of citizens, especially free black citizens, as guaranteed by the United States Constitution. On June 26, 1821, the Missouri legislature approved of this stipulation.

On June 21, in New York City, James Varick was installed as the first bishop of the newly established African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church.

On August 10, Missouri entered the Union as a slave state. At this point the United States consisted of twenty-four states that were evenly divided—twelve free states and twelve slave states.

In December, the Maryland State Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Hall v. Mullin* that a master provided freedom to a slave by implication if he left a bequest of property to that slave in a will or final testament. This decision was based on the understanding that a slave could not own property; therefore if property was willed, it is apparent that the former owner desired that the slave be emancipated.

United States Attorney General William Wirt advised port officials in Norfolk, Virginia, that blacks could not legally command naval vessels. Wirt claimed that maritime law required that all naval commanders be citizens of their country and that this provision prevented free blacks from such service because they were not considered to be citizens of the United States.

Harriet Tubman was born a slave on a plantation in Dorchester County, Maryland. She would escape from slavery in 1849, and thereafter, she became one of the most celebrated “conductors” along the Underground Railroad as she assisted hundreds of other slaves as they escaped from slavery in the southern states.

1822

The American Colonization Society settled its first group of repatriated Africans in a settlement at Monrovia, Liberia, in West Africa. Eventually about fifteen thousand persons settled in the colony. Much of the success of the Liberian colony was due to the efforts of Jehudi Ashmun who was sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society to direct efforts there.

On May 30, authorities in Charleston, South Carolina, learned of a slave insurrection that was planned by the free black Denmark Vesey when a house servant alerted them to the wide-ranging conspiracy. Vesey, who was a sailor and carpenter, organized one of the

most elaborate slave conspiracies in the history of the United States. He was eventually hanged along with thirty-six of his conspirators, while 130 blacks and four whites were arrested during the intensive investigation that followed the discovery of the plot. South Carolina and several other southern states took immediate action to restrict the mobility and education that was afforded blacks in light of this plot.

On July 2, Denmark Vesey and five of his principal accomplices were hanged at Blake’s Landing in Charleston, South Carolina.

Free blacks were disenfranchised in Rhode Island.

Judges in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia heard the case of *Matilda v. Mason*. The judges declared that it was not necessary to remove all antislavery supporters from a potential jury pool if a case involved questions regarding slaveowners and their property. Evidently, this discriminatory practice was common in many of the southern states.

A struggle began in Illinois as proslavery supporters tried to create a state constitution that would legalize slavery in Illinois. The debates would rage in the state until the proposal was effectively defeated in 1824 when Governor Edward Coles refused to call a constitutional convention that, most likely, would have drafted a proslavery document.

The premise that slaves received their freedom when they were transported from a slave state to a free state or territory was again confirmed in a state court. A Pennsylvania court heard the case of *Commission v. Robinson* and held that transporting a slave from a slave state to a free state did in fact make a slave free.

The Tennessee Manumission Society addressed a memorial to the United States Congress calling for an end to slavery in Washington, D.C.

A New York court heard the case of *Overseers of Marbletown v. Overseers of Kingston*. In this case it was decided that a marriage between a free black and a slave did not change the status of either party involved. The judge further ruled that the children of such a union would be born free only if the mother was free.

The abolitionist John Finely Crowe began publishing *The Abolition Intelligencer* in Shelby, Kentucky.

1823

A decision in a United States Circuit Court in the case of *Elkison v. Deliesseline* asserted that the removal of a slave from a slave state to a free state effectively bestowed freedom.

The Mississippi state legislature enacted a measure that made it illegal to teach a slave to read or write. In

addition, any gathering that consisted of more than five slaves or free blacks was also deemed illegal by legislative action.

Judges in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia heard the case of *United States v. Brockett*. In rendering their decision, the judges declared that “to cruelly, inhumanely, and maliciously cut, slash, beat and ill treat one’s own slave is an indictable offence at common law.”

1824

State laws in Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and Michigan required that blacks must post bond to guarantee good behavior in order to be qualified for suffrage rights.

In December, the Indiana state legislature enacted a measure that made enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 more difficult. The new Indiana law allowed justices of the peace to settle cases in fugitive slave cases, but both the fugitive and the claimant had the right to demand a trial by jury. This action made the work of reclaiming a fugitive more time-consuming and in effect, more expensive. The Indiana law would eventually be invalidated with the passage of the new Fugitive Slave Law in 1850.

The Louisiana state legislature enacted a new slave code that updated some of the provisions of the older *Code Noir*, which had been in operation for the previous century.

The Missouri Supreme Court decided the case of *Winny v. Whitesides*. In their decision, the justices declared that a slave did indeed become free by residing for a time in Illinois or any other free jurisdiction.

1825

The legislatures in eight of the twelve northern free states approved of resolutions calling upon the federal government to enact a program of compensated emancipation to end the practice of slavery in the United States. Southern politicians in the Congress blocked efforts to consider these proposals.

The slave Josiah Henson, who was later used as the prototype for the character “Uncle Tom” in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), led a group of slaves from Maryland to freedom in Kentucky. He would later cross the border into Ontario (Upper Canada), where he led a community of former slaves.

1826

Frances Wright established Nashoba plantation, a utopian community near Memphis, Tennessee, that was designed to train blacks for their eventual settlement outside of the United States. Wright also published the tract *A Plan for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in the United States without Danger of Loss to the Citizens of the South*.

In June, President John Quincy Adams requested Senate confirmation of two delegates whom he wished to send to the Panama Conference of Latin American States that Simón Bolívar had organized. Even though some senators opposed participation because international involvement ran counter to American diplomatic tradition, Vice President John C. Calhoun, who presided over the Senate, opposed the appointment because nations that were governed by blacks would participate in the conference. The Senate eventually approved of the appointments, but because of the delay that the partisan debate had caused, neither of the diplomats who was appointed ever made it to Panama in time for the conference.

Upon his death in Virginia, Thomas Jefferson freed only five of his slaves, but bequeathed the rest to his heirs.

An antislavery newspaper called *The African Observer* began publication in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Reverend Samuel E. Cornish, a free black from New York, published an antislavery tract entitled *A Remonstrance Against the Abuse of the Blacks*.

In an effort to weaken enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law making the crime of kidnapping a felony and required slave catchers to obtain a special “certificate of removal” before fugitive slaves could be removed from the state. The United States would eventually strike down this law in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842).

1827

On March 16, the first black newspaper to be published in the United States, *Freedom’s Journal*, began publication in New York City. The paper was co-founded and coedited by John B. Russwurm and the Reverend Samuel Cornish, who stated, “We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us.” In the newspaper’s prospectus, Russwurm and Cornish stated, “In the spirit of candor and humility we intend to lay our case before the public with a view

to arrest the progress of prejudice, and to shield ourselves against its consequent evils.”

Abolitionist editor Benjamin Lundy was attacked in Baltimore by Austin Woolfolk, a slave dealer. Woolfolk was angered by remarks that Lundy had published in *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

A North Carolina court heard the case of *Trustees of the Quaker Society of Contentnea v. Dickenson*. The judge in this case ruled that ownership of slaves by Quakers was illegal in North Carolina because it was tantamount to emancipation. Since the state of North Carolina permitted manumission only in specialized cases, the courts held that the ownership of slaves by Quakers, who were obligated by their faith to manumit their slaves, would be contrary to North Carolina law.

On July 4, slavery was officially abolished in the state of New York as 10,000 slaves were set free with the passage of the New York State Emancipation Act.

The abolitionist William Goodell began publication of *The Investigator*, an antislavery newspaper, in Providence, Rhode Island. In 1829 the paper merged with *The National Philanthropist*.

1828

In Bennington, Vermont, an abolitionist writer named William Lloyd Garrison began to publish a series of articles that attacked slavery in the *National Philanthropist*.

An antislavery newspaper called *The Liberalist* began publication in New Orleans, Louisiana. Milo Mower, the publisher of the paper, would later be imprisoned in 1830 for circulating advertisements of his abolitionist newspaper in New Orleans.

Thomas Dartmouth Rice, “the father of American minstrelsy,” popularized the practice of using blackface during minstrel shows when he danced and sang to a tune called “Jim Crow.” Over the course of the nineteenth century, the term “Jim Crow” would become synonymous with blacks in the United States as later segregation laws became known as Jim Crow laws.

An antislavery newspaper called *The Free Press* began publication in Bennington, Vermont.

On December 19, United States Vice President John C. Calhoun wrote the document *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* anonymously to decry what he believed to be unjust and oppressive action by the federal government upon the state of South Carolina. Calhoun would use the states’ rights argument to defend his position, and he would endorse the right of individual states to nullify federal law. Calhoun did

not speak for all South Carolinians as James Louis Petigru, South Carolina’s attorney general, and others did not agree with Calhoun’s doctrine.

1829

On August 10, a serious race riot erupted in Cincinnati, Ohio, in which whites attacked black residents and burned and looted their homes. As a result of this attack, 1,200 black residents fled the area and started a new life in Canada.

On September 15, the government of Mexico abolished slavery.

On September 28, David Walker, a free black who lived in Boston, published *An Appeal to the Colored People of the World*. It was a militant antislavery publication that advocated the resistance by blacks to the institution of slavery. The pamphlet was distributed throughout the United States and greatly disturbed southern slaveowners who believed that its message would incite unrest among the slave populace.

In New York City, free black Robert Alexander Young wrote and published *The Ethiopian Manifesto, Issued in Defense of the Black Man’s Rights in the Scale of Universal Freedom*. Young used passages from the Bible to condemn the institution of slavery, and he predicted the coming of a black Messiah who would smite slaveholders and bring emancipation to the black masses.

On December 2, after encountering the protest of slaveowning American settlers who had emigrated to Texas, Mexican President Vincent Guerrero exempted Texas from the Mexican antislavery proclamation of September 15, 1829.

After John B. Russwurm emigrated to Liberia, Reverend Samuel E. Cornish continued to publish the antislavery newspaper *Freedom’s Journal* under the new masthead *The Rights of All*.

A book of poetry entitled *The Hope of Liberty* was published by George Moses Horton, a North Carolina slave. Horton’s work was the first book of poetry by a black author to be published since the time of Phillis Wheatley. The collection included Horton’s poem “The Slave’s Complaint.” Horton published this book of verse in an effort to raise funds so that he might be able to purchase his own freedom, but sales of the book were poor.

1830

In North Carolina slaveowners manumitted more than

four hundred slaves and turned them over to Quakers living within the state. The Quakers retained legal ownership, but allowed the “slaves” to live in virtual freedom until they could afford to transport them to a true life of freedom in the northern states.

According to the Fifth Census, 3,777 black heads of families were listed as slaveowners. Most of these black slaveowners were found in Louisiana, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Blacks, both slave and free, constituted 18.1 percent of the national population, or 2,328,642 persons.

The state legislature of Louisiana petitioned the Congress with a complaint that slaves from the state were escaping to Mexico.

Massachusetts abolitionist Edward Beecher became the president of Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois. In the Midwest Beecher became a friend and supporter of the antislavery work of editor Elijah Lovejoy. Shortly after the murder of Lovejoy, Beecher returned to Massachusetts to accept the position of pastor at the Salem Street Church in Boston.

The Louisiana state legislature enacted a measure that made it a criminal offense to teach a slave to read or write.

On January 21, municipal authorities in Portsmouth, Ohio, forcibly deported all black residents from the community.

On April 6, Mexican authorities prohibited the further colonization of Texas by United States citizens. This action also prohibited those American settlers who were already in Texas from importing additional slaves into the region.

On April 30, much of the debate between the North and the South over slavery was based on the states’ rights views of the political leaders who represented the interests of their regions. Occasionally these views were articulated in less-than-subtle fashion. At the Jefferson Day dinner in 1830, President Andrew Jackson presented the toast “Our Federal Union—it must be preserved!” Jackson’s vice president, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, responded to Jackson’s remarks with his own toast, “The Union—next to our liberty, the most dear!”

Between September 20 and 24, Richard Allen chaired the first National Negro Convention, which met in Philadelphia at the Bethel AME Church. The purpose of this gathering was to launch a church-affiliated program to uplift and improve the status of American blacks.

In December, the *Comet*, an American schooner that was transporting slaves between Alexandria, Virginia, and New Orleans, Louisiana, as a part of the do-

mestic slave trade, was wrecked off of the Bahamas. British officials in the Bahamas set the slaves on board the vessel free, much to the chagrin of the Americans who owned the slaves. The manner in which the *Comet* episode was handled would be a matter of diplomatic contention between the United States and Great Britain for more than a decade.

1831

On January 1, William Lloyd Garrison, one of America’s more radical abolitionists, began publication of *The Liberator* in Boston. It would continue publication weekly through December 1865 making it the longest-running, most successful, and best known of all antislavery newspapers. In establishing this organ for the abolitionist cause, Garrison declared, “I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD!” Garrison promised that he would continue to publish his newspaper until slavery had been abolished in the United States.

The term “Underground Railroad” was used for the first time to describe the system that existed in the northern states in which whites and free blacks sympathetic to the abolitionist cause aided fugitive slaves to make their way to freedom.

Residents of Mississippi formed the Mississippi Colonization Society to establish a colony for the purpose of repatriating former slaves from that state to Africa.

The Georgia state legislature announced a reward of \$5,000 to anyone who would capture William Lloyd Garrison and turn him over to Georgia authorities. It was the belief of the Georgia legislators that the abolitionist editor of *The Liberator* should face criminal prosecution and conviction in a Georgia courtroom.

From August 21 to 22, in Southampton County, Virginia, a large-scale slave insurrection was led by Nat Turner, a literate slave preacher, who claimed that voices inspired him to lead the revolt. Turner’s owner, Joseph Travis, and his family were among the fifty-seven whites who were killed by Turner and his seventy associates during the rampage, and the entire South experienced panic because of the shocking violence. In the end, Turner was captured in the swamps on October 30 after an exhaustive search, and he was eventually convicted and sentenced to death by hanging in Jerusalem, Virginia, on November 11.

On December 12, in the United States House of Representatives, Congressman John Quincy Adams of

Massachusetts began a pro-abolition campaign against slavery that he would maintain until his death in 1848. Adams introduced fifteen petitions that Pennsylvania residents had organized calling for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Although the Congress abolished the slave trade in the nation's capital as part of the Compromise of 1850, it would not be until 1862 that slavery itself was abolished in the District of Columbia.

In Philadelphia the first annual meeting of the Convention of the People of Color was held at the Wesleyan Church. Delegates discussed the possibility of creating Canadian settlement communities but voiced strong opposition to the African emigration policies of the American Colonization Society.

John E. Stewart, a black abolitionist, published the antislavery newspaper entitled *The African Sentinel and Journal of Liberty* in Albany, New York.

Alexis de Tocqueville, the French bureaucrat who eventually wrote the seminal study *Democracy in America*, toured the United States for several months as he tried to learn about American culture. At a dinner party in Boston, de Tocqueville sat next to former President John Quincy Adams and had an opportunity to question Adams about his views on slavery. When asked "Do you look on slavery as a great plague for the United States?," Adams responded to de Tocqueville saying, "Yes, certainly that is the root of almost all the troubles of the present and the fears for the future."

Maria W. Stewart published *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality—The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build*. Stewart was a free black who opposed slavery and is considered to be the first African American political writer in the United States.

Virginia state legislator and college professor Thomas Roderick Dew described his state as a "Negro-raising state" for the remainder of the South. During the following three decades nearly 300,000 slaves would be exported from Virginia to the other states as part of the internal slave trade.

Between 1831 and 1832, in Virginia a state convention used the winter session to debate the issue of slavery within the state. Various plans of gradual emancipation and colonization were considered, but in the end all of the measures involving changes in the state's involvement with slavery were defeated by the proslavery element that attended the convention. On January 21, 1832, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the grandson of former President Thomas Jefferson, presented the assembly with a proposal for gradual emancipation that his grandfather had promoted nearly forty years earlier.

The plan did not sway the convention, and the proposal was defeated.

1832

In Canterbury, Connecticut, Prudence Crandall, a white teacher, admitted a black student named Sarah Harris to the school that she ran and suffered public admonishment for this action. Crandall would eventually be arrested on June 27, 1833, for teaching black children. The school was targeted by vandals, and it was eventually demolished.

A serious academic debate between students and faculty was held at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the topics of abolition and colonization. When the trustees of the seminary ordered an end to this discussion in May 1833, many of the students left the Seminary and eventually moved to a more open educational setting at Oberlin College.

On January 6, a group of twelve white abolitionists met at the African Baptist Church on Boston's Beacon Hill to organize the New England Anti-Slavery Society. William Lloyd Garrison played an important role in the founding of this organization, and the group supported the concept of "immediatism" as it believed that gradual abolition was an inadequate response to the sin of slavery.

Thomas Roderick Dew, a professor of political economy at William and Mary College, published his "Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832." Dew was a southern apologist for slavery, and his presentation represented a one-sided view that emphasized the proslavery perspective. Dew also published an essay in 1832 entitled "The Proslavery Argument" in which he provided an intellectual foundation for the racist assumptions that southern slaveholders used to justify the institution and practice of slavery.

From November 19 to 24, using the defense of a states' rights argument, the legislature of South Carolina nullified the federal Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832. This action would precipitate a showdown between the state of South Carolina and the executive authority of President Andrew Jackson. The question of states' rights and the doctrine of nullification would be divisive issues in the decades leading up to the American Civil War.

1833

Oberlin College was founded in Ohio, and from the start it became an institution that was integrated and that took a leading role in the growing abolitionist

movement. By the time of the American Civil War, one-third of Oberlin's students were black. Many black abolitionists like John Mifflin Brown were strong advocates of the institution because of its anti-slavery heritage.

Eliza Lee Cabot Follen and other female abolitionists organized the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. The group would remain active until 1840.

John Rankin, a Presbyterian minister and Tennessee abolitionist, published *Letters on American Slavery*. Rankin was forced to leave the South because of his antislavery views, but his book became a handbook for abolitionist speakers around the country.

Quaker abolitionist Elijah P. Lovejoy began to publish the *Observer*, an antislavery newspaper in St. Louis, Missouri.

On August 28, the British Parliament enacted a measure that provided for the compensated, gradual abolition of slavery in all British colonial possessions. This action would energize the abolitionist movement in the United States as America was increasingly viewed as a pariah nation for maintaining the practice of slavery. In future decades, a true transatlantic abolitionist movement formed as British and American abolitionists worked together to try to bring an effective end to slavery in the United States.

Also on August 28, the British Parliament appropriated £20,000,000 to be used as a package of compensated emancipation for slaveholders in the British West Indies who would suffer economic losses as a result of Britain's policy of abolishing slavery within the Empire. A total of 700,000 slaves were emancipated in the British colonies.

Abolitionist editor Joshua Leavitt and others organized the New York City Anti-Slavery Society.

Justice and Expediency, a popular antislavery tract, was published by the American poet John Greenleaf Whittier.

On December 4, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Dwight Weld, Arthur Tappan, Lewis Tappan, and several other black and white abolitionists met in Philadelphia to establish the American Anti-Slavery Society. This organization was the first national abolitionist society to form in the United States.

Also in December, Quaker Lucretia Mott became the first president of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, which she helped to organize in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The white abolitionist David Lee Child published *The Despotism of Freedom—Or The Tyranny and Cruelty of American Republican Slavemasters*.

1834

The South Carolina legislature enacted a measure making it a crime to teach black children, slave or free, to read.

In New Orleans, Louisiana, a riot developed when authorities discovered a torture chamber where slaves were horribly abused in the home of Madame Lalaurie's. City residents rose in righteous indignation over the alleged cruelty that had occurred in the home, but Madame Lalaurie was able to escape the mob's wrath and flee to France.

From July 4 to 12, rioting rocked the city of New York for eight days after a proslavery mob attacked an antislavery society meeting that was held at New York's Chatham Street Chapel on Independence Day. The proslavery group was angered because black and white abolitionists were sitting together in the audience. In the rioting, several churches and homes were destroyed by fire.

In October, the homes of nearly forty free blacks in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, were destroyed when a proslavery mob went on a riotous rampage through the city.

1835

William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist editor and publisher of *The Liberator*, was attacked and beaten by a white mob in Boston.

Theodore Dwight Weld began to train abolitionist agents for the American Anti-Slavery Society who would spread the antislavery message as disciples throughout rural communities of the northern states and the border states. Members of this group, known as "The Seventy," were physically attacked by proslavery supporters in many communities.

From June 1 to 5, one recommendation to come out of a National Negro Convention meeting in Philadelphia was that blacks should remove the word "African" from all of their organizations and institutions.

On July 6, in Charleston, South Carolina, Alfred Huger, the local postmaster, requested of Postmaster General Amos Kendall that antislavery tracts be prohibited from the United States mail. Huger's request was denied by Kendall, who maintained that he did not have the authority to make such a decision, but he did suggest that Huger might act on his own initiative. Kendall stated that "We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live."

On July 29, antislavery pamphlets and other aboli-

tionist literature were removed from the public mail in Charleston, South Carolina, and publicly burned in the streets.

North Carolina became the last southern state to deny the suffrage to free blacks by making changes to its state constitution. In addition, the state legislature made it illegal for whites to teach free blacks.

On August 10, mob violence forced the closure of Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire. The school was burned to the ground because it had operated on an integrated basis with fourteen black students and had thus irritated community sensibilities.

The Georgia state legislature enacted a measure that provided for the death penalty in the case of anyone convicted of publishing abolitionist tracts that might foment insurrection among the slaves within the state.

On September 13, in a letter to abolitionist Gerrit Smith, James G. Birney wrote, "The antagonist principles of liberty and slavery have been roused into action and one or the other must be victorious. There will be no cessation of strife until slavery shall be exterminated or liberty destroyed."

The state of South Carolina, like most of the southern states, made an effort to keep abolitionist literature out of the hands of slaves and free blacks. In a report to the state legislature, South Carolina Governor George McDuffie commented that "the laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy."

On October 21, a scheduled address by British abolitionist George Thompson to the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Boston was disrupted by a proslavery mob.

On the same day, efforts to organize an antislavery society in Utica, New York, were disrupted by a proslavery mob.

Also on October 21, William Lloyd Garrison, the radical abolitionist editor of *The Liberator*, was attacked by a mob that was estimated to include two thousand people. Garrison was delivering a speech on the theme that "all men are created equal," when the enraged mob turned against the antislavery orator. Garrison was rescued and lodged in Boston's Leverett Street Jail for his personal safety.

In December, just before the Second Seminole War began in Florida, John Caesar organized an attack of hundreds of slaves on plantations in the region of St. Johns River. Many fugitive slaves took part in the fighting of the Second Seminole War.

On December 7, bowing to pressure from states' rights advocates, President Andrew Jackson considered measures that would allow southern postmasters the

right to restrict the mailing and distribution of abolitionist tracts in the southern states. Jackson asked the Congress to consider enacting a law that would prohibit the circulation of antislavery literature through the mail.

On December 15, Mexican president Antonio López de Santa Anna announced his intention to establish a unified constitution for Mexico. This decision would mean that the exemption granted to Texas in 1829, which allowed for the continuation of slavery in the region, would now be invalidated. American settlers in Texas who are slaveholders vowed that they would fight a war of secession from Mexico rather than surrender their right to hold slaves in Texas.

Unitarian minister William Ellery Channing, the pastor of Boston's Federal Street Church, published *Slavery*, an antislavery tract in which he openly promoted abolitionist sentiments.

The poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier published the poem "My Countrymen in Chains."

1836

In January in Philadelphia, James G. Birney began publishing a new antislavery newspaper called the *Philanthropist*.

On January 11, Congress received several petitions from abolitionists calling for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina described these petitions as a "foul slander" upon the South.

On March 11, in the United States Senate, the practice began of hearing antislavery petitions that were presented to the body and then rejecting them.

On March 17, Texas, which declared itself an independent republic, drafted a constitution that legalized slavery in the Republic of Texas. Texan settlers would fight the Texas Revolution against Mexico in order to win their independence. Shortly after achieving their independence, Texans would seek annexation as a state to the United States.

On May 26, the United States Congress began using the so-called gag rule, which prevented the reading and circulation of all antislavery petitions that were received by the Congress. As a parliamentary maneuver, the House of Representatives must renew the "gag rule" at the start of every year's congressional session. The rule would remain in effect until 1844.

On June 15, Arkansas entered the Union as a slave state. At this point the United States consisted of

twenty-five states, of which twelve were free states and thirteen were slave states. This was the first time in the nation's history that the number of slave states surpassed the number of free states.

On July 12, after he relocated his abolitionist press to Cincinnati, Ohio, James G. Birney encountered a proslavery mob that was upset with him for publishing the *Philanthropist*, an antislavery newspaper. The mob attacked Birney's press and destroyed the type that he used to publish the newspaper.

In a tract entitled *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*, the South Carolina-born abolitionist Angelina E. Grimké urged the abolition of slavery and advocated social equality for free blacks. Copies of her pamphlet were burned when they were found in the mail at several South Carolina post offices.

The Missouri Supreme Court decided the case of *Rachael v. Walker*. In their decision the justices declared that a slave did indeed become free by residing at northern military bases and in territories where slavery had been prohibited.

The white abolitionist Lydia Maria Child published *An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans*.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that any slave who was brought within the state's borders by a master became legally free.

Richard Hildrith, a white historian, published the novel *The Slave: Or, Memoirs of Archy Moore*. Hildrith attempted to write this novel in the style of a slave autobiography.

Softening its previous antislavery tone, the Methodist Church stated its intention to avoid interfering in the civil and political relationships that existed between master and slave.

In Granville, Ohio, a meeting of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society was disrupted by ruffians who had been hired for the task by community leaders.

Elizabeth Buffum Chace and other antislavery supporters organized the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society of Fall River, Massachusetts.

In a tract entitled *An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States*, the South Carolina-born abolitionist Sarah Moore Grimké called for the overthrow of the institution of slavery. Copies of her pamphlet were burned when they were found in the mail at several South Carolina post offices.

By the end of 1836 it was estimated that five hundred different abolitionist societies were active in the northern states.

1837

William Whipper, a free black from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, published "An Address on Non-Resistance to Offensive Aggression." This article was published twelve years before Henry David Thoreau's essay on nonviolence, and it may be the first literary reference in United States history to the concept of nonviolent protest.

In Boston the Reverend Hosea Eaton published *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States*.

Quaker Richard Humphreys established the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In 1902 the school would move to Cheney, Pennsylvania, where it became known as Cheney University.

John Greenleaf Whittier published *A Narrative of Events Since the First of August, 1834*, which he believed to be the true narrative of a slave named James Williams. Impressed by the powerful message of this narrative, the American Anti-Slavery Society distributed a copy of the work to every member of the United States Congress. It was later discovered that the story that Williams told, however powerful, was untrue.

The Panic of 1837, a serious economic recession, affected the institution of slavery. Prior to the economic downturn, a prime fieldhand in Virginia might have sold at auction for \$1,300, but these prices declined significantly during the recession.

In Canada, blacks received the suffrage.

On February 6, a resolution was approved in the United States House of Representatives asserting that slaves did not possess the right of petition that was guaranteed to citizens in the United States Constitution.

On May 10, the *Weekly Advocate* was first published in New York City. It was the first black newspaper to be published in the United States.

In August, in Rapides Parish, Louisiana, a planned slave conspiracy was detected when the slave Lewis Cheney alerted authorities to the plot. Cheney earned his freedom for this action even though he was the person who had initiated the planned uprising. In the aftermath of this episode, United States troops were sent into Alexandria, Louisiana, to put an end to the vigilante-based hangings of suspected black conspirators.

On November 7, in Alton, Illinois, the antislavery newspaper publisher Elijah Lovejoy was murdered by an antiabolition mob as he refused to stop publishing

antislavery material and defended his press from mob attack. Lovejoy's press had been attacked on two previous occasions and had been smashed and then thrown into a river, but his press had been replaced by the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society.

On December 4, during a brief moment when the "gag rule" was not in effect, Vermont congressman William Slade presented a series of antislavery petitions to the Congress. The angry debate that followed prompted the Congress to enact an even stronger "gag rule" on December 19. The measure had to be renewed each year at the start of the congressional term, and it remained in effect until 1844.

On December 8, motivated by the brutal lynching of the Quaker abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy, Wendell Phillips delivered his first abolitionist address at Faneuil Hall in Boston, Massachusetts. In his oration, Phillips declared "my curse be on the Constitution of the United States" because the document protected slavery as a legal and permissible institution.

On December 25, during the Second Seminole War, American forces defeated a Seminole party under the command of the black chief, John Horse, in the battle of Okeechobee. Chief John Horse shared his command responsibilities with Alligator Sam Jones and Wild Cat.

1838

Throughout the South, slaveowners became increasingly suspicious of how religious services might sway the passions of the slaves. Black preachers found it more and more difficult to conduct services, and slaves were required to worship in those settings where they could be under the direct supervision of the slaveowners.

From January 3 to 12, South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun, alarmed by efforts of northern abolitionists to have slavery outlawed in the District of Columbia and to prohibit the domestic slave trade, presented a series of proposals to the Senate that were designed to bolster the legal protection of slavery. The Senate did approve of Calhoun's measure, which affirmed that the national government should "resist all attempts by one portion of the Union to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another."

On February 15, Massachusetts congressman John Quincy Adams introduced 350 antislavery petitions in defiance of the "gag rule" that the House of Representatives had instituted. The petitions opposed slavery and the annexation of Texas.

On March 14, Robert Purvis led free blacks in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as they held a mass meeting to protest the disenfranchisement of blacks in the state.

Robert Purvis published *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens Threatened with Disenfranchisement to the People of Pennsylvania*.

On May 17, Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hall was burned to the ground by a proslavery mob. The group was angered that the building had been used to host recent antislavery meetings.

In August in New York City, black abolitionist David Ruggles began publication of *Mirror of Liberty*, the first black magazine to be published in the United States.

On September 3, Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery in Baltimore, Maryland, and made his way to New York City.

The Massachusetts Antislavery Society hired Charles Lenox Remond to serve as a lecturer for the organization. Remond became the first black abolitionist to be employed in this capacity.

On December 3, Representative Joshua Giddings took his seat in the United States House of Representatives. The Ohio Whig was the first abolitionist to be elected to the United States Congress. Among other issues, Congressman Giddings would work tirelessly to do away with the "gag rule," which prohibited the Congress from considering any antislavery petitions that were submitted.

On December 11, the United States House of Representatives voted to renew the "gag rule" that it had adopted in 1836 prohibiting the consideration of any antislavery petitions that were received by the Congress. The 1838 renewal became known as the Atherton Gag because the measure had been introduced by Congressman Charles G. Atherton, a New Hampshire Democrat.

1839

On February 7, Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky planned to run for the presidency in 1840 as a candidate of the Whig Party, but Clay believed that many Americans associated the Whigs with the abolitionist cause. In a Senate debate on slavery, Clay criticized the abolitionists and said that they had no legal right to interfere with slavery in those areas where it already existed. Clay hoped that he could gain support among northern and southern conservatives by speaking out

against the abolitionists who were considered the extremists of their day. Despite his efforts, Clay was unable to secure the Whig Party's nomination in 1840; the Whig standard-bearer, General William Henry Harrison, was elected president in 1840.

On February 25, during the Second Seminole War, captured Seminoles along with their black allies were shipped from Tampa Bay, Florida, to their new home in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.

On April 5, Robert Smalls, who later became a hero during the American Civil War and eventually served as a Reconstruction-era congressman from South Carolina, was born into slavery in Beaufort, South Carolina.

American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses was published by Theodore Dwight Weld. This work was an attempt to present a documentary history—based on southern newspaper accounts and eyewitness testimony—that would identify the true condition of slaves in the American South. Weld was assisted in this project by South Carolina abolitionist Angelina Grimké, and the two abolitionists were married later in the year.

On November 13, the Liberty Party, the first anti-slavery political party in the United States, was established by James G. Birney at a convention in Warsaw, New York. Some of the leading supporters of this new political party included the black abolitionists Samuel Ringgold Ward and Henry Highland Garnet. Prominent white supporters included Gerrit Smith and Salmon P. Chase. The convention nominated Birney for the presidency, and Francis J. Lemoyne was nominated for vice president. As part of the party's political activism, members urged boycotts of southern-made products and crops.

In July, the Spanish slave ship *L'Amistad* was seized off the coast of Cuba when the fifty-four Africans on board, led by Cinqué, revolted and killed the captain. The Africans on board demanded that the remaining crewmen return the vessel to Africa. Later in the summer the vessel was captured off the coast of Montauk, Long Island, and a series of trials began. Eventually, the *Amistad* captives won their freedom when former president John Quincy Adams defended them before the United States Supreme Court.

The United States State Department declared that blacks were not considered citizens and therefore denied a black applicant's request for a passport.

In a papal letter, Pope Gregory XVI declared the official opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to the slave trade and to slavery. In the United States, Catholic slaveholders generally ignored the papal pro-

nouncement and continued to participate in the peculiar institution of slavery.

Antislavery advocate Elizur Wright became the editor of the abolitionist newspaper *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, and he used his paper as a forum to advocate political action to bring an end to slavery. Wright was later active in efforts to establish the Liberty Party.

The American Anti-Slavery Society hired Presbyterian minister Samuel Ringgold Ward to serve as an abolitionist lecturer.

1840

Unitarian minister William Ellery Channing, the pastor of Boston's Federal Street Church, published *Emancipation*, an antislavery tract that urged the United States government to follow the same path as the British Parliament and abolish slavery. Channing believed that the success demonstrated in the British government's experience at ending slavery throughout its vast empire proved that the abolition of slavery was indeed a real possibility in the United States.

Theodore Dwight Weld, a non-Garrisonian abolitionist, broke with the Garrisonians concerning the tactics that should be used in the abolitionist movement. Weld eventually established the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

On April 1, the Liberty Party held its first national convention in Albany, New York. The convention confirmed the candidacy of James G. Birney for the presidency. Birney became the first antislavery candidate to seek the presidency.

On May 14, in an effort to prevent the kidnapping of free blacks that resulted in their being sold into slavery in the South, the legislature of New York enacted "An act more effectually to protect the free citizens of this State from being kidnapped, or reduced to Slavery."

In June, the American Anti-Slavery Society began publishing *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* as its official organ to support immediate emancipation. The publication would remain in operation under various titles until April 1870.

From August 18 to August 20, the New York State Convention of Negroes was held in Albany, New York.

Both New York and Vermont instituted a new judicial policy of holding a jury trial in all cases involving fugitive slaves who had been captured within their respective states. In the case of Vermont, the law creating this new procedure was rescinded in 1843, but the policy was reestablished in 1850 upon passage of the new Fugitive Slave Act.

Reverend Samuel E. Cornish and Theodore S. Wright published *The Colonization Scheme Considered in Its Rejection by the Colored People*. This work outlined the reasons why free blacks in the United States should oppose all efforts to recolonize them in West African locations like Liberia and Sierra Leone.

A group of abolitionists from the United States traveled to London to attend the World Anti-Slavery Convention, but were dismayed by the convention's policy denying seats to the female abolitionists who had planned to participate in the event. American abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott walked out of the convention in protest when they were denied seats as delegates, and William Lloyd Garrison showed his solidarity with the female abolitionists by leaving the meeting as well. In some respects, the poor treatment that was afforded the female abolitionists helped to encourage the eventual development of an American women's rights movement.

1841

In March in Washington, D.C., the free black Solomon Northup was kidnapped and sold into slavery in the South. Northup would spend the next twelve years of his life as a slave on several Louisiana cotton plantations. Abolitionists in the North would work to win his eventual release.

On March 1, Blanche K. Bruce was born a slave on a plantation in Prince Edward County, Virginia. During the Reconstruction Era, Bruce would represent the state of Mississippi in the United States Senate. He would be the only black to serve a full term in the Senate during the era of Reconstruction.

On March 9, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court's decision and found the Africans from the ship *l'Amistad* to have been illegally kidnapped and ordered them set free to be returned to Africa as soon as possible. Former president John Quincy Adams had defended the Africans in legal arguments before the Supreme Court.

In August, Frederick Douglass began to speak on the abolitionist lecture circuit in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Between August 23 and August 25, the Pennsylvania State Convention of Negroes was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

On November 7, while they were being transported from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to New Orleans, Louisiana, slaves on board the *Creole* revolted and took control of the vessel. They sailed to Nassau in the Ba-

hamas where all of the slaves on board the vessel, except those accused of murder, were granted asylum and eventually set free by British officials. This event sparked an international diplomatic incident between the United States and Great Britain. Secretary of State Daniel Webster put forth the argument that slaves on board an American vessel were bound by American law, but the British maintained that the seizure took place in international waters and that American law did not apply in this instance.

Thornton Stringfellow, a proslavery apologist from Virginia, published *A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery*. Stringfellow believed that the Bible's many references supporting slavery were sufficient proof of the practice's moral legitimacy.

In New York the state legislature gave public schools the authority to segregate students by race in all educational facilities.

1842

On January 24, Congressman John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts introduced a petition to Congress drafted by the citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, which called for the peaceful dissolution of the Union.

On March 1, the United States Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* that a Pennsylvania statute that interfered with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 was unconstitutional. A state court had previously convicted Edward Prigg of kidnapping when Prigg, a slave catcher, tried to remove the fugitive slave Margaret Morgan from Pennsylvania back to slavery in Maryland. The Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 and the primacy of federal law over state efforts to block enforcement, but most of the northern states found means to avoid assisting the efforts of southerners to have fugitive slaves recaptured and returned to the South. The decision stated, however, that it was a federal responsibility to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law since the states could not be obliged to enforce federal laws through state officers, and many northern states used this interpretation as a judicial loophole. Most northern states soon thereafter enacted Personal Liberty Laws that helped state officials circumvent enforcement of the federal Fugitive Slave Law.

Between March 21 and March 22, Congressman Joshua Giddings, an Ohio Whig, introduced a series of measures collectively called the Giddings Resolutions

in which he attacked the federal sanction of slavery and the coastal slave trade. Giddings's actions were largely a response to the controversy that had been caused by the *Creole* incident. His measures went so far as to encourage resistance like the one that had taken place on board the *Creole* the previous year when slaves mutinied and took control of the vessel. Giddings was censured by his colleagues on March 23 and resigned, but was reelected by his district and returned to Congress the following month.

In October, in Boston, George Latimer, an escaped slave, was captured. The case surrounding his efforts to avoid being returned to southern slavery sparked an intense North-South struggle over the effective enforcement of existing fugitive slave laws and northern attempts to circumvent these measures by passing personal liberty laws. In the case of Latimer, a Boston abolitionist eventually forced Boston authorities to allow him to purchase Latimer from his southern owner on November 17, thereby allowing the fugitive to become free. The debates regarding this case did prompt Frederick Douglass to publish his first printed articles in behalf of the abolitionist movement.

William G. Allen, a free black abolitionist, began publication of *The National Watchman*, an antislavery newspaper, in Troy, New York.

The Rhode Island legislature granted the suffrage to free blacks living within the state.

1843

Diplomats of the United States and Great Britain met at Washington, D.C., to negotiate the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. As a result of one of the articles of this treaty, the African Squadron was formed as naval officials of the United States and Great Britain agreed to cooperate and patrol the waters off the coast of West Africa in an effort to intercept ships that might engage in the slave trade. When ships were captured by the squadron, Africans on board were repatriated either to Liberia or to Sierra Leone. Treaty negotiations did not reach a final agreement as to how the slave trade within the Western Hemisphere might be best restricted.

In March, in an action that ran counter to the prevailing national trend, the Massachusetts legislature decriminalized miscegenation by repealing a 1786 law that had prohibited interracial marriage. As a result, intermarriage between whites, blacks, mulattoes, or Indians was legalized by Massachusetts state law.

On June 1, Sojourner Truth (born Isabella Baumfree), who had been born a slave in New York, became

the first black woman to join the abolitionist lecture circuit and speak openly from a public platform in behalf of antislavery and women's causes.

On August 22, at the annual meeting of the National Convention of Colored Men in Buffalo, New York, Henry Highland Garnet called for slaves in the South to rise up and revolt and urged free blacks to participate in a general strike to improve the conditions for blacks in the country. Other delegates, including Frederick Douglass, disapproved of the message that Garnet delivered.

Between August 30 and 31, the Liberty Party held a national convention in Buffalo, New York, and Samuel Ringgold Ward, Henry Highland Garnet, and Charles B. Ray participated, thereby becoming the first blacks to take an active role in a national political gathering. Ward led the convention in prayer, Garnet served on the nominating committee, and Ray was one of the convention secretaries. The convention nominated James G. Birney for president and Thomas Morris for vice president. The party platform opposed the extension of slavery into any western territories, but it did not take a stand on the question of Texas annexation.

From October 23 to October 27, free blacks in Michigan held their first statewide convention in Detroit, Michigan.

On December 27, black abolitionist David Jenkins founded the antislavery newspaper *Palladium of Liberty* in Columbus, Ohio.

In light of the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), the state legislatures in Massachusetts and Vermont specifically forbade any state officials from aiding and abetting anyone, including federal authorities, in efforts to remove fugitive slaves from their respective states and return them to the condition of enslavement in the South.

1844

The slavery question began to cause a schism in many American religious communities. The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States divided over the question of whether or not bishops within the church could hold slaves. This schism grew out of the decision by Georgia Bishop James O. Andrews to continue holding his slaves after church authorities had told him to manumit them or else to give up his bishopric. As a result of this division, white southerners formed the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Proslavery forces in South Carolina were energized by a speech supporting disunion that "fire-eater" Robert Barnwell Rhett delivered in Bluffton, South

Carolina. The “Bluffton Movement” was a short-lived effort to stir the political passions of South Carolina residents over the issues of states’ rights and nullification.

The Baptist Church suffered a schism in regard to the slavery question that was reflective of society at large. The church divided into northern and southern conventions over the question of whether or not slave-owning missionaries should be sent into the territories of the expanding Southwest.

On June 8, the United States Senate rejected a treaty that would have provided for the annexation of the Republic of Texas and its admission to the Union as a slave state. Antislavery forces within the Senate were able to convince a majority that the sectional division that would be caused by admitting another slave state to the Union outweighed any possible benefits that might come from such action.

On June 24, free blacks in Massachusetts held a series of protest meetings in opposition to the state’s segregated school policy.

On December 3, after eight years of difficult enforcement, the House of Representatives lifted the “gag rule,” which had prohibited the discussion of any antislavery petitions that were received by the Congress. Much of the agitation against the “gag rule” had been led by Congressman John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts and Congressman Joshua Giddings of Ohio. The resolution calling for repeal of the “gag rule” passed by a vote of 108–80.

1845

Frederick Douglass published the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave*. The autobiographical slave narrative included a preface written by William Lloyd Garrison and a supporting letter by Wendell Phillips.

Les Cenelles, the first anthology of African American verse, was published. Several of the poems included were written by Camille Thierry, a New Orleans Creole.

In the state of New York, the Democratic Party found itself divided over the question of slavery, and two factions formed to run slates of candidates for statewide office. The “Barnburners” were considered the more radical antislavery wing of the party, and the “Hunkers” were the more traditional Cotton Democrats who did not share antislavery sentiments. The “Barnburners” would eventually leave the Democratic Party and join the Free Soil Party because of their views on slavery.

On March 3, Florida was admitted to the Union as

a slave state. At this point the United States consisted of twenty-seven states, of which thirteen were free and fourteen were slave. This was the second time in the nation’s history that the number of slave states surpassed the number of free states.

After years of contention, and especially the efforts of Congressman John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, the Congress rescinded the so-called gag rule that had prohibited the discussion of antislavery petitions in the Congress.

On December 29, Texas was admitted to the Union as a slave state. At this point the United States consisted of twenty-eight states, of which thirteen were free and fifteen were slave. The imbalance between the number of slave and free states caused many antislavery supporters to ponder the fate of the nation as new territories prepared for statehood.

Free blacks in the New England region organized the Freedom Association. The purpose of this group was to assist fugitive slaves in their efforts to escape from the southern states and find freedom in the North.

1846

On January 16, in Lynn, Massachusetts, a convention of New England workingmen adopted an antislavery resolution and urged their elected representatives to continue the fight against slavery until abolition had been achieved.

Many workers in the North felt a particular kinship with the slaves of the antebellum South. On January 23, the labor newspaper *Voice of Industry* published a poem entitled “What it is to be a Slave.”

On August 8, Democratic Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed that slavery should be excluded from any territory that might be acquired from the war with Mexico. Wilmot borrowed part of the language in his Proviso from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which stated that “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of” the territory that the United States might acquire from the war with Mexico. Since the Mexican government had abolished slavery in 1829, many feared the message that the United States would send with the possible reintroduction of slavery into free territory. The Senate defeated the Proviso, but the measure would reappear before the Congress many times over before the beginning of the Civil War. Votes on this measure did not follow a party line, but rather were based on a clear geographical delineation between northern and

southern representatives. (For more on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, see Document 32.)

Antislavery supporters in Great Britain pay £150 (\$711) to purchase the freedom of Frederick Douglass. After Douglass had gained celebrity as an abolitionist lecturer, his former owner had sought to have him returned under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. With the purchase of his freedom, Douglass was legally free when he returned to the United States after conducting a successful lecture tour in England and Scotland.

Reverend Moses Dickson and eleven other free black leaders met in St. Louis, Missouri, and organized the Knights of Liberty. The purpose of the secret militant group was to gain a national following that would make the violent overthrow of slavery a real possibility. A decade later the organization claimed to have 47,240 members.

In Louisiana, the multiple-effect vacuum evaporation process for processing sugar was patented by Norbert Rillieux, a mulatto. This process would revolutionize the sugar industry by creating a more efficient means of processing refined sugar from cane juice.

1847

William Wells Brown published the *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself*. It was one of the few slave narratives that was written by the subject and not dictated to white abolitionists. The book quickly became a best-seller.

Antislavery advocate Gamaliel Bailey became the editor of the *National Era*, the weekly newspaper published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It was Bailey's *National Era* that would begin publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in serial form in 1851.

Free blacks constituted a sizable and somewhat affluent segment of Philadelphia's population. The collective taxable income of all free blacks in that city was estimated at four hundred thousand dollars.

New York abolitionist Gerrit Smith attempted to form a community of free black farmers by dividing his sizable landholdings in New York and making the lands available to prospective black farmers. Unfortunately, the poor quality of the land and the inability of black farmers to afford such a purchase reduced the effectiveness of this experimental community.

New York voters defeated an amendment to the state constitution that would have granted the suffrage to free blacks within the state of New York.

On January 16, the United States House of Repre-

sentatives passed the Oregon Bill, which excluded slavery from the Oregon Territory on the basis of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. On March 3, 1847, the Senate would table the measure. (For more on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, see Document 32).

On February 19, the United States Senate approved passage of the army appropriations bill after defeating the Wilmot Proviso, which had been attached as an amendment. During the debates on this matter, South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun made an impassioned argument that it was the duty of the Congress to protect slavery. Calhoun used the property rights argument to suggest that Congress had no right to limit the expansion of slavery into any state or territory. Essentially, Calhoun's arguments questioned the legality of measures like the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Even though the Senate did not endorse Calhoun's position, one decade later the Supreme Court would decide the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) and state the same basic positions that Calhoun supported in 1847.

On June 30, in St. Louis, Missouri, the slave Dred Scott filed the initial lawsuit seeking his freedom in the Circuit Court of St. Louis. This case would travel through several judicial venues through the following decade. Eventually, in 1857, the United States Supreme Court would decide the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

On July 26, Liberian president Joseph Jenkins Roberts, who had been born a free black in Petersburg, Virginia, declared the West African nation of Liberia to be an independent republic.

In November, the Liberty Party held a convention in New York City and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire as the party's candidate for president and Leicester King of Ohio was nominated for the office of vice president. Hale would later decline the nomination of the party in deference to former President Martin Van Buren when the Liberty Party merged with the Free Soil Party in 1848.

On December 3, Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany started publishing the *North Star*, an antislavery newspaper, in Rochester, New York. This abolitionist newspaper opposed the methods and strategies that William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips advocated.

On December 14, the concept of popular sovereignty as a possible solution to the question of slavery's expansion into the western territories first entered the national political vocabulary. New York Senator Daniel S. Dickinson, a Democrat, introduced a resolution that would have allowed territorial legislatures to determine whether or not slavery would be permitted in each respective territory.

On December 29, Michigan Senator Lewis Cass, a Democrat who intended to seek his party's nomination for president in 1848, lent his support to the idea of popular sovereignty that New York Senator Daniel S. Dickinson had proposed two weeks earlier. In a letter written to Alfred O. P. Nicholson, a Tennessee politician, Cass argued that the question of reaching a decision regarding slavery in the territories should be left up to the territorial legislatures. The idea received serious consideration in national political discourse, and it would be employed later as part of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854). Many politicians were attracted to the idea of popular sovereignty because it allowed them to avoid the moral and legal implications of any decision regarding slavery since they turned the issue over to the will of the majority.

1848

Abolitionists Frederick Douglass and John Brown met for the first time in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Captains Daniel Drayton and Edward Sayres who operated the *Pearl*, a small coastal vessel, attempted to transport seventy-six slaves, valued at \$100,000, from Washington, D.C., to freedom in the northern states. The vessel was seized in Chesapeake Bay, and Drayton and Sayres were arrested and charged with attempted slave stealing. The two men were convicted and were sentenced to prison time in Maryland.

June 2, in Rochester, New York, an abolitionist organization called the Liberty League held a national convention and nominated a slate of antislavery candidates for national office. The group nominated Gerrit Smith of New York for president and Charles E. Foot of Michigan for vice president.

On July 27, the United States Senate approved the Clayton Compromise, named after Senator John M. Clayton, a national Republican from Delaware. The measure proposed that slavery be excluded from Oregon, that any legislation regarding slavery by the territories of California and New Mexico be prohibited, and that the Supreme Court hear the appeal of all territorial slave cases. The measure was tabled by the House of Representatives the day after it was approved by the Senate.

On August 9 and 10, a coalition that included various abolitionists and Conscience Whigs gathered in Buffalo, New York, to organize the Free Soil Party. Several black abolitionists took part in this gathering. The antislavery party nominated Martin Van Buren for president and Charles Frances Adams for vice president. The phrase "free soil, free speech, free labor, and

free men" was adopted as the campaign slogan of the Free Soil Party.

On August 14, President James K. Polk signed the bill that established the Oregon Territory without slavery. Southern political leaders did not challenge this point as they were willing to have a free Oregon with the implied understanding that other western territories would be open to the possible expansion of slavery.

The legislature of the state of Vermont supported a resolution calling for the prohibition of slavery in the western territories and its outright abolition in the District of Columbia. The measure was nonbinding and largely symbolic, but it reflected the growing spirit of the free soil position in American national life.

Virginia enacted a law requiring postmasters to inform the local police whenever any proabolition literature arrived at a post office within the state. The law further stipulated that this literature must be surrendered to state authorities who would burn the materials.

The legislature of the state of Alabama supported a resolution calling upon the Congress to do its duty and protect the rights of all people and their property in the western territories.

On December 22 in Washington, D.C., a group of southern congressmen held a caucus to discuss the slavery question and to determine a strategy that could be used to protect slaveholders' rights.

On December 26, in one of the most dramatic slave escapes of the antebellum era, William and Ellen Craft made their way from slavery in Georgia to freedom in Philadelphia. Ellen impersonated a white slaveowner who was traveling north to seek medical treatment, and William acted as his "master's" trusty servant. The Crafts lived in England for a number of years before returning to the United States in 1868. While in England, they published their story in the book *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom; or The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (1860).

Black abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet published *The Past and Present Condition and the Destiny of the Colored Race*.

Southern "fire-eater" William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama drafted the Alabama Platform, a proslavery missive that was created to counter the arguments supporting the Wilmot Proviso. Yancey believed that it was the duty of the national government to protect the life and property, including slaves, of all citizens who lived in the western territories. Several other southern states adopted the stand enunciated by Yancey's Alabama Platform.

From January 10 to January 13, the Connecticut State Convention of Negroes was held in New Haven,

Connecticut. During this time, the Ohio State Convention of Negroes was also held in Columbus, Ohio.

On March 10, the state legislature in Missouri approved of a resolution that declared that “the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof.” The language of this measure indicated support for the concept of popular sovereignty.

Between March 29 and March 30, the Virginia slave Henry “Box” Brown found an ingenious way to obtain his emancipation. He hid himself in a box that was mailed to abolitionists in Philadelphia. Two years later, Brown told his story in his *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown*.

During the summer of 1849, Harriet Tubman escaped from slavery in Maryland. After her escape she became active in the so-called Underground Railroad that helped fugitive slaves make their way to freedom in the northern states, and eventually to Canada. Tubman was reported to have made nineteen trips back into the states of the Upper South in which she helped more than three hundred slaves escape to freedom. For this heroic action she became known as the “Moses” of her people.

Between September 1 and October 13 in Monterey, California, a statehood convention was called by Territorial Governor Bennett Riley. Without waiting for congressional sanction to begin the statehood process, the gathering created a state constitution that prohibited slavery, and the measure was approved by California voters on November 13.

In November, Massachusetts attorney Charles Sumner broke new ground by introducing the legal concept of equal protection under the law in a racial controversy in the case *Sarah C. Roberts v. the City of Boston*. This foundational legal principle would later be introduced into the United States Constitution with passage of the Fourteenth Amendment after the Civil War. In this case, Benjamin Roberts had filed the first school integration lawsuit on behalf of his daughter Sarah who had been denied admission to a white school. The Massachusetts Supreme Court rejected the lawsuit and established the controversial “separate but equal” precedent that would later reappear in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

On December 4, President Zachary Taylor recommended that the Congress accept California’s request to join the Union as a free state. There was considerable opposition to this action by southern politicians who did not desire to create another free state, which would upset the delicate political balance between northern and southern states. The level of political bickering caused by this debate is reflected in the difficulty the Congress encountered in choosing a new

speaker. After sixty-three ballots and three weeks of debate, Georgia congressman Howell Cobb was selected as speaker of the House of Representatives.

James William Charles Pennington, an American fugitive slave who became a noted black abolitionist, published *The Fugitive Blacksmith* in London. Pennington hoped that his autobiographical narrative would help to expose the true horrors of slavery as it existed in the United States.

The Wisconsin state legislature enacted a statute that disenfranchised free blacks within the state.

1850

On January 29, dismayed by the rhetoric of extremists on both sides of the slavery issue, Senator Henry Clay began work on obtaining passage of a series of resolutions that would become known collectively as the Compromise of 1850. It was Clay’s wish that the Union be preserved, and he believed that the give-and-take of good-faith compromise was the only way to achieve this end.

From February 5 to February 6, in his last great speech before the United States Senate, Henry Clay argued that the Senate should enact the compromise measures that he had proposed as a means of preserving the Union, which was so threatened by sectional discord. Extremists from both sides of the issue questioned Clay’s actions and motives. New York senator William Seward declared that “there is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority,” and South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun, near the end of his life, said that abolitionists in the North must “cease the agitation of the slavery question.”

On March 7, sensing the extreme levels of discontent in the preceding debate, Senator Daniel Webster offered his support of Senator Henry Clay’s efforts to enact the series of compromise resolutions that eventually became law as the Compromise of 1850. In a speech to the Senate, Webster supported the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Bill, which to many northern lawmakers was the most odious part of Clay’s package. The poet John Greenleaf Whittier would later immortalize Webster’s “fall” in the poem “Ichabod.” Whittier wrote:

*“All else is gone from those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost when honor dies
The man is dead.”*

During the contentious debates associated with pas-

sage of the Compromise of 1850, Senator Henry Clay remarked, "I would rather be right than be president."

On May 8, a Senate committee composed of seven Whigs and six Democrats worked with the series of resolutions that Henry Clay had introduced to the Senate in January. The committee refined the measures into two bills: the first, an Omnibus Bill that affected slavery in the western territories, and the second, a bill that would outlaw the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

In June, debate over Henry Clay's compromise resolutions dominated the affairs of the Congress. In an impassioned speech in the House of Representatives, Georgia congressman Robert A. Toombs used a classical allusion and likened himself to Hamilcar, the father of the Carthaginian general Hannibal, a mortal enemy of Rome. Toombs warned his northern colleagues, "I will . . . bring my children and my constituents to the altar of liberty, and like Hamilcar I would swear them to eternal hostility to your foul domination."

From June 3 to June 12, the Nashville Convention was held as delegates from nine southern states met in Nashville, Tennessee, to discuss the issues of slavery and states' rights. Some of the most radical delegates, the so-called fire-eaters favored immediate secession as the only means of preserving southern traditions and rights, but the moderates prevailed at this meeting. Delegates approved of several resolutions including one that would have extended the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30' north latitude all the way across the western territories to the Pacific Ocean.

On August 2, the Underground Railroad had been operational for nearly two decades as antislavery supporters in the northern states assisted fugitives who made their escape from slavery in the South. Unfortunately, there are no accurate numbers of how many fugitives were assisted by this method. The black abolitionist William Still, who was an active "conductor" on the Underground Railroad, began keeping statistical records of how many fugitives escaped from this date onward. The passenger records that remain are some of the best source materials available for determining the effectiveness of the Underground Railroad. Many white abolitionists, like John and Hannah Pierce Cox of Pennsylvania, were actively involved in the Underground Railroad.

Between September 9 and September 12, the Compromise of 1850 admitted California to the Union as a free state; adjusted the borders of Texas; established the territories of Utah and New Mexico with the understanding that popular sovereignty would decide the fate of slavery in those regions; prohibited the slave trade, but not slavery, in the District of Columbia; and

provided for the passage of a newer and stronger Fugitive Slave Law. As a result of the New Fugitive Slave Law, thousands of fugitive slaves in the northern states would cross the international boundary and enter Canada.

In New York City, a group of black and white abolitionists rushed into a courtroom to rescue James Hamlet, a fugitive slave.

The Seventh Census of the United States revealed that 37 percent of the free black population was identified as mulatto. Also, the entire black population, slave and free, was 3,638,808 persons, or 15.7 percent of the national population.

Samuel R. Ward became the first president of the American League of Colored Laborers. This organization was a union of skilled black workers who sought to encourage free black artisans to develop black-owned businesses.

Vermont became the first state to enact a Personal Liberty Law, which was designed to circumvent enforcement of the federal Fugitive Slave Law that had been recently enacted.

On October 21, the City Council in Chicago, Illinois, passed a resolution criticizing recent congressional approval of the Fugitive Slave Law as part of the Compromise of 1850.

On October 25, the Southern Rights Association was established to provide united opposition to all antislavery efforts mounted by abolitionist groups.

From November 11 to November 15, southern delegates held a second Nashville Convention and again considered the possibility of seceding from the Union.

From December 13 to December 14, in Georgia a state convention declared the intention of the state of Georgia to remain in the Union, but warned that this action was contingent on the northern state's willingness to enforce all of the measures recently enacted in the Compromise of 1850, especially the new federal Fugitive Slave Law.

1851

On February 15, a group of black abolitionists rushed into a Boston, Massachusetts, courtroom in order to rescue the fugitive slave Shadrach.

From May 7 to May 9, Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison split over disagreements concerning the tactics and strategies to be employed in the antislavery movement during the eighteenth annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It was the issue of moral force versus political force that caused this rift.

On May 28, black abolitionist, and former slave, Sojourner Truth (born Isabella Baumfree) attended a Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio. Her presence at the gathering helped to demonstrate the illogical underpinnings of sex discrimination as she compared these views to the racism that justified slavery. In her own eloquent style, Truth's declaration that "ar'n't I a woman" became a powerful testimony to the twin evils of racism and sexism in American society.

On June 5, *The National Era*, a Washington-based abolitionist newspaper, began publishing a story called "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe in serial form.

On September 11, in the so-called Christiana Riot, a group of free blacks and antislavery whites dispersed a party of slave catchers at Christiana, Pennsylvania. In the melee, one white man was killed and another was wounded. This episode represents the heightened levels of passion that were caused by passage of the new Fugitive Slave Law. The Christiana Riot was the most violent instance of civil disobedience and outright resistance to this unpopular legislation.

On October 1, in Syracuse, New York, a group of black and white abolitionists rushed into a courtroom to rescue Jerry M'Henry, a fugitive slave.

On December 1, the results of the recent congressional elections indicated that southerners approved of the Compromise of 1850. In several of the southern states, Unionists were elected to office over more radical "fire-eaters" who supported secession. In the northern states, the opposite effect seemed to have been working. The state of Massachusetts elected the abolitionist Charles Sumner to the United States Senate.

A group of black abolitionists rushed into a Baltimore, Maryland, courtroom in order to rescue the fugitive slave Rachel Parker.

The United States Supreme Court decided the case of *Strader v. Graham*. In their decision the justices declared that three slaves who had returned to Kentucky after visiting Indiana and Ohio were to be governed by the laws of Kentucky. In what was viewed as a proslavery ruling, the court maintained that it was the states themselves that determined the status of all persons living within their respective jurisdictions.

Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812 was published by the abolitionist William C. Nell. This work is considered to be the first extended study on the history of African Americans.

In Boston, Massachusetts, Thomas Sims, a fugitive slave who had been captured, was returned to his owner in Georgia. Abolitionists had considered an attempt to rescue Simms by force, but were unable to carry out such a plan.

The Colored Man's Journal, an antislavery newspaper operated by free blacks, began publication in New York City.

The Virginia legislature enacted a measure requiring free blacks who had been recently manumitted to leave the state within one year of their emancipation or else face the possibility of renewed enslavement in Virginia.

1852

On January 28, during a speech that he delivered before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, abolitionist Wendell Phillips first spoke the oft-quoted phrase, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

On March 20, the first edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly* was published by Harriet Beecher Stowe. This work offered a moving account of the brutality of the institution of slavery in its many forms. The work was considered to be a literary classic in the nineteenth century, and it was one of the seminal works that influenced American attitudes about the institution and practice of slavery in national life. The story had first been published in serial form in 1851 by the *National Era*, but in its first year of publication as a novel more than 1 million copies had been sold.

On July 4 in Rochester, New York, city officials invited Frederick Douglass, the city's most famous resident, to deliver an oration to commemorate the nation's independence. Douglas delivered his "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" speech. In this address, Douglas noted "To him your celebration a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license, your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages."

On August 11, the Free Soil Party held its first national convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for president with George W. Julian of Indiana as the vice presidential candidate. The party platform condemned slavery and decried the recent enactment of the Compromise of 1850 by stating that "Slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man."

On September 27, in Troy, New York, a dramatic version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was performed for the

first time by George L. Aiken, an actor and playwright. The performance was judged to be a huge success, and the play ran for 100 nights.

On October 26, abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts delivered a four-hour speech in the Senate chamber during which he chastised the Congress for passing the Fugitive Slave Law as part of the Compromise of 1850.

“The Pro-Slavery Argument” was published by a group of southern apologists including William Harper, Thomas R. Dew, and James Henry Hammond. This work contained a collection of essays, including many that had been previously published, that used a wide range of theoretical justification based on biblical and classical sources to defend the institution of slavery as it existed in the American South.

The Missouri Supreme Court decided the case of *Scott v. Emerson*. In their decision the justices declared that Dred Scott was a slave. This decision reversed Missouri precedents that had been in place since the *Winny v. Whitesides* (1824) decision.

In response to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the black abolitionist Martin Delany published *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States Politically Considered*.

Sojourner Truth (Isabella Baumfree) spoke before a gathering of the National Women’s Suffrage Convention that met in Akron, Ohio.

A total of thirty-five hundred free blacks were living in Cincinnati, Ohio. Among this group, 200 were identified as prosperous property owners who had an aggregate wealth of \$500,000. Despite this, free blacks were often the targets of violent episodes in Cincinnati that were racially motivated.

1853

In January, Solomon Northup, a free black who had been illegally kidnapped and held as a slave for twelve years, was freed from his enslavement in Louisiana after an extended campaign on his behalf was conducted by northern abolitionists. In March, Northup would publish his story in the book, *Twelve Years a Slave*.

From July 6 to July 8, the National Council of Colored People was founded in Rochester, New York. This organization was established by delegates from several states who wished to encourage the mechanical training of blacks. The group grew out of the Negro Convention Movement, which had been active in several states for more than a decade.

On August 1, free blacks in Massachusetts peti-

tioned the state legislature for permission to join the state militia.

Clotel; or, The President’s Daughter: a Narrative of Slave Life in the United States, the first novel to be written by an African American author, was published in London by William Wells Brown. The story was based loosely on the rumored affair between Thomas Jefferson and his slave, Sally Hemings.

Frederick Douglass published the short story “The Heroic Slave.” The story was based on the exploits of Madison Washington who had participated in the seizure of the slave ship *Creole* in 1841 when it was traveling from Virginia to Louisiana. The slaves on board the vessel sailed the *Creole* to the Bahamas where they gained their freedom.

James Dyson, an Englishman who ran a school in New Orleans, was arrested and charged with conspiracy for trying to organize a slave insurrection.

Growing nationwide support became visible for a large-scale campaign to deport free blacks to colonial settlements on the coast of West Africa. In Virginia, a poll tax was imposed on free blacks in order to generate funds to support such a project. The *New York Herald* supported the idea of emigration and stated that “racial inferiority” makes such a program desirable.

In December, by the end of 1853, Harriet Beecher Stowe had sold more than 1.2 million copies of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. The book was criticized by many who claimed that Stowe had exaggerated the true condition of slaves in the South in order to create a sympathetic antislavery propaganda tract. Stowe responded to her critics by publishing the *Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in which she defended her work and outlined the factual basis upon which the novel was written.

1854

On January 1, the Ashmun Institute was founded at Oxford in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Known today as Lincoln University, it was the first black college to be established in the United States.

On January 16, as the Congress debated the merits of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Senator Archibald Dixon, a Kentucky Whig, introduced a resolution that would have repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had established the line of 36°30' north latitude as the boundary between potential slave and free territory in the Louisiana Purchase lands. The following day, Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner introduced a resolution that reaffirmed the Missouri Compromise.

On January 24, six prominent abolitionists from the

northern states signed their names to a document entitled "The Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress, to the People of the United States." The document was allegedly written by Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and it was signed by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Joshua Giddings of Ohio, Gerrit Smith of New York, Edward Wade of Ohio, and Alexander De Witt of Massachusetts. The manifesto voiced strong opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which it described as a plot by slaveholders. It is credited as having galvanized public sentiment in favor of creating the Republican Party.

On February 28, in response to the political discord caused by debates over the proposed Kansas-Nebraska Bill, a group of fifty disillusioned Whigs, Free Soilers, and northern Democrats held a preliminary meeting in Ripon, Wisconsin, to discuss the possibility of creating a new political party that was opposed to the expansion of slavery into the western territories. This meeting represents the earliest beginnings of the Republican Party.

On April 26, in Worcester, Massachusetts, abolitionist Eli Thayer established the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society. The purpose of this organization was to send at least 2,000 free blacks and antislavery supporters to Kansas in order to prevent the territory from becoming an area open to slavery. In 1855, the organization changed its name to the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Under its auspices, many free soil communities were established in Kansas.

On May 24 in Boston, a United States deputy marshal arrested the fugitive slave Anthony Burns and began the process of returning him to his owner in the South as stipulated by the Fugitive Slave Act (1850). Black and white abolitionists, including Wendell Phillips, rallied to the cause of supporting Burns, but were unable to prevent his extradition. Burns's owner in Virginia had rejected an offer by northern abolitionists to purchase Burns for \$1,200 in order to set him free.

On May 30, with the support of Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This measure repealed the clause in the Missouri Compromise (1820) that prohibited slavery in the territories north of 36°30' and instead allowed popular sovereignty to determine the status of slavery in those regions. The measure was responsible in large part for the founding of the Republican Party, which opposed the expansion of slavery into any of the western territories.

On June 3, the United States government spent \$100,000 to return one fugitive slave to the South. In Boston, hundreds of state militia and two thousand

federal troops were required to maintain order as the fugitive slave Anthony Burns was escorted from his jail cell through the streets of Boston to Long Wharf to be returned to his owner in Virginia. It was estimated that fifty thousand Bostonians lined the streets in protest as this event occurred. During the dramatic march to the dock, Boston church bells tolled and buildings along the route were draped in black. One year later, Boston abolitionists were able to purchase Burns from his owner, thereby granting Burns the freedom that had eluded him in the Massachusetts courts. The citizens of Massachusetts were so aroused by this unpleasant episode that the state of Massachusetts never again returned another fugitive slave to the South.

Sociology for the South; or, The Failure of Free Society was published by George Fitzhugh, a southern apologist.

William Grayson published "The Hireling and the Slave" in an effort to counter Harriet Beecher Stowe's dark portrayal of southern life in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Grayson's long, didactic poem tried to contrast the benefits of the slave's ideal life in the South with the wretched conditions experienced by "wage slaves" in the industrial North.

On July 6, in response to the political discord caused by passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a group of disillusioned Whigs, Free Soilers, and northern Democrats met in Jackson, Michigan, and formed the Republican Party.

On July 19, the Wisconsin State Supreme Court decided the case of *In re Booth and Rycraft* as the Wisconsin jurists declared the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 to be unconstitutional. Sherman Booth and John Rycraft, who had rescued the fugitive Joshua Glover from extradition back to slavery in the South, were ordered freed by the court. The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and in the *Ableman v. Booth* (1859) decision, the federal court ruled that state courts did not have the authority to declare federal laws unconstitutional.

From August 24 to August 26, the Negro Emancipation Convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio. The gathering was attended by delegates from eleven states.

In October, Abraham Lincoln made his first public statement on slavery in a speech given in Peoria, Illinois. Lincoln stated that he opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories.

On October 18, American diplomats Pierre Soulé (minister to Spain), John Y. Mason (minister to France), and James Buchanan (minister to Great Britain) met in Ostend, Belgium, to discuss a strategy that the United States might follow in order to purchase Cuba from Spain or to seize it by force if neces-

sary. The Ostend Manifesto was the confidential diplomatic dispatch, written primarily by Soulé, which proposed that the United States offer the Spanish government no more than \$120 million for Cuba, and that, should Spain reject that offer, the United States should take the island by force. The document was made public by enemies of President Franklin Pierce who wanted to discredit the proslavery Pierce administration. Expansionists, who tended to be proslavery supporters, hoped that Cuba might be used to form two additional slave states.

On November 19, after an estimated sixteen hundred “Border Ruffians” crossed from Missouri into Kansas to influence an election by voting for a proslavery candidate, J.W. Whitfield was elected to be the Kansas Territory’s representative to the Congress. This event established the pattern for subsequent elections in the Kansas Territory that would be fraught with intimidation and fraud. It was in this setting that Kansas would use the system of popular sovereignty to settle the slavery question.

Sociology for the South was published by George Fitzhugh, a southern proslavery polemicist. The work contained a series of proslavery newspaper articles that Fitzhugh had previously published in the *Richmond Examiner*.

Connecticut and Rhode Island each enacted personal liberty laws, which were designed to circumvent enforcement of the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

1855

My Bondage and My Freedom was published by Frederick Douglass. In this autobiographical account, Douglass described himself as a self-proclaimed graduate of the institution of slavery.

Frederick Douglass was nominated by the antislavery-based Liberty Party as a candidate for secretary of state in New York. Douglass became the first black to be nominated for a statewide office in the United States.

William Wells Brown published *The American Fugitive in Europe: Sketches of Places and People Abroad*. The work was an account of Brown’s travels as a publicist for the antislavery cause.

The legislatures of Maine, Massachusetts, and Michigan all enacted personal liberty laws, which prohibited state officials from assisting in the capture or return of fugitive slaves who might be found within their borders. These measures polarized northern-southern attitudes as they were designed specifically to have state officials circumvent the mission and purpose

of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 by failing to assist federal marshals in enforcing a federal law.

John Mercer Langston, who had been born a slave on a Virginia plantation, became the first African American to win elective office in the United States. He was elected clerk of Brownhelm Township in Lorain County, Ohio. Langston later served in the Freedmen’s Bureau, as the first dean of the Howard University Law School, and as United States minister to Haiti.

On January 9, the United States and Great Britain finally agreed to a monetary settlement in regard to the *Creole* incident of 1841. The British had freed a shipload of slaves who mutinied at sea and found refuge in the Bahamas. For years the British action had caused a diplomatic rift between the two nations. Joshua Bates, an American-born British banker, negotiated a settlement between representatives of the two nations in which the British government agreed to compensate \$119,330 in damages to the owners of the slaves who were emancipated by Bahamian authorities in 1841.

On February 6, Eureka College was chartered after a group of Kentucky abolitionists moved to central Illinois and established an educational institution in the hope of continuing the antislavery struggle.

On March 30, the first territorial elections were held in the Kansas Territory. A group estimated at five thousand “Border Ruffians” entered Kansas from Missouri and forced the election of a proslavery legislature in an election that was wracked by fraud. There were many more votes cast than there were eligible voters in the territory. Despite these irregularities, Territorial governor Andrew H. Reeder allowed the election results to stand because he feared that an escalation of violence would occur if he failed to do so.

On April 28, the Massachusetts legislature abolished racial segregation in all Massachusetts public schools, and integration proceeded without incident.

On July 2 in Pawnee, Kansas, the new proslavery territorial legislature met and enacted a series of measures that protected slavery in Kansas. The proslavery majority within the legislature went so far as to expel the antislavery faction (“jayhawkers”) that had been elected in the spring.

On July 31, President Franklin Pierce ordered the removal of Andrew H. Reeder as territorial governor in the Kansas Territory. Pierce cited a conflict of interest as his reason for making the change because Reeder was speculating in Kansas lands, but in reality, Reeder’s greatest offense to President Pierce was that he did not support the proslavery legislature that had been elected in March 1855. Pierce replaced Reeder with Wilson Shannon, a proslavery supporter from Ohio.

On August 4, in Lawrence, Kansas, a free soil community that had been founded by the New England Emigrant Aid Company, a group of antislavery supporters (“jayhawkers”) gathered together to call for their own constitutional convention since the sitting proslavery legislature had come to power through election fraud.

On September 5, a convention was held at Big Springs, Kansas, in which antislavery supporters (“jayhawkers”) repudiated the results of the fraudulent elections that had been held on March 30. The jayhawkers formed the free state forces and soon started to receive shipments of arms from the northern states. John Brown eventually arrived in Kansas and became a leader of the free state forces.

On October 1, J.W. Whitfield was again elected as the Kansas Territory’s representative to Congress as proslavery men in Kansas and “Border Ruffians” from Missouri manipulated the balloting. In response to this fraud, the jayhawkers of Kansas held their own balloting on October 9 and elected former territorial governor Andrew H. Reeder as the territory’s representative to the Congress. In Washington, D.C., faced with representatives elected from each side in the Kansas dispute, the Congress refused to seat either Whitfield or Reeder.

From October 23 and November 12 in the Kansas Territory, free state forces drafted the Topeka Constitution, which outlawed slavery and elected a governor and legislature supportive of this position. The Topeka Constitution also included a curious provision that barred all blacks from Kansas. For nearly two years the Kansas Territory would operate with two governments: a proslavery government seated at Lecompton and an antislavery government seated at Topeka. The political repercussions of “Bleeding Kansas” would also force battle lines to form in the Congress as the rhetoric over this situation intensified.

From November 20 to November 22, the first California Negro Convention was held in Sacramento, California.

Between November 26 and December 7, in the Kansas Territory, the Wakarusa War erupted as a group of 1,500 “Border Ruffians” from Missouri entered Kansas and fought a series of skirmishes with antislavery groups in the Wakarusa River region. The “Border Ruffians” had intended to attack the community of Lawrence, but refrained from doing so when they learned that the town was well-defended. The fighting diminished when Territorial Governor Wilson Shannon intervened and sent the territorial militia into the affected region.

On December 15, free soil supporters in the Kansas Territory held a referendum and approved the Topeka

Constitution, which outlawed slavery in Kansas and also prohibited blacks from the region as well.

In Ohio, abolitionist senator Salmon P. Chase was elected governor of Ohio. Many within the Republican Party believed that Chase would make an excellent presidential candidate.

Peter H. Clark, a black abolitionist, began publishing *The Herald of Freedom*, an antislavery newspaper, in Ohio.

1856

David Christy published *Cotton Is King, or the Economical Relations of Slavery*. It was from this work that the popular expression “cotton is king” came into the national discourse.

On January 15, in the Kansas Territory free soil supporters elected Charles Robinson as their territorial governor, and they also elected an antislavery legislature. The free soil Kansans took this action in behalf of the Topeka Constitution, which they had ratified in a December 1855 referendum. In Washington, D.C., President Franklin Pierce looked upon the actions taken by the free soil Kansans as an act of rebellion against federal authority because the national government had already recognized the proslavery legislature that was elected in March 1855.

On January 24, Georgia senator Robert A. Toombs delivered a proslavery address at the Tremont Temple in Boston, Massachusetts.

On February 2, the polarization that the country faced regarding the issue of slavery was greatly exacerbated by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and nowhere was this more apparent than in the United States Congress. It took the House of Representatives more than two months to decide on a speaker for that body. Eventually, Congressman Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts was elected speaker of the House of Representatives.

On February 11, President Franklin Pierce, a northern doughface who supported the proslavery element in Kansas, issued a special proclamation to the residents of the Kansas Territory. Pierce called upon both the “Border Ruffians” and the free soil supporters to cease all hostilities in the territory.

On February 22, delegates from the Republican Party held their first national meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

On March 4, the free soil government in the Kansas Territory with its legislature seated at Topeka petitioned the United States Congress to admit Kansas to the Union as a free state. Even though the

proposal was popular among many Republicans in the Congress, Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas proposed a bill that would make Kansas statehood contingent on the promulgation of a new state constitution.

On April 5, Booker Taliafero Washington was born into slavery in Franklin County, Virginia.

On May 19, after delivering his “Crime Against Kansas” speech, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was savagely beaten with a cane by Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina. The attack took place in the Senate chamber of the United States Capitol, and Sumner would require three years of recuperation before he could return to his position in the Senate. The state of Massachusetts kept the position vacant for this period so that Sumner’s empty chair in the Senate chamber remained a symbolic reminder of the attack. In his speech, Sumner had insulted the aged Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina, the uncle of Congressman Brooks. Preston Brooks believed that his action in attacking Sumner was justified as he defended both the honor of his family and the interests of his state and region.

On May 21, a group of proslavery forces attacked and sacked the town of Lawrence, Kansas, which had acquired the reputation of being an abolitionist, free soil stronghold and was reputedly a station on the Underground Railroad. One antislavery supporter was killed in the attack. The radical abolitionist John Brown led a group of antislavery men (“jayhawkers”) in a nighttime attack that killed five proslavery settlers at Pottawotamie Creek as retaliation for the attack on Lawrence. These episodes began the two-year long struggle that was known as “Bleeding Kansas.” During the violent struggle over the issues of slavery and popular sovereignty, more than 200 Kansas settlers would die.

On June 2, an antislavery faction within the American Party (Know-Nothing Party) held its own nominating convention in New York City. At this meeting, John C. Frémont of California was nominated for the presidency, and W. F. Johnston of Pennsylvania was nominated for the vice presidency.

From June 17 to June 19, the Republican Party held its first national nominating convention. John C. Frémont was nominated as the first Republican candidate for the presidency, and William L. Dayton was nominated for vice president. Frémont ran on a platform that did not support the expansion of slavery into the western territories. The slogan “Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men, Frémont” was used throughout the campaign. In November, Frémont would lose the election to the Democrat James Buchanan.

On July 3, although the House of Representatives voted to accept Kansas as a state with its Topeka Constitution, which prohibited slavery, the Senate rejected the measure. The question of Kansas statehood, and the nature of whether Kansas would become slave or free, remained undecided at the conclusion of the Thirty-fourth Congress.

On July 4, with the support of the administration of President Franklin Pierce, federal troops from Fort Leavenworth in the Kansas Territory were dispatched to Topeka to break up the free state legislature that was convened there. Since the national government had gone on record as recognizing the proslavery government in the Kansas Territory, President Pierce believed that the legislature that convened in Topeka represented a challenge to federal authority in the region.

In August, the Kansas Territory experienced the horror of civil war as the specter of “Bleeding Kansas” resulted in nearly 200 deaths and more than \$2 million worth of property damage. During the struggle between proslavery and antislavery (“jayhawkers”) forces, two different governments were seated simultaneously in the Kansas Territory, and the Congress refused to seat representatives from either government. The matter would not be completely resolved until October 1857.

On August 18, in the Kansas Territory Governor Wilson Shannon resigned his position and was replaced by John W. Geary.

On August 30, the Methodist Episcopal Church founded Wilberforce University in Ohio. The African Methodist Episcopal Church later purchased the university.

On September 15, in the Kansas Territory, Governor John W. Geary used federal troops to prevent an army of twenty-five hundred “Border Ruffians” from Missouri from marching into Kansas.

Free blacks in Ohio were granted the right to control their own schools.

The Knights of Liberty, a secret society of free blacks, claimed to have a membership of 47,240 throughout the country. The purpose of this secret militant group was to bring about the end of slavery through violent action.

Governor James H. Adams of South Carolina called for the reopening of the African slave trade, which had been illegal since 1808. Adams believed that South Carolina planters were having a difficult time obtaining sufficient numbers of slaves through the domestic slave trade, and he feared the economic implications that a shortage of slave laborers might mean to his state. Adams’s apprehension seems to have been somewhat dubious, for according to census figures, slaves

constituted 57.6 percent of South Carolina's population in 1850, and by 1860, slaves made up 57.2 percent of the state's population.

1857

Between January 12 and February 15, the Kansas Territory's proslavery legislature held a session in Leecompton, Kansas, and issued a call for a territorial census and a constitutional convention. Governor John W. Geary vetoed the measures, but the legislature overrode the governor's actions.

On January 15, delegates who favored the peaceful separation of the North and South met in Worcester, Massachusetts, at the State Disunion Convention. Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison addressed the crowd that had gathered for the meeting, and, in an impassioned speech, he declared "No union with slaveholders!" This phrase became the slogan of the organization.

On March 6, the United States Supreme Court by a vote of seven to two decided the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* and declared that blacks were not citizens of the United States, but were property that had no right to sue for freedom in a court of law. In the words of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, slaves had "no rights a white man need respect." The court also asserted that the Congress had no power to exclude slavery from any of the territories, thus in effect declaring the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional.

On May 1, the state of Massachusetts adopted a literacy test as a requirement for voting.

On May 26, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi was appointed governor of the Kansas Territory. The new governor pledged that he would make sure that any proposed state constitution that was offered to the voters would be presented in a fair election.

In June, by a very narrow margin the California state legislature defeated a proposal that would have prohibited the further immigration of free blacks into the state.

On October 5, in the Kansas Territory Governor Robert J. Walker supervised the elections to ensure that fraudulent votes were not cast. Frederick P. Stanton of Tennessee, who served as territorial secretary, saw to it that several thousand fraudulent proslavery ballots were rejected by election officials. When the votes were finally counted, the Free State Party had won a majority in both houses of the territorial legislature. The lingering struggle that "Bleeding Kansas" had endured demonstrated the difficulties that would arise if popular sovereignty became the means em-

ployed to settle the issue of slavery's expansion into the western territories.

From October 19 to November 8, proslavery forces in Kansas held a constitutional convention in Leecompton and drafted a document that legalized slavery in Kansas. Upon realizing that passage of this document was unlikely, delegates to the convention drafted a separate article on slavery that would be put before the voters in a referendum. Regardless of how the vote turned out on the slavery article, the constitution would still protect the institution in Kansas. Although Kansas territorial governor Robert J. Walker opposed the efforts of the delegates at Leecompton, President James Buchanan, who hoped to maintain a strained sense of unity within the Democratic Party, endorsed the work of the Leecompton Convention.

Legislators in Maine and New Hampshire granted freedom and citizenship to all persons of African descent who resided within their respective borders. This action represented further evidence of efforts by the northern states to negate the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

On December 21, when antislavery supporters ("jayhawkers") in the Kansas Territory refused to take part in the referendum on the proslavery Leecompton Constitution, the proslavery document was approved for the territory.

Hinton Rowan Helper of North Carolina, an abolitionist who despised blacks, published *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*. Helper based his arguments on statistical information that he garnered from the Seventh Census of the United States taken in 1850. Helper asserted that slavery had caused great economic distress to the nonslaveholders and the poor whites of the South. He urged the South's poor whites to rise up and overthrow slavery, but he also advocated the deportation of freed blacks to Africa. Sixty-eight members of the House of Representatives endorsed Helper's book, most without having read it, and the Republican Party distributed 100,000 copies of it in the northern states. Once the book was published, it was banned in the southern states. Helper was considered a pariah in the region, and he was forced to flee to New York for his personal safety.

George Fitzhugh of Virginia, a noted proslavery polemicist, published *Cannibals All! or, Slaves Without Masters*. In this work Fitzhugh presented the argument that northern "wage slaves" were essentially worse off than slave laborers in the South. Fitzhugh believed that the exploitative nature of industrial capitalism did not provide a system of economic security to northern workingmen that was similar to the benevolence found in the paternalistic institution of slavery that

was found in the South. Fitzhugh lived until 1881, and in the years following the American Civil War he supported efforts to attract northern industry to the New South.

1858

On January 4 in the Kansas Territory, the Lecompton Constitution appeared on the ballot for a second time in a popular referendum. In a reversal of the initial vote, proslavery voters boycotted the election and the free soil supporters were able to defeat the measure.

On February 2, President James Buchanan urged the Congress to admit Kansas to the Union with the Lecompton Constitution that allowed slavery, even though Kansas voters rejected the document in January. Buchanan was criticized strongly by Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas who believed that the Lecompton Constitution did not represent the true wishes of Kansas voters as expressed through the system of popular sovereignty.

In February, the radical abolitionist John Brown, who was wanted by federal authorities for murder charges in the Kansas Territory, spent a month living in the home of Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York. During this time, Brown began to develop the plan for his raid on the Harpers Ferry arsenal in Virginia.

On March 23, Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas was unable to find the votes to block President James Buchanan's wishes, and the United States Senate voted to allow Kansas to enter the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, which permitted slavery, even though the free soil voters of Kansas had previously rejected this constitution. In the House of Representatives it was decided that the people of Kansas should be able to vote on this constitution once more through a third popular referendum. On April 1, the House of Representatives passed a resolution that required voters in the Kansas Territory to vote again on the Lecompton Constitution.

William Wells Brown published *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom*. It was the first play to be written by an African American. Brown had previously written an unpublished antislavery drama that he titled "Experience, or How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone."

On April 14, in California's most celebrated fugitive slave case, the Mississippi-born fugitive Archy Lee won the right to his freedom and then moved to Victoria, British Columbia. Several other fugitive slaves living in California also moved to British Columbia to avoid the possibility that California courts might be used to

try to return them to a condition of slavery in the southern states.

On May 4, in an effort to find a compromise that could settle the impasse on Kansas statehood, Indiana congressman William H. English proposed that the Congress provide statehood to Kansas in the event that voters there approved of the Lecompton Constitution. The Congress agreed to the compromise offered in the English Act.

On May 8, the American abolitionist John Brown held an antislavery convention in Chatham, Canada. Twelve whites and thirty-four blacks attended the gathering.

On June 16, Abraham Lincoln delivered the "House Divided" speech as he accepted the Republican Party's nomination for senator from Illinois. In the speech Lincoln declared, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half *slave* and half *free*. I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved*. I do not expect the house to *fall*, but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

On August 2, voters in Kansas rejected the Lecompton Constitution, and the territory became a free (nonslaveholding) territory. In rejecting this constitution and the stipulations attached in the English Act of May 4, Kansans turned away from the notion of immediate statehood, opting instead for an opportunity to keep the region free of slavery. Kansas did not enter the Union as a state until 1861, but it joined the Union as a free state.

Kansas and Wisconsin each enacted personal liberty laws, which were designed to circumvent enforcement of the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

From August 21 to October 15, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas conducted a series of seven debates in conjunction with the race for the United States Senate seat for Illinois. These debates were held in the communities of Ottawa (August 21), Freeport (August 27), Jonesboro (September 15), Charleston (September 18), Galesburg (October 7), Quincy (October 13), and Alton (October 15). During the debates Douglas made statements that alienated many of his southern supporters, thus making his chances of a successful presidential bid less likely. Lincoln used the debates to state his opposition to slavery, but he also declared his belief that it would be impossible to achieve racial equality in the United States.

In September in Wellington, Ohio, a group of several hundred Oberlin College students, led by one of their professors, local abolitionists, and free blacks rescued a fugitive slave named [Little] John Price and helped him to escape to Canada. This action was taken in direct violation of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

The federal government brought charges against thirty-seven of the alleged rescuers in the Oberlin-Wellington cases.

On September 25, New York senator William H. Seward had hoped to be the Republican Party's nominee for the presidency in 1860. Seward spoke at a public rally in Rochester, New York, during the midterm elections, when he stated, "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation." Although the Republicans did gain additional congressional seats in 1858, Seward's "irrepressible conflict" statement had painted him to be a radical within the party, and his chances of securing the Republican Party's presidential nomination in 1860 diminished.

The decision was made that slaves could not patent an invention because they were not considered citizens of the United States. In addition, Jefferson Davis was unable to obtain a patent on a type of boat propeller that his slave, Benjamin Montgomery, had invented. It was ruled that slaves could not assign any of their inventions to their owners.

1859

In February in Arkansas, the state legislature presented free blacks with the choice of either exile or enslavement.

On March 7, the United States Supreme Court decided the case of *Ableman v. Booth*. This case first began in 1854 when the Wisconsin Supreme Court freed Sherman M. Booth, an abolitionist editor, after he had been convicted in a federal court of violating the federal Fugitive Slave Law. The United States Supreme Court maintained that the states did not have the right to interfere in federal cases, and the justices upheld the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. In light of the ruling, the Wisconsin state legislature declared that "this assumption of jurisdiction by the federal judiciary . . . is an act of undelegated power, void, and of no force." In an unusual twist of fate, it was a northern antislavery state that used the argument of states' rights here to defend its actions.

On May 12, in Vicksburg, Mississippi, southern delegates gathered to participate in the annual Southern Commercial Convention. The convention delegates approved a resolution stating, "In the opinion of this Convention, all laws, State or Federal, prohibiting the African Slave Trade, ought to be repealed." This

measure was approved despite the opposition of several delegates from Tennessee and Florida.

On July 5 in the Kansas Territory, delegates gathered at Wyandotte (later Kansas City), Kansas, in order to hold a constitutional convention. The primary issue that was debated concerned whether or not Kansas should allow slavery. On October 4, 1859, Kansas voters would ratify a constitution that contained antislavery provisions. The measure would be approved by a nearly two to one margin.

From August 1 to August 2, the New England Colored Citizens Convention was held in Boston, Massachusetts.

On August 20, John Brown held a secret meeting with Frederick Douglass at a stone quarry near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Brown told Douglass of his planned raid at Harpers Ferry and hoped to gain Douglass's support of the project. Douglass cautioned Brown that the plan was ill-advised, and Douglass refused to offer his support to the project.

On September 5, Harriet E. Wilson, a free black woman, published the novel *Our Nig; or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black*. The work, which was published in Boston, was the first novel to be written by an African American woman and the first novel to be published by an African American author in the United States. It was also the first work that explored the exploitation and race-based abuse that free blacks faced in the antebellum North.

A group of Maryland slaveholders held a convention in Baltimore. During the event businessmen complained that many of the jobs in the service industries were monopolized by free blacks. Despite these reservations, the convention did not support a resolution to deport free blacks from the state of Maryland.

From October 16 to 17, John Brown and his associates (thirteen whites and five blacks) raided the United States Army arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, hoping to seize weapons that would help foment a massive slave uprising. During the attack, two blacks were killed, two were captured, and one escaped. Brown was captured by forces led by Colonel Robert E. Lee, and transported to Charleston, Virginia, where he was tried for treason, convicted, and executed by hanging. Upon his death on December 2, Brown became to many a martyr for the abolitionist cause. Four black co-conspirators, Shields Green, Dangerfield Newby, Sherrard Lewis Leary, and John A. Copeland were also hanged with Brown.

On December 2, abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison delivered a speech at Tremont Temple in Boston, Massachusetts, upon the death of John Brown.

On December 5, the House of Representatives again took two months to settle the question of who would serve as speaker. Ohio congressman John Sherman had hoped to win the post, but his earlier endorsement of Hinton Rowan Helper's book *The Impending Crisis* made him an unacceptable candidate to southern congressmen. In the end, the House elected New Jersey congressman William Pennington as the speaker of the House of Representatives for the Thirty-sixth Congress.

On December 14, the Georgia state legislature enacted a measure that made it illegal for a slaveowner to manumit slaves through a final will or testament.

On December 16, two black accomplices of John Brown, John Copeland and Shields Green, were hanged at Charleston, Virginia for their role in the failed plot.

On December 17, the Georgia state legislature enacted a measure that permitted any free black within the state of Georgia who was indicted for vagrancy to be sold as a slave.

On December 19, President James Buchanan used the occasion of his annual message to Congress to state his opposition to any effort to reestablish the African slave trade. Although Buchanan pledged to use the government's resources to stop the illegal slave trading that had persisted, he also criticized the detention and search of American merchant vessels by British patrols off the coast of West Africa.

American sculptor John Rogers created a work of group sculpture that he called "The Slave Auction." The work was featured at an art showing in New York City from 1859 to 1860.

1860

The results of the Eighth Census revealed that of the more than 8 million white residents of the South, only 383,637 were identified as slaveowners. Black population, both slave and free, was recorded at 4,441,830, or 14.1 percent of the nation's population. Of this total, 448,070 were identified as free blacks and 3,953,760 were slaves.

Free blacks in New York petitioned the state legislature to grant them equal suffrage rights with white citizens.

Although involvement in the African slave trade had been illegal since January 1, 1808, *The Clotilde*, the last recorded slave ship to carry slaves to the United States, landed a shipment of Africans at Mobile, Alabama.

The approximate price of a slave fieldhand averaged between \$1,200 and \$1,800.

Skilled slave artisans could earn \$500 to \$600 per year by hiring their services out in the community.

The legislature of the state of Virginia enacted a measure that made it possible for free blacks to be sold into slavery as punishment for committing acts that would otherwise be considered as imprisonable.

On February 2 in the United States Senate, Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi introduced a series of resolutions that maintained that the federal government did not have the authority to prevent the expansion of slavery into the western territories and that the government must actually protect slaveholders and their property in these regions. Although Davis was aware that the Senate would not support these measures, his effort was more of a calculated political move that was aimed at swaying the Senate's Democrats to this position. Davis hoped to derail the presidential aspirations of Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas who was an advocate of the popular sovereignty position.

On February 27, Abraham Lincoln delivered an address to the Young Men's Central Republican Union at the Cooper Institute in New York City. In this speech Lincoln outlined the principles of the Republican Party and stated his no-compromise position on the issue of slavery. The publicity attained from this address helped to make Lincoln a front-runner for the Republican Party's presidential nomination.

Legislators in Maryland outlawed the practice of manumission within the state.

From April 23 to May 3, the Democratic Party held its national nominating convention in Charleston, South Carolina. The party rejected a proslavery plank in its platform, a decision that caused the delegates from eight southern states to walk out of the convention. This convention would adjourn without selecting a presidential nominee for the Democratic Party.

On May 9, the Constitutional Union Party was formed at a convention in Baltimore, Maryland, as southern Unionists, former members of the Whig Party, and former members of the American (Know-Nothing) Party came together in an effort to preserve national unity through effective compromise. These like-minded delegates believed that secession was a greater evil than slavery. The platform of the Constitutional Union Party did not mention slavery, but the party pledged loyalty to the Union, support for the Constitution, and the willingness to enforce all national laws. The party nominated John Bell of Tennessee for the presidency, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts was the party's vice presidential nominee.

Abraham Lincoln, in a speech prior to his nomination as a presidential candidate, identified slavery “as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection necessary.”

Between May 16 and 18, the Republican Party held its nominating convention in Chicago, Illinois, and nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois as its presidential candidate and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine as vice president. The Republican platform stated the party’s opposition to the expansion of slavery into the western territories, but pledged that the party would not interfere with slavery in the states where it already existed.

Between June 18 and 23, as a result of their failed convention in Charleston, South Carolina, the Democratic Party held a second nominating convention in Baltimore, Maryland. Southern delegates again stormed out of the convention in protest of the party’s unwillingness to include a strong proslavery plank in its platform. After the southern delegates left the convention, the remaining delegates selected Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas to be the party’s presidential nominee.

On June 28, the southern delegates who had walked out of previous Democratic Party conventions in Charleston and Baltimore held their own rump convention in Baltimore. The southern Democrats drafted a party platform that demanded federal protection of the right to own slaves. The delegates nominated then Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as their presidential nominee and Senator Joseph Lane of Oregon for the vice presidency.

On November 6, Abraham Lincoln was elected to the presidency of the United States on a platform that opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories. Lincoln garnered only 40 percent of the popular vote in a race that featured four prominent candidates, but he won a resounding victory over his opponents in the Electoral College.

In December, President James Buchanan urged the Congress to pass constitutional amendments that upheld the fugitive slave acts.

On December 18, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky chaired a special Senate committee that sought to find an eleventh-hour compromise that might prevent the secession of the southern states and the possibility of civil war. Among other things, Crittenden’s compromise measures would include the call for a constitutional amendment that would have taken the 36°30’ north latitude boundary, first used in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and applied it across all of the western territories. The efforts of Crittenden’s

committee were ineffective. President-elect Abraham Lincoln had been elected on a platform that called for prohibiting the expansion of slavery into the western territories, and Lincoln could not support a measure that would have granted the possibility of slavery expanding into these lands.

On December 20, South Carolina became the first southern state to secede from the Union by declaring itself to be an “independent commonwealth.” By February 1, 1861, six other southern states had followed South Carolina out of the Union. These included: Mississippi (January 9), Florida (January 10), Alabama (January 11), Georgia (January 19), Louisiana (January 26), and Texas (February 1).

1861

Between February 4 and 9, delegates from the seven southern states that had seceded from the Union met at Montgomery, Alabama, and adopted the provisional constitution of the Confederate States of America. On February 9, the body elected Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as the provisional president of the Confederacy.

On February 18, Confederate president Jefferson Davis described slavery as a practice “as necessary to self-preservation” in his inaugural address.

Harriet Jacobs published *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. The work is considered one of the most important slave narratives and presents a vivid portrayal of the multifaceted exploitation faced by women who were slaves.

On March 2, the United States Congress adopted a proposed constitutional amendment, which it sent to the states for final ratification. This proposed amendment stated that the federal government would have no right to subsequent action that would “abolish or interfere . . . with the domestic institutions” of the states. With the outbreak of the American Civil War in April 1861, the proposal would fail to be ratified by the states.

On March 4, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as the nation’s sixteenth president in Washington, D.C. In his inaugural address, Lincoln stated unequivocally, “I have no purpose . . . to interfere with the institution of slavery.” Nonetheless, Lincoln cautioned the southern states, “In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to ‘preserve, protect and defend’ it.”

Also in March, Alexander Stephens, the vice president of the Confederate States of America, stated that his government “rested upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is a natural and normal condition . . . our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.”

On April 12, Confederate forces began the bombardment of the federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. This incident marks the beginning of the American Civil War.

On April 15, President Lincoln issued a national call for 75,000 troops for three months. Rather than describing the situation as one of war, he used the term *rebellion*. Free black troops sought to volunteer to Lincoln’s call but were rejected.

On May 20, North Carolina became the eleventh and final southern state to secede from the Union. Other states of the Upper South had waited until after the incident at Fort Sumter before deciding upon secession. Once it became clear that Abraham Lincoln would use force against the South, four additional states seceded, joining the seven that had left the Union earlier. Besides North Carolina, the other three states were Virginia (April 17), Arkansas (May 6), and Tennessee (May 6).

On May 24, Union general Benjamin F. Butler put a group of fugitive slaves to work at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Butler described the fugitive slaves as “contraband of war.”

In the summer, slaves on several plantations located along Second Creek in Adams County, Mississippi, planned an uprising that was to coincide with the arrival of Union troops in the region. Local planters discovered the plot, executed nearly forty slaves who were suspected of involvement, and then kept silent about the extent of the plot in the hope that other slaves might not be inspired to similar acts by this episode.

On July 22, the United States Senate declared that “this war is not waged . . . for any purpose . . . of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of . . . southern States.” The resolution further stated that the specific aim of the war was “to preserve the Union” and not the abolition of slavery in the southern states.

On August 6, with the passage of the First Confiscation Act, Congress authorized the freeing of those slaves who were in regions under Union army control and who had previously been employed to aid the Confederate cause.

On August 30, acting upon his own initiative and

without the backing of officials in Washington, Major General John C. Frémont invoked martial law and issued a proclamation that freed the slaves of all disloyal owners in Missouri. Lincoln later effectively nullified the order by asking Frémont to revise his proclamation so that it would not overstep congressional laws regarding emancipation. Lincoln later reassigned Frémont to a different department.

Black volunteers had already fought in behalf of the Confederacy both on land and at sea, but in September the Union army had officially rejected the application of free black volunteers who had offered their services to fight in the war.

On September 11, General John C. Frémont refused to comply with President Lincoln’s request that he revise his proclamation freeing the slaves of disloyal owners in Missouri. Using his power as commander-in-chief of the nation’s armed forces, Lincoln ordered General Frémont to comply.

On September 17, Mary Peake, a black teacher, established a school at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. This school marked the beginning of what eventually became the Hampton Institute.

On September 25, the secretary of the navy authorized the enlistment of black slaves.

On December 1, at President Lincoln’s request, Secretary of War Simon Cameron deleted several controversial clauses from his annual report to the Congress. The passages in question had advocated the use of emancipation as a wartime necessity and related to the use of former slaves as military laborers and soldiers. Lincoln would soon remove Secretary Cameron from the War Department by naming him the minister to Russia and appointing Edwin M. Stanton as his replacement.

1862

On March 6, Abraham Lincoln sent a message to the Congress in which he proposed that a plan of gradual, compensated emancipation be enacted.

In Memphis, Tennessee, the Lincoln School for Negroes was established as an elementary school for black children. The institution eventually grew and developed into LeMoyne-Owen College.

In a letter to newspaper editor Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln stated that saving the Union was his primary concern and that “not either to save or destroy slavery” was an issue that motivated his directing of the war efforts.

On March 13, with the adoption of a new article of war, the Congress prohibited northern military

commanders from capturing any fugitive slaves or helping to return any fugitives to their owners.

In March, the National Freedmen's Relief Association was established in New York City. The purpose of this organization was to help former slaves to make the transition from slavery to freedom. Similar Freedmen's Societies were eventually established in Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago. These groups later were consolidated into the American Freedmen's Aid Commission under the leadership of James Miller McKim.

On April 3, Union general David "Black David" Hunter requested permission from the War Department to recruit and arm blacks in the South Carolina Sea Islands for military service. When officials in Washington failed to respond to his request, Hunter initiated the plan on his own accord.

On April 10, the United States Congress agreed to cooperate with any state that sought to establish a plan of gradual abolition of slavery with compensated emancipation.

On April 16, Congress ended slavery in the nation's capital when a program of compensated emancipation for slaves held in the District of Columbia was enacted into law. The Congress appropriated \$1 million to compensate the owners of slaves who were freed by this measure. Congress also appropriated \$100,000 in funds for the resettlement of freed blacks in Liberia, Haiti, or other locations that were deemed appropriate.

On May 9, without prior approval of Union military authorities, General David "Black David" Hunter organized the First South Carolina Volunteers, the first all-black regiment to be formed during the Civil War. (Later, when the War Department failed to pay or equip the regiment, Hunter was forced to disband it.) Hunter also issued a proclamation that freed the slaves owned by all rebels in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina.

On May 19, President Lincoln revoked the proclamation issued by General Hunter on May 9. Lincoln feared that an emancipation edict instituted in any setting might be sufficient cause to encourage the border states to leave the Union. Lincoln urged the border states (Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware) to adopt a program of gradual, compensated emancipation.

On May 13, the slave Robert Smalls commandeered a Confederate steamer, *The Planter*, and surrendered it to the Union navy as war booty in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. Smalls would later serve as a congressman during the Reconstruction Era.

The First Regiment Louisiana Heavy Artillery and the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Infantry

Regiments were formed. These units were the first authorized black combat units to be used in the Civil War.

On June 19, the United States Congress approved of a resolution that prohibited slavery from all federal territories, but not the states.

On July 12, President Lincoln lobbied the senators and congressmen from the four border states to support a plan of gradual, compensated emancipation, which would be followed by the systematic colonization of freed slaves to points outside the United States. Lincoln cautioned that if the political leaders failed to act, slavery "will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war." On July 14, the political leaders from the border states voted to reject President Lincoln's proposal.

On July 17, Congress enacted the Second Confiscation Act, which granted freedom to slaves of masters who supported the Confederacy, but this did not provide universal emancipation. With the passage of this measure, the president was also authorized to employ "persons of African descent" in any fashion deemed necessary, including their use as armed troops in the military service.

On July 17, Congress enacted the Militia Act, which permitted the employment of blacks in "any military or naval service for which they may be found competent." The measure also bestowed freedom on any slave who was employed in this capacity.

On July 22, Abraham Lincoln submitted a working draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet for the first time. The cabinet decided that the president should wait until a major Union victory was achieved on the battlefield before making the Proclamation public. Lincoln postponed announcement of the proclamation until after the Union victory in the battle of Antietam on September 17, and he then announced the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22.

In August, General Jim Lane began to organize the First Kansas Colored Volunteers.

On August 14, Abraham Lincoln held a meeting with prominent black leaders in which he urged them to support a colonization plan either to Central America or to Africa. Although this was the first time that an American president conferred with black leaders on a matter of public policy, many free blacks in the North were highly critical of President Lincoln's suggestions.

On August 22, shortly after the capture of New Orleans, General Benjamin F. Butler, acting on his own initiative, issued a call to the free blacks of New Orleans to organize a military unit in support of the Union cause.

Also on August 22, President Lincoln responded to Horace Greeley's editorial "A Prayer of Twenty Millions," which appeared in the August 20 edition of the *New York Tribune*. Greeley's editorial was, in effect, an open letter to the president calling for action on the issue of emancipation. Despite his having previously drafted the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln responded to Greeley's challenge by stating, "My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and it is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. 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 do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that."

On August 25, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton authorized General Rufus Saxton, the commander of the Southern Department, to arm up to 5,000 slaves and to train them as guards for plantations and settlements in the South Carolina Sea Islands.

On September 22, Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary draft of his Emancipation Proclamation shortly after the Union victory in the battle of Antietam. In this statement President Lincoln warned the southern states that he intended to free the slaves in all regions that remained in rebellion against the national government effective upon January 1, 1863. Lincoln also used this occasion to pledge financial support to any border state that adopted a program of gradual, compensated emancipation. He also stated his support for the colonization of freed slaves to points outside of the United States such as Liberia or Haiti.

On September 23, only one day after publicly announcing the Emancipation Proclamation and stating his intention to end slavery, Abraham Lincoln met with his cabinet to discuss the acquisition of new territory that might be used for the deportation of free blacks upon the abolition of slavery.

On September 27, the First Louisiana Native Guards, the first black regiment that received officially sanctioned recognition by the United States government, was mustered into service to assist the Union army. Free blacks from New Orleans comprised most of the membership of this regiment.

On October 11, fearing the potential for unrest on plantations that might arise because of the absence of proper supervision, the Confederate Congress enacted a measure that exempted from military service those slaveowners who held more than twenty slaves. Many cynics observed that this action was another example of how the American Civil War was a rich man's war but a poor man's fight.

On October 28, black troops took part in battle for the first time during the American Civil War. The First

Kansas Colored Volunteers, which had been organized by General Jim Lane, engaged and repulsed a large rebel force at Island Mound, Missouri.

On December 1, still supporting a plan of compensated emancipation, Abraham Lincoln sent a message to the Congress urging that federal bonds be used to fund a compensation scheme for those states that agreed to abolish slavery before 1900.

On December 23, Confederate president Jefferson Davis signed an order immediately mandating that any black Union troops and the white officers who commanded them when captured in battle were not to be treated as prisoners of war. Rather, they were to be turned over to state authorities where they would be prosecuted as criminals.

1863

On January 1, the Emancipation Proclamation became effective and declared free all slaves except those in states, or parts of states, that were no longer in rebellion. The Proclamation did not apply in the border states, nor did it apply in those areas that were already under control of the Union army. These areas included thirteen parishes in southern Louisiana (including the city of New Orleans), the forty-eight counties that made up West Virginia, seven counties in eastern Virginia (including the city of Norfolk), and the state of Tennessee. President Lincoln also announced the Union's intention of recruiting blacks as sailors and soldiers.

On January 26, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton authorized the governor of Massachusetts, John A. Andrew, to organize a company of black troops. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, under the command of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, was the first black regiment to be raised in the North.

In February, Pennsylvania Congressman Thaddeus Stevens pushed a bill through the Congress that called for the enlistment of 150,000 United States Colored Troops.

On March 10, the city of Jacksonville, Florida, was captured and occupied by the First and Second South Carolina—two black regiments. The fear of white communities being occupied by black troops caused great distress in many parts of the South.

On March 16, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton established the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission within the War Department. This commission was charged with investigating the conditions faced by freed slaves and making recommendations that would aid their future welfare and potential for employment.

A colonization attempt was made with the support of President Abraham Lincoln. An American vessel carried 500 black settlers to Cow Island, off the coast of Haiti, but the colonization attempt failed.

On May 1, the Confederate Congress, responding to the worst fears of white southerners, declared that all black troops, and the white officers who commanded them, would thereafter be considered criminals in the South. For blacks, this action meant that black troops captured in battle would either be executed or forced into slavery. If the white officers who commanded blacks were captured, they would be executed.

On May 22, the United States War Department issued General Order No. 143, which placed control of black troops under the United States Colored Troops. An aggressive recruiting campaign began to attract black troops who were willing to fight for the cause of freedom.

In July, thirty regiments of United States Colored Troops were armed and equipped.

Between July 13 and 17 in New York City Draft Riots occurred, and white mobs displayed a vast amount of antiblack sentiment in perhaps the bloodiest race riot in American history. Twelve hundred deaths, mostly black, were reported. The combined effects of fearing the economic competition of free blacks, the new cause of freedom for which the war was being waged, and hostility to the draft all contributed to the rage among poor white immigrant mobs in New York City.

On July 18, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers, an all-black regiment, made its famous assault on Fort Wagner at Charleston Harbor, South Carolina.

On July 30, Abraham Lincoln announced that the United States government would “give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave anyone because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy’s prisoners in our possession.” The immediate result of this “eye-for-an-eye” policy was that the Confederate government backed away from its May 1 position, but individual commanders continued to execute captured black troops.

On October 3, the War Department began recruiting blacks for military service in the border states of Maryland and Missouri as well as in the state of Tennessee, which was effectively under Union control. The Congress appropriated funding to compensate owners of these slaves, provided that they had remained loyal Unionists throughout the rebellion.

On December 8, President Abraham Lincoln issued his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction,

which outlined the basis of his “Ten Percent Plan.” Should southerners take an oath of allegiance to the Union and promise to accept emancipation, Lincoln was willing to offer a federal pardon and restore all property, except slaves, that had been taken during the rebellion. Lincoln’s proposal also outlined the procedure by which the southern states could begin the process of gaining readmission to the Union.

1864

A new federal law enabled northern states to recruit black soldiers in the South.

Sergeant William Walker of the Third South Carolina Regiment was shot by order of a court martial after he protested against the inequality in pay received by black troops during the Civil War.

On March 16, pro-Union voters in occupied Arkansas ratified a new state constitution that abolished slavery in the state.

On April 8, the United States Senate approved by a vote of thirty-eight to six a proposed constitutional amendment that would abolish slavery in the United States.

On April 12, during the battle at Fort Pillow, near Memphis, Tennessee, nearly three hundred blacks were massacred by Confederate troops under the command of Nathan Bedford Forrest. Confederate troops had been told that black troops used in battle would not be taken as prisoners of war.

On June 7, the United States War Department began the enlistment of blacks into the Union military in the border state of Kentucky whether or not slaves had the permission of their owners to do so. As was the case in other regions, loyal owners who had maintained Unionist sympathies during the rebellion were compensated for the slaves who were taken for military service.

On June 15, the United States House of Representatives failed to approve the proposed constitutional amendment abolishing slavery in the United States, which the Senate had approved on April 8. There were ninety-five votes for the measure and sixty-six against, but the proposed amendment failed because it was thirteen votes shy of the two-thirds majority that was needed for approval before the measure could be sent to the states for final ratification.

Also on June 15, Congress equalized the bounties that were paid for enlistment of white and black soldiers with the passage of the Army Appropriations Bill. The same measure equalized pay, arms, equipment, and medical services that were provided to black troops. The adjustment in pay, from \$10 per month to

\$13 per month was made retroactive to January 1, 1864, for slaves who served in the military, and it was made retroactive to the time of enlistment for all free blacks who served.

On June 20, the United States Congress enacted a pay increase for all Union soldiers, black and white alike. Privates would now earn \$16/month.

In July, Congress authorized that families of black troops who were killed in the war were entitled to receive government pensions.

On July 5, Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, received a letter from Canada suggesting that Confederate diplomats in that country were prepared to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the Civil War. Greeley informed President Lincoln of this correspondence, and on July 9 Lincoln informed Greeley that anyone who wanted to negotiate should contact the proper authorities in Washington. Nonetheless, Lincoln did allow Greeley to travel to Niagara Falls, Canada, on July 18 to meet with the Confederate diplomats. The negotiations proved to be unsuccessful as the southern negotiators would accept nothing short of southern independence.

On July 23 in occupied Louisiana, pro-Unionist delegates drafted a new reunion constitution at a state constitutional convention that was called by Governor Michael Hahn. This new constitution abolished slavery, but it did not grant the suffrage to blacks immediately. The new constitution did allow the legislature to extend the franchise to blacks at a later date.

On September 5 in occupied Louisiana, a new state constitution was approved by pro-Unionist voters who had taken an oath of allegiance to the federal government. This constitution eliminated slavery, but it did not immediately give blacks the right to vote. Instead, suffrage was postponed.

On October 4 in New Orleans, the *New Orleans Tribune* (*La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orleans*) began publication. It was the first black daily newspaper, and it was published in both French and English. Louis Charles Roudanez and his brothers operated the newspaper, and it remained for many years one of the most influential black newspapers in the United States.

On October 10, President Abraham Lincoln wrote to Henry W. Hoffman, a Maryland political leader, urging ratification of the proposed state constitution that would abolish slavery in the state. Maryland voters were scheduled to vote on the measure in an October 13 referendum, and many believed that the passage of the constitution was doubtful. Lincoln wrote, "I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free which I feel sure the extinction of

slavery would bring. I wish to see, in process of disappearing, that only thing which ever could bring this nation to civil war."

On November 1, in the border state of Maryland, a new state constitution that abolished slavery went into effect. The measure had been approved by state voters in an extremely close vote on October 13.

On November 8, President Abraham Lincoln was reelected to a second term in office as he defeated his Democratic rival, General George B. McClellan. In many respects, the election was a referendum on Lincoln's conduct of the war effort and his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. The Republican Party also increased its majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

1865

The American Missionary Association established Atlanta University in Georgia as an institution of higher education for African Americans. The institution later merged with Clark College and changed its name to Clark-Atlanta University.

The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People established the Baltimore Normal School in order to educate free black children. The institution eventually grew and developed into Bowie State University.

On January 9, pro-Unionist delegates attending a constitutional convention in occupied Tennessee adopted an amendment to the state constitution that abolished slavery in Tennessee. Pro-Unionist voters would ratify the proposed amendment in a referendum on February 22.

On January 11, General Robert E. Lee recommended that the Confederacy begin arming slaves as a means of filling the ranks of the Confederate army.

Also on January 11 in St. Louis, delegates attending a constitutional convention in the border state of Missouri ratified a new constitution that abolished slavery within the state.

On January 12, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton traveled to Savannah, Georgia, to confer with General William T. Sherman and twenty black leaders to discuss the welfare of freed slaves in the aftermath of the rebellion.

Also on January 12, in a speech before the House of Representatives, Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania described slavery as "the worst institution upon earth, one which is a disgrace to man and would be an annoyance to the infernal spirits." During the Reconstruction Era, which followed the American

Civil War, Congressman Stevens would become one of the most influential Radical Republican leaders to direct Reconstruction policy.

On January 16, General William T. Sherman issued Special Field Order 15. This measure set aside 40-acre plots in the coastal islands of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida that were to be distributed to freed slaves who would receive “possessory title” to the lands. The property in question had constituted large plantation estates in the years prior to the Civil War, but the lands had been seized when Union forces entered the region.

On January 17, realizing the difficult conditions that he faced, General Robert E. Lee said that it was “not only expedient but necessary” that slaves be used as soldiers by the Confederate government to fill the ranks of the Confederate Army.

On January 31, the House of Representatives finally approved a proposed constitutional amendment that would abolish slavery in the United States by a vote of 119 to 56. The election of more Republicans to the Congress in the November 1864 elections had made it easier for the measure to obtain the two-thirds majority that was necessary for approval. The Senate had originally approved the measure on April 8, 1864, but the initial vote in the House of Representatives had failed on June 15, 1864. Upon ratification by the states, this measure would become the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

On February 3, President Abraham Lincoln met with Confederate vice president Alexander Stephens at an abortive peace conference at sea off the coast of Hampton Roads, Virginia. Continuing Confederate demands that the South be granted autonomy as a sovereign independent republic resulted in the failure of the negotiations.

On February 12, Henry Highland Garnet became the first black minister to preach in the United States Capitol building. Garnet delivered a memorial sermon on the abolition of slavery.

On March 3, in anticipation of the work that would have to take place upon the conclusion of the Civil War, Congress authorized creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, a government agency that became the first public welfare program in the history of the United States. The Freedmen’s Bureau was designed to assist freedmen and refugees as they made the difficult social and economic transition from slavery to freedom after the war.

Also on March 3, a joint resolution of Congress emancipated the wives and children of all blacks who served in the Union military during the Civil War.

On March 13, the government of the Confederate States of America authorized the filling of military

quotas by using slaves, with the permission of their owners. The government did stipulate however that the number of slaves was not to exceed 25 percent of the able-bodied male slave population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. This last-ditch effort was enacted too late to assist the Confederate war effort.

On April 9, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. This event marked the end of the American Civil War.

On April 11, Abraham Lincoln recommended that the Congress consider granting the suffrage to black veterans and to other blacks who were considered to be intelligent.

Lincoln had been assassinated on the evening of April 14 by John Wilkes Booth, a southern sympathizer. Upon Lincoln’s death, Vice President Andrew Johnson of Tennessee became the nation’s seventeenth president.

On May 11, blacks in Norfolk, Virginia, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

On May 29, President Andrew Johnson publicly announced his plans for the reconstruction of the southern states. Johnson believed that the states of the defeated Confederacy had to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which repudiated slavery, but he did not believe that the suffrage should be extended to freedmen.

On June 6, blacks in Petersburg, Virginia, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

On June 19, blacks in Vicksburg, Mississippi, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

Also on June 19, news about the Emancipation Proclamation finally reached slaves in Texas when Union general Gordon Granger arrived at Galveston Bay, Texas, and liberated nearly two hundred thousand slaves. The celebration of “Juneteenth” as a commemoration of Emancipation Day became popular among African Americans within the state of Texas. Today the celebration is recognized in communities all across the United States.

From August 7 to the 11, blacks in Nashville, Tennessee, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

On September 16, Pennsylvania congressman Thaddeus Stevens urged the confiscation of all estates belonging to former Confederate leaders. Stevens believed that these lands should be redistributed to adult freedmen. This was the basis of the “forty acres and a

mule” idea of providing freedmen with the economic means to survive in a world after slavery.

On September 18, blacks in Richmond, Virginia, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

Between September 29 and October 3, blacks in Raleigh, North Carolina, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

On October 7, blacks in Jackson, Mississippi, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

From November 20 to November 25, blacks in Charleston, South Carolina, held mass meetings to demand the suffrage and equal rights with whites.

In the fall and winter, legislatures in states that constituted the former Confederate States of America enacted black codes that were designed to restrict the civil rights and liberty of movement of the newly emancipated freedmen.

On December 18, the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, became part of the United States Constitution.

1866

On January 9, Fisk University was founded in Nashville, Tennessee. It was one of the first historically black colleges and universities to be established in the United States.

On February 19, Congress attempted to expand the power and authority of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands that had been established in March 1865. The action was caused by the creation of black codes in states throughout the South that were designed to deny civil rights to former slaves. President Andrew Johnson vetoed the measure.

On February 22, supporters of President Andrew Johnson marched to the White House in the evening to celebrate the president’s veto of the Freedmen’s Bureau Act.

On March 16, Congress passed a Civil Rights Act that was designed to extend citizenship rights to African Americans. Calling the measure an infringement on the rights of the states, President Andrew Johnson vetoed the measure.

On April 2, President Andrew Johnson declared that the state of insurrection had ended in all of the former Confederate states with the exception of Texas.

On April 9, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 by overriding the veto that President Andrew Johnson had issued on March 16.

Between May 1 and May 3, a serious racial distur-

bance took place in Memphis, Tennessee, that resulted in the death of forty-eight individuals. Many of the people targeted were black veterans of the Civil War.

On June 16, Congress sent the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to the states for ratification. If approved, the measure would extend citizenship rights to African Americans and provide for equal protection of the law to all Americans.

In July, Congress reduced the number of justices on the U.S. Supreme Court from nine to seven in order to prevent President Andrew Johnson from making any appointments to the court.

On July 16, Congress passed a new Freedmen’s Bureau Act by overriding the veto that President Andrew Johnson had issued on February 19.

On July 24, upon its ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the state of Tennessee was restored to the Union by action of the U.S. Congress.

On July 30, a race riot occurred in New Orleans, Louisiana, that left 37 dead and 119 wounded.

On August 2, President Andrew Johnson declared that the state of insurrection had ended in Texas and that civil authority had been restored in all parts of the former Confederate states.

On August 14, a group of moderates from the North and the South held a National Union Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to try to rally support for President Andrew Johnson and his policies, but the gathering has no real effect upon national Reconstruction policy.

Between August 28 and September 15, President Andrew Johnson spent time campaigning for congressional candidates who supported his Reconstruction policies. Johnson hoped to affect the outcome of the midterm elections of 1866 that would produce a new Congress. Although Johnson hoped to diminish the political power of the Radical Republican faction, that group gained sufficient seats in the new Congress to make it “veto-proof.”

On November 6, midterm elections produced sweeping victories for the Radical Republicans in Congress who gained enough new seats to command a two-thirds majority in both the House of Representative and the Senate. At this point, the Radical republicans had enough power to override any presidential veto that might be issued.

1867

On January 8, Congress enacted a law that extended

the suffrage to African American men living in the District of Columbia.

On January 22, Congress authorized a special session of the new Congress to begin on March 4, thus allowing the Radical Republican-dominated Congress to begin its work nine months earlier than normal. This measure was designed to take Reconstruction policy effectively out of the hands of the president.

On February 7, Frederick Douglass led a delegation of black leaders who met with President Andrew Johnson to urge that suffrage rights be extended to all blacks who met the qualifications for voting.

On February 18, Morehouse College was founded in Augusta, Georgia (and later moved to Atlanta, Georgia). This educational institution quickly became one of the premier historically black colleges and universities to be established in the United States.

On February 27, James D. B. DeBow died. As the editor and publisher of *DeBow's Review of the South and Southwest*, DeBow had been one of the strongest proponents of industrialization in the South prior to the Civil War.

On March 2, Congress voted to charter Howard University in Washington, D.C. The school was named after General Oliver Otis Howard who was the director of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Also on March 2, Congress enacted the Command of the Army Act, a measure stipulating that all military orders from the president of the United States must emanate from the general of the army in Washington, D.C. Congress further stated that this officer could not be removed from his post without the consent of the Senate.

In the Tenure of Office Act of March 2, Congress prohibited the president of the United States from removing any cabinet-level civil officials from their posts without the consent of the Senate. The measure was passed over President Johnson's veto. Subsequently, this legislation would be used to bring impeachment charges against the president when he sought to remove Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from office.

On the same day, the First Reconstruction Act was passed by Congress over the veto of the president. This measure divided the South into five military districts and imposed martial law in the region. States desiring to enter the Union under the terms of this act would need to establish new state constitutions that granted suffrage rights to African American men and ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

On March 11, Republican representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania introduced a slave reparations bill in the House of Representatives. The bill was defeated by a vote of 126 to 37.

On March 23, Congress passed the Second Reconstruction Act. The measure called for the registration of all qualified African American males as voters.

On April 1, the Ku Klux Klan held its first national convention in Nashville, Tennessee.

On May 1, Howard University was founded in Washington, D.C. This educational institution quickly became the premier historically black university to be established in the United States.

On July 19, Congress passed the Third Reconstruction Act. In addition to complying with previous measures, states in the South were required to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution before they could be readmitted to the Union.

On August 12, President Andrew Johnson removed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from office and appointed General Ulysses S. Grant as an interim appointee to replace Stanton. Congress viewed this action as a violation of the Tenure of Office Act and began to consider charges of impeachment against the president.

1868

As a former White House seamstress and confidante of Mary Todd Lincoln, the former slave Elizabeth Keckley created a stir when she published *Behind the Scenes: Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House*.

William Wells Brown published *The Negro in the American Rebellion*, the first work to examine the role of African Americans during the Civil War.

On January 13, Congress refused to accept the removal of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Interim appointee General Ulysses S. Grant turned the position back over to Stanton.

On February 21, President Johnson formally dismissed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from the cabinet and had him forcibly removed from his office.

On February 23, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt) DuBois, one of the leading intellectuals and social activists of the African American community, was born. As a historian, DuBois wrote extensively on the topic of slavery and its legacy for the United States.

Between February 24 and May 16, Congress considered the matter of the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

The impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson took place from March 5 to May 16. At the end of the trial, the U.S. Senate voted to convict by a vote of 35 to 19, but this fell one vote shy of the two-thirds needed for conviction. President Andrew Johnson

would remain in office, but he was tremendously weakened and largely ineffective for the remainder of his term.

On March 11, Congress passed the Fourth Reconstruction Act. The measure stated that a majority of votes cast (rather than a majority of registered voters) would determine the adoption of state constitutions in the South. This measure was adopted to counter the intimidation of black voters in the South by groups like the Ku Klux Klan.

On March 17, Congress denied the U.S. Supreme Court the power to hear appeals of any habeas corpus cases that might reach the court. The effort was a preemptive one designed to prevent the Court from possibly declaring the First Reconstruction Act unconstitutional.

In April, Samuel Chapman Armstrong established the Hampton Institute in Hampton Roads, Virginia. Designed to provide a practical education for former slaves, one of its graduates, Booker T. Washington, would go on to become one of the leading African American educators of the era.

On April 30, Decoration Day (later named Memorial Day) was recognized for the first time as an opportunity to commemorate the service of those who had lost their lives during the Civil War. The idea was developed by John A. Logan, who was then serving as national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), an association of Union army veterans.

On June 13, the African American officeholder Oscar J. Dunn, a former slave, became the lieutenant governor of Louisiana.

On June 22, upon its ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the state of Arkansas was restored to the Union by Congress.

On June 25, upon their ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana were restored to the Union by action of the U.S. Congress.

On July 28, Congress declared that the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution had been ratified by a sufficient number of the states to make it a part of the Constitution.

On August 11, Pennsylvania congressman Thaddeus Stevens, one of the key architects of the Radical Republican plan of Reconstruction, died.

On November 3, Republican candidate General Ulysses S. Grant was elected president of the United States by defeating his Democratic rival, Governor Horatio Seymour of New York.

On December 25, a presidential proclamation of unqualified amnesty was granted by President Andrew

Johnson to all who had participated in the “insurrection or rebellion” of the Civil War.

On February 27, Congress sent the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to the states for ratification. If approved, the measure would extend voting rights to African American men.

On September 22, a serious race riot took place in New Orleans, Louisiana.

On September 28, a serious race riot took place in Opelousas, Louisiana.

On October 26, a serious race riot took place in St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana.

1870

On February 2 in South Carolina, the African American officeholder Jonathan Jasper Wright began serving as an associate justice on the state supreme court. Wright held the post for seven years, during which he was the highest ranked African American judicial officer in the United States.

On February 25, the U.S. Senate seat from Mississippi that was once held by Jefferson Davis became occupied by Hiram R. Revels, the first African American to serve in the U.S. Senate.

In March, the Forty-first Congress gathered in Washington, D.C. It included two African American members of the House of Representatives Joseph H. Rainey and Robert Brown Elliot both from South Carolina.

On March 30, Congress declared that the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution had been ratified by a sufficient number of the states to make it a part of the Constitution.

On April 9, the American Anti-Slavery Society held its final meeting and decided to disband since it had accomplished its task of ending slavery in the United States.

On May 31, Congress enacted the first of the Force Acts, commonly called the Ku Klux Klan Acts, to outlaw the activities that vigilante organizations like the Klan were carrying out against freedmen in the South.

On October 12, General Robert E. Lee died. During the Civil War, General Lee had commanded the Army of Northern Virginia and eventually became commander-in-chief of all Confederate Armies.

On October 20, the black abolitionist James W. Pennington died. In 1841, Pennington had authored *A Textbook of the Origin and History of the Colored People*, the first African American history textbook to be published in the United States.

On December 12, Joseph H. Rainey, a congressman from South Carolina, became the first African American to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. In addition to completing the term to which he had been appointed, Rainey was subsequently elected to the next four Congresses.

1871

On January 25, Quaker abolitionist Thomas Garrett died. Hearing of Garrett's passing, William Lloyd Garrison commented: "His rightful place is conspicuously among the benefactors, saviors, martyrs of the human race."

In March, the Forty-second Congress gathered in Washington, D.C. It included five African American members of the House of Representatives: Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama; Josiah T. Walls of Florida; and Robert Carlos DeLarge, Robert Brown Elliot, and Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina.

On April 20, Congress enacted the second of the Force Acts, commonly called the Ku Klux Klan Acts, to outlaw the activities that vigilante organizations like the Klan were carrying out against freedmen in the South.

On December 11, Congress passed a law making it illegal for U.S. citizens to participate in the slave trade or to own slaves in any other country. This effectively meant that the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would have a bearing on all U.S. citizens regardless of where they might live or work.

1872

Slavery in the United States began to be treated in a scholarly fashion as historians Henry Wilson and Samuel Hunt published *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*.

William Still, a black abolitionist and conductor on the Underground Railroad published *The Underground Railroad*, a history of the antislavery network that had helped thousands of fugitives to escape from slavery. Still's work was one of the first to highlight the important role that the fugitives themselves had played in achieving their own freedom by "stealing themselves away from slavery."

On May 22, Congress passed the Amnesty Act and restored civil rights to most former Confederates who had been barred from voting or holding public office. Within a few years, many of these individuals would rise to positions of power in the South.

On November 5, President Ulysses S. Grant was re-elected to a second term.

On December 11 in Louisiana, the speaker of the state legislature P. B. S. Pinchback, an African American officeholder, was elevated to the post of acting-governor, a position he held for forty-three days. He is considered to be the first African American to serve as a governor in the history of the United States.

1873

In March, the Forty-third Congress gathered in Washington, D.C. It included six African American members of the House of Representatives: Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama; Josiah T. Walls of Florida; and Robert Carlos DeLarge, Robert Brown Elliot, Joseph H. Rainey, and Robert Smalls of South Carolina.

1874

On March 11, the death of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner marked the passing of one of the last great supporters of congressional reconstruction policy as crafted by the Radical Republicans.

In November, in the midterm congressional elections, the Democratic Party regained control of the House of Representatives as the Republicans lost eighty-five seats.

1875

The sculpture *Emancipation* was unveiled in Lincoln Park in Washington, D.C. Created by Thomas Ball, the sculpture showed President Abraham Lincoln with his hand lifted over a kneeling slave.

The Supreme Court ruled in the case of *U.S. v. Cruikshank* and weakened the effect of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Court stated that "the right of suffrage was not a necessary attribute of national citizenship." The Court also determined that "the right to vote in the States comes from the States" and not from the national government.

In March, the Forty-fourth Congress gathered in Washington, D.C. It included six African American members of the House of Representatives: Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama; Josiah T. Walls of Florida; and Robert Carlos DeLarge, Robert Brown Elliot, Joseph H. Rainey, and Robert Smalls of South Carolina.

On March 1, Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which gave all citizens equal rights in all public

places and prohibited the exclusion of African Americans from jury duty. Several years later in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883), the U.S. Supreme Court would rule the measure to be unconstitutional.

On March 15, Blanche K. Bruce, the second African American to serve in the U.S. Senate, took his seat as a senator from Mississippi. He was the only African American senator to serve a complete six-year term during the nineteenth century.

On July 31, former president Andrew Johnson died.

On December 19, Carter G. Woodson was born. The future historian would be one of the founders of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. He established the *Journal of Negro History* and was the founder of Negro History Week.

1876

On March 8, the U.S. Senate refused to seat P. B. S. Pinchback as a senator from the state of Louisiana. As an African American political figure who had previously served as acting-governor of Louisiana, members of the Senate claimed that Pinchback did not have the proper qualifications to serve in the Senate.

On July 8, racial disturbances began in South Carolina that persisted until October 26. Federal troops were sent into the area to restore order after five blacks were killed in racial violence in Hamburg, South Carolina.

On November 7, Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel Tilden were candidates for president of the United States, but the election did not produce a winner. Although Tilden had a slight lead in the popular vote, neither candidate had an electoral vote majority. Disputed votes from four states had to be reconciled before a winner could be declared.

On December 6, electoral votes were counted in Washington, D.C., but did not yield a winner to the disputed presidential contest. Twenty-three electoral votes from Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Oregon remained in dispute.

1877

On January 29, an Electoral Commission was appointed by Congress to determine how the electoral votes that remained in dispute from the presidential election of 1876 should be distributed. The commission eventually decided to award all twenty-three disputed electoral votes to Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes.

On February 26, representatives of Rutherford B. Hayes met with southern political leaders at the Wormly Hotel, a black-operated hotel in Washington, D.C., to work out the final details of a compromise that would allow Hayes to become president if he agreed to end Reconstruction and remove federal troops from the South.

On March 2, after intense negotiations, representatives from the Republican and Democratic parties agreed to the terms of the so-called Compromise of 1877 that settled the disputed election of 1876. By the terms of the agreement, Republican Rutherford B. Hayes became president, but in exchange the Republicans promised to remove federal troops from the South, appoint southerners to the cabinet and the Supreme Court, and provide money for generous internal improvements to aid the South.

On March 4, Rutherford B. Hayes became the nineteenth president of the United States.

On March 18, in the face of opposition from the South as well as within the Republican Party, President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed the prominent African American leader Frederick Douglass to the post of federal marshal for the District of Columbia.

From April 10 to April 14, President Rutherford B. Hayes removed the last federal troops from the states of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, thereby marking an end to the Reconstruction Era.

On April 24, the last federal troops withdrew from Louisiana and South Carolina ending what southerners termed “carpetbag rule” that had prevailed during Reconstruction.

On June 15, Henry O. Flipper became the first African American to graduate from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York.

On September 16, Levi Coffin died. During the antebellum era, Coffin had been known as the self-proclaimed “President of the Underground Railroad.”

On October 29, Nathan Bedford Forrest died. He had been a Confederate cavalry officer and founder of the Ku Klux Klan.

On November 4, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips was born in LaGrange, Georgia. The future historian would write *American Negro Slavery* (1918), which became the dominant historiographic interpretation of the institution during the first half of the twentieth century. Phillips believed that slavery was a benevolent institution that resulted from planter paternalism, and he viewed the plantation as an educational institution that trained the slaves.

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EARLY CONQUEST, COLONIALISM, AND THE ORIGINS OF AFRICAN SLAVERY

The origins of slavery as a social institution can be traced back to the very beginnings of civilization. The settlement of villages, made possible by the invention of farming and the domestication of animals, meant that humankind was no longer reliant on a nomadic, hunter-gatherer existence. As such, a more stable type of life based on sedentary farming became common in many civilizations.

We measure our ability to live together in community by the degree to which we can coexist within settled societies. Curiously, our terms “city” and “civilization” share the same Latin root (“civis”) in celebration of the human achievement that was attained when nomadic existence gave way to what was perceived as a better way. Civilization—life in community—represented the highest of achievements in many respects,

but it also contained the seeds of discontent that have plagued much of human history. Civilization gave way to disparities in wealth as legions of “have” and “have not” societies emerged and the progeny of this social and economic reality—war and slavery—emerged.

Social scientists have long recognized an immediate connection between war and slavery. The ancient practice of fighting to the death was a difficult and bloody business that evolved into something that was viewed as more humane and more pragmatic. War captives became understood as having an economic value if they were enslaved rather than killed on the battlefield; thus the earliest consideration of a human being as a commodity occurred when this concept was first realized. War captives, in essence, became prizes that provided great advantage to societies that were victorious

in battle. In an almost never-ending cycle, the economic value of the prizes of war (particularly slaves) gave rise to more conflict as societies sought a distinct economic advantage over their rivals and sought to subjugate and enslave the “socially dead” captured on the field of battle.

In ancient societies of Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, India, Greece, and Rome, this practice persisted in varying degrees from the beginnings of civilization. Slavery was a social status that was bestowed upon the vanquished. It had no particular racial, ethnic, or religious connotation, but simply meant that slaves or their ancestors had experienced the misfortune of defeat at some point in the past. This was the type of slavery that existed for centuries in the ancient and classical civilizations that gave rise to the modern world.

The Origins of a New Slave Trade

The ancient form of slavery was quite distinct from the new practice that emerged in the mid-fifteenth century as Europeans began to conduct a trade in West African slaves. The new form of slavery recognized the slave as an object: as chattel that could be bought, sold, and traded. This concept also defined the slave as African. For the first time, a distinct group of people was recognized as potential slaves not because of a loss on the battlefield but simply because of the circumstances of their birth. Within a few generations the term “African” became synonymous with slavery.

Europeans first became interested in the exploration and conquest of Africa in the early fifteenth century. A military expedition in 1415 commanded by Portugal’s Prince Henry (“the Navigator”) resulted in the conquest of Ceuta, a fortified African city (located in modern-day Morocco) that became the first portion of the African continent to fall under European colonial occupation. The conquest of Ceuta was primarily an economic venture of the Portuguese, but rooted within this new adventure were ulterior motives: gold, glory, and God that would inspire subsequent exploration of Africa and eventually the Americas. Once the Portuguese possessed Ceuta they desired to know more of Africa and the potential riches that it might contain.

The exploration of coastal Africa was made difficult by the limitations of sailing technology and the virtual absence of cartographic knowledge in the early fifteenth century. Prince Henry sought to stimulate further exploration in 1421 by outfitting a school for sailors at Sagres, on Portugal’s most southwestern point, to look outward to the seas and perfect new

navigational tools and methods that might render sailing craft better able to overcome challenges that coastal Africa might present. New types of ship design, such as the caravel, which combined square-rigged and lateen sails, were developed and tested along with modifications to primitive navigational instruments like the magnetic compass and the astrolabe. The sailors and technicians at Sagres labored to develop sailing vessels that could explore the unknown parts of the world beyond.

The physical geography of coastal Africa also contributed to the difficulty experienced by early Portuguese navigators who sought to explore and chart the coastline of the African continent. The vast expanse of the African continent made the business of exploring difficult and time-consuming. Expeditions generally remained within sight of the coastline as they explored so that they would not become lost in an unknown sea, and the shape and size of the continent caused peculiar problems that the sailors had to overcome. Changes in latitude brought about differences in the prevailing winds, and shifting directions of coastline might mean sailing with the wind at times or sailing against the wind at others. Facing these obstacles and limitations, Portuguese exploration of the African coast persisted throughout the fifteenth century, albeit at a slow pace.

Forces greater than the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake motivated the venture that the Portuguese sailors began after their initial success at Ceuta. The economic desire to acquire great wealth was one of the primary factors that inspired technological innovation and persistence among those who plied the waters of the African coastline. Europeans understood that Africa was the landmass of indeterminate size that stood between Europe and the markets of Asia. For centuries exotic Asian products—silks and spices—had reached European markets via an overland-caravan route, but the uncertainties of wars and of banditry had made the overland-trade route dangerous and expensive. Many believed that an all-water route to Asia could produce a savings in costs that would enhance the profits garnered by Asian goods. The Portuguese wanted to round the African continent in order to realize the great profits that Asian markets could garner in European markets.

Faith and fear were other motivating factors that prompted the European expeditions along coastal Africa. Many Europeans had come to believe that Western European Christendom was under attack by the numerically superior forces of Islam. The combination of the Reconquista (711–1492), the seven-hundred-year experience with Muslims in the Iberian

Peninsula, with Muslim excursions into the area of southeastern Europe made many Christians fear that they were under attack and surrounded by enemies to the east and to the west. Many began to imagine that there might be other Christian kingdoms, perhaps in Africa, that could join forces with European Christians to counter the threat posed by Islam. There arose a belief that Africa contained a large Christian kingdom ruled by a semilegendary figure named Prester John, and many Europeans hoped to find this Christian ruler and form an alliance with him. The mythical kingdom of Prester John may have emerged from stories that Europeans had heard of the Coptic Christian population that lived in Ethiopia.

Europeans also felt threatened by the economic hegemony that Muslims were achieving in the eastern Mediterranean world. In 1453 the Ottoman Turks had seized control of the trading center of Constantinople, one of the principal entrepôts for Asian caravan trade routes. The Europeans did not want to deal with Muslim middlemen and the higher prices that might be involved in trade, and increasingly they wanted to find their own all-water route to Asia, which prompted further exploration of coastal Africa.

Portuguese sailors hoped to make the seas their domain as they explored the waters of coastal Africa. In 1425 they captured the Canary Islands, which had been occupied by the Spanish (Castilians) since 1405. In 1431 Portuguese sailors Diogo de Seville and Gonçalo Cabral claimed the uninhabited Azores for Portugal. With these two archipelagoes in their possession, the Portuguese sailors began to explore and map the western coast of Africa. Shortly thereafter, in 1433, they reached Cape Bojador (in modern-day Morocco) and continued sending expeditions farther southward.

The expeditions continued until Portuguese sailors had made their way south of the Sahara. It was here that the Europeans first came into contact with black Africa in the early 1440s. In 1441 the Portuguese sailor Antam Gonçalves returned to Lisbon with ten captured Africans, who were sold as slaves in the public market. This was the first recorded episode of Europeans transporting and marketing Africans as slaves.

Expeditions continued as Nino Tristram reached the mouth of the Senegal River in 1444 and Dinís Dias reached Cape Verde (in modern-day Senegal) the following year. A Portuguese chronicler in 1445 noted that a large slave auction, which he described as “a terrible scene of misery and disorder,” was conducted in the city of Lagos, Portugal. There were more than nine hundred African slaves in Portugal by 1447. The formalized trading of Africans became more institutionalized when, in 1448, Portugal’s Prince Henry authorized

construction of the first European slave-trading center and fort on the African coast at Arguin Bay. Exploration had given way to commerce, and the institutional structure of the slave trade began to emerge.

Regular trade in African captives to Portugal continued into the 1450s as an estimated eight hundred Africans were transported to Europe each year and were sold as slaves. The market for these captives expanded beyond Portugal as slave traders found ready buyers in Spain and other sugar islands in the Mediterranean. The hand-in-hand exploration and commercial exploitation of Africa continued as navigators continued southward while further establishing the mechanics of the slave trade. By 1462 the Portuguese had created a huge slave-trading center at Cacheu (in modern-day Guinea-Bissau) that was capable of holding thousands of captives at one time.

By 1471 the Portuguese sailors had reached the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana) where they established a trading center at Elmina. This location would eventually become the site of one of the largest and most notorious slave-trading castles (São Jorge da Mina) on the west coast of Africa. Other sailors reached the Bight of Benin by 1472, São Tomé by 1475, and the mouth of the Congo River by 1482. Reports from all of the locations indicated that numerous Africans were present who could be easily subdued and enslaved. The Portuguese had found an almost endless supply of potential slaves, but there was not yet a tremendous demand for the slaves that could be provided.

The nature of the slave trade changed in 1486 when the Portuguese conducted a trade agreement with the rulers of Benin. In exchange for captured Africans, the Portuguese agreed to trade European-made firearms. This decision, and others that followed, changed the nature of warfare and conquest in much of West Africa and destabilized states and kingdoms. The escalation of warfare in Africa that was prompted by the introduction of new weapons and the slave-raiding expeditions that were conducted to acquire captives began to produce more and more captives. War begat the taking of prisoners, and prisoners found themselves as captives who would be sold as slaves.

By the time the Portuguese sailor Bartolomeu Dias reached southern Africa at the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, the mechanics of the slave trade were well established, and a series of forts, castles, and trading centers had been set up along much of the West African coastline. Even though finding a route to Asia remained the primary goal and finding Prester John’s kingdom was perhaps a distant second, the Portuguese had come to realize that trade in Africans as slaves was a potentially lucrative business that, for the

time being, was Portugal's private monopoly. The same year that Dias stood at the Cape of Good Hope, the king of Portugal presented Pope Innocent VII with a gift of one hundred African slaves.

Another Route to the Indies

Christopher Columbus's 1492 assertion that Asia could be reached by sailing west from Europe did not find many ready believers. It was not the concept of a round earth that troubled learned Europeans; instead, it was Columbus's belief that earth was small enough that sailing vessels of the day could safely make a transoceanic voyage. After several European courts rejected his ideas, Columbus found support in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, rulers of Castille, who agreed to support his proposed expedition in the hope that they might arrive in Asia before their Portuguese rivals. Since the Spanish had been preoccupied by their efforts to remove the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, a task they completed at Grenada in 1492, any expedition that might overcome the Portuguese in the race to Asia was worth the risk.

The discovery of land on October 12, 1492, changed the course of modern history in ways that Columbus could never have fathomed. Despite the four voyages that he made, Columbus resisted the claim that a "New World" had been found; he preferred to believe that he had found the outer reaches of Asia. Yet even before his death in 1506, Columbus had witnessed the introduction of African slaves as laborers; slaves were first delivered to Hispaniola in April of 1502. Even before the introduction of the first Africans, the practice of enslaving the Indians—the indigenous Arawak and Carib (later called Taino) who inhabited the islands of the Caribbean—had begun.

The decimation of the indigenous populations that followed the discovery and conquest of the Americas was not effected as part of Spain's design. The destruction of millions, a genocide of immense proportions, was largely the result of epidemics and disease against which the indigenous peoples of the Americas had no natural immunity and were highly susceptible. In the so-called Columbian exchange whereby germs were transmitted, nearly 80 percent of some indigenous populations were killed within the first half-century of Spain's arrival in the New World; among some groups there were no survivors.

Besides disease, the enslavement of the indigenous people and the mistreatment that they received at the hands of the Spanish caused the tremendous decline in their numbers. As early as 1511, some Spaniards began to take note of the destruction that was taking place, and a few began to speak out on the unpopular topic.

On the island of Hispaniola Father Antonio Montesinos delivered a pointed sermon on the first Sunday of Advent in December 1511 in which he took the Spanish to task for the poor treatment of the Indians that was taking place on the island. Other clergymen would soon lend their voices to the crusade for social justice.

The Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas began to speak out on behalf of the Indians after serving as a missionary on the island of Cuba. He appealed directly to the Spanish Crown to intervene so that the indigenous peoples of the Americas would not be destroyed by the abuses of the Spanish. Known as the "Apostle to the Indies," Las Casas wanted the Spanish Crown to protect the Indians so that they could be converted to Christianity. Recognizing that the need for a ready labor supply was an ever-present demand of the New World colonies, Las Casas recommended that Africans be introduced into the Spanish colonies to serve as laborers. In his efforts to protect the rights of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the advice of Las Casas made possible the importation of millions of Africans to the Americas. Although he imagined that the Africans would be wage laborers who could also be converted to Christianity, the Africans who were brought to the Americas were transported across the Atlantic and sold as slaves.

Initially, the Spanish Crown questioned what types of Africans should be sent to the New World. In the early sixteenth century the Spanish considered *ladinos*, Africans who had been brought to Spain and made Christians, to be of a different quality than *bozales*, who were described as wild Africans. The first Africans who were transported to the Americas as slaves were *ladinos*, and at first they were sent exclusively to Hispaniola to assist with gold-mining efforts.

The Spanish also established the contractual mechanism through which they conducted the slave trade when they established the *asiento* in 1518. Under this system, the *asiento* (contract) would be assigned to slave traders to deliver up to four thousand Africans per year to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. The Portuguese were the first to hold the *asiento* and deliver slaves to the Spanish colonies, but in subsequent years the contract would be held by the Dutch, the French, and the British. The number of slaves that could be imported rose with time, especially after the labor demands substantially increased during the sugar revolution of the eighteenth century. The *asiento* was a very lucrative business arrangement, and the nations that held it tended to profit immensely from the trade.

Even though the Spanish Crown had only authorized the importation of *ladino* slaves (considered to be

superior because of their time in Spain and their religious conversion), the Spanish soon realized that their expectations differed from social realities. In 1521, slaves belonging to Diego Colón, the son of Christopher Columbus, revolted on Christmas Day on the island of Hispaniola. This was the first slave insurrection to take place in the Americas. The revolt lasted for about a week and was eventually suppressed by Spanish authorities, who used great cruelty in restoring order to the colony.

Incorporating Slave Labor in the Americas

The initial colonization of the Americas by Spain was followed by similar exploration and conquest by other European powers. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese began to develop the colony of Brazil, and various island possessions or territorial claims on the Guinea coast were made by England, France, Holland, and Denmark. In all of these possessions, the initial colonization pattern followed that of the Spanish model as Europeans sought out riches in gold or silver. If precious metals were not found, Europeans generally tried to cultivate a cash crop that could benefit the mother country through an economic order based on mercantilism. In such a system, colonies supplied the raw materials that could be used in the production of manufactured goods, and they also provided markets where finished goods might eventually be sold. It was an exploitative economic structure designed to generate profits in specie (gold or silver) that would grow the national treasury and determine the nation's relative wealth and power.

The other European colonial powers followed the pattern that Spain had begun by incorporating African slave labor as a central element of colonial economic life. The business of the slave trade became increasingly regularized as colonial powers depended on a steady supply of Africans to labor on the plantations and farms and in the mines of the Americas. In most of the colonies there was a clear preference for male slaves as laborers; as a result, a gender imbalance developed in practically all of the colonies in the Americas. It therefore became difficult for slave families to form, and consequently the slave population grew not through natural increase, but rather through continual importation of new Africans to the New World colonies.

The practice of enslaving Indians alongside Africans persisted in some New World colonies for the first few generations after the conquest of the Americas. Despite efforts to curb the practice of enslaving Indians, the custom did not end immediately. In 1537, Pope Paul III issued the bull "Veritas Ipsa," in which he de-

clared that the indigenous peoples of the Americas should not be enslaved. However, this proclamation did not carry the weight of law. Spain's New Laws of the Indies, promulgated in 1542, echoed these sentiments, but many of the Spanish settlers in the Americas circumvented the law and continued to enslave Indians. In time, however, the decimation of the Indian populations made further reliance on Indian slaves impractical, and so Europeans turned to the exclusive use of imported Africans as slave laborers.

Many of the Caribbean colonies operated what became known as "breaking plantations," in which new Africans were conditioned to their new role as slaves. Slaveowners were always uncertain about whether a new slave would be able to tolerate the combined effects of the heat, oppressive humidity, diseases, and the labor regimen imposed in the Americas. Those slaves who survived for at least one year on the breaking plantations became known as "seasoned slaves" because they had proven their ability to survive and labor effectively under the conditions of the New World. Planters hoping to resell slaves knew that seasoned slaves would be worth much more at an auction than newly arrived Africans, who had not yet proven their mettle.

Another, equally important task performed on the breaking plantation was to discourage the slave from retaining African cultural values. Slaves had to be indoctrinated into the culture of slavery, and in doing so they had to lose all aspects of their African identity. African names were taken away, and new slave names, usually nonsensical or humorous in origin, were assigned in their place. It was common, for example, to hear of slaves named Cato, Cicero, or Caesar after figures from classical Roman history, or perhaps mythological figures like Jupiter or Apollo. Slaves were also deprived of their African religious identity. Whether a slave was a Muslim or had practiced an indigenous African animist faith, planters in the Americas believed that they had to be stripped of that cultural identity. If a slave was to have religious beliefs, they were limited to Christian beliefs, and planters were careful about who could preach to slaves. African languages and other traditions were also stripped.

Academics have continued to argue about the degree to which traditional African identities were maintained in what are called "Africanisms"—cultural carryovers that survived the attempt to break the slaves of a remembered past. Some have argued that the physical and emotional anguish of the transatlantic Middle Passage to the Americas and the breaking plantations was strong enough to destroy all cultural ties with an earlier African life. According to this view, slave culture

was a formulation of new, learned cultural practices that formed through accretion in the New World setting. Other scholars believe that some Africanisms did survive, and that modern phenomena such as the role of a matriarchal family structure is evidence that some African cultural forms persisted through slavery.

European powers also developed slave codes that they promulgated in their colonies and enforced strictly. These codes severely limited the liberties that were granted to slaves and made them learn to live in fear of patrollers and other enforcers who operated within the plantation districts and made sure that the codes were being enforced. The French *Code Noir*, first issued in 1685, contained harsh provisions but tempered them with certain religious concerns. Under the *Code Noir*, religious instruction was required for all slaves, slave marriages were permitted, and slaves were prohibited from working on Sundays and holidays. Other slave codes, however, were less liberal in the privileges they permitted.

Since the slaves' liberties were strictly regulated by the codes and enforced within the colonies, slaves had few means of resisting. Still, opposition did exist. One of the greatest means of agency available to the slave was running away, or "stealing oneself away from slavery," and causing a financial loss to the slaveowner. Slaves frequently ran away and sometimes lived on the fringes of settled areas as "outlyers" who would periodically raid plantations and farms for needed food and provisions. Other groups of slave fugitives lived together in settlements called "maroon communities" (from the Spanish *cimmaron*, or "wild horse") that were established in dense forests, swamps, or rugged mountains. Maroon communities were known as *palenques* among the Spanish and as *quilombos* among the Portuguese, and the French term *marronage* was used to describe the general practice of living in the wilderness as a fugitive. Several maroon communities existed for many years in places such as Jamaica's Blue Mountains, the interior of Suriname, and perhaps the most famous, the *quilombo* of Palmares in Brazil.

The slaves who lived in maroon communities generally reverted to the African tribal customs and traditions with which they were familiar. Housing architecture and village styles resembled those of West African communities. Indigenous religious practices, including the application of conjure/vodou, was common in many of these settlements. Elements of the Americas were also present, as many of the customs and traditions represented syncretic forms as Christian tradition blended with elements of Islam or animist religious practices. The maroon communities were usually well defended, and on occasion the colonial militias that at-

tempted to subdue the settlements were repulsed by maroon fighters. The Palmares *quilombo* survived for nearly eighty years, and some maroons were able to negotiate peace settlements with colonial authorities that won a degree of autonomy for the maroon settlements. As early as 1542, Spanish authorities reported that three thousand of the thirty thousand slaves who were estimated to be in Hispaniola were maroons.

One of the curious aspects of slavery in the New World colonies is that, while a concerted abolitionist movement emerged to protect the natural rights of the Indians, no similar movement emerged to protect slaves' rights. Bartolomé de Albornoz, a law professor at the University of Mexico, wrote a 1573 essay that attacked the legal foundation on which Spain's enslavement and sale of Africans was based, but no popular antislavery movement resulted. Although there were clerics who cared deeply and sincerely about saving the souls of African slaves, few rose to be their patrons and criticize the institution that held them in bondage. Although the Jesuit priest Peter Claver baptized an estimated three hundred thousand slaves during his forty years of ministry in the area that became Colombia, he did not become an advocate in the model of Las Casas but chose instead to remain silent on the injustice of slavery.

Slavery generated tremendous profits in the New World colonies, and few Europeans were willing to criticize the system. This became especially clear during the eighteenth century, when the expansion of sugar cultivation across Brazil and throughout much of the Caribbean basin transformed the plantation-based economy of the colonies in the New World. As sugar cultivation exploded in the Americas, the demand for African slaves also increased. This rapid transformation skewed the demographic profile of most of the European colonies. Blacks held a significant numerical advantage over white settlers in the sugar islands, and only the presence of vigilant militia mitigated the dangers emanating from the potential for mutiny. When resistance did occur, repression was always swift and brutal.

The Complexity of Race and Status

Colonial society in the Americas began with a tripartite division in which Europeans and colonial whites (*creoles*) were free and Indians and Africans were capable of being enslaved. Over time, as laws and decrees changed Indians' status, they too became free. With the abolition of Indian slavery, only Africans remained enslaved, but over time some Africans became free.

This complexity of race and status created a unique social dimension in the New World colonies.

Africans could become free in a variety of ways. Sometimes a master might legally free a slave in a will, and legislative assemblies also had the power to manumit, or free, a slave who had performed some type of valuable or meritorious service. Slaves could also become free through purchasing their own freedom, a privilege that was sometimes only available to skilled slaves who had knowledge of a special craft or trade. Other slaves became free at birth because they were the offspring of a master who desired his mixed-race child to be born free. Since the laws in most colonial settings declared that the status of a child was determined by the condition of the mother, slave mothers would have given birth to slave children unless a white father intervened and freed the child at birth.

In addition to the original tripartite division of society among whites, Indians, and Africans, other racial combinations soon emerged. Among the Spanish, the practice of identifying *castas* (or racial identities) was maintained until it was mathematically impossible to distinguish identities. Terms like *mulatto* (white and African), *mestizo* (white and Indian), and *zambo* (African and Indian) were used to distinguish mixed-race offspring born in New World colonies. Notions of racial or ethnic solidarity were made more tenuous by the many admixtures that were found in the Americas.

One of the most challenging aspects of the cultural milieu that emerged in the Americas was the relationship that existed between free blacks and slaves. In many respects, the presence of a free black population within any colony seemed to negate any theoretical assumptions upon which a race-based system of slavery was structured, and therefore white colonists generally viewed free blacks as a troublesome. Still, free blacks could own property and were sometimes persons of considerable wealth—some were even slaveowners themselves. Free blacks were not provided with all of the political and civil liberties that were given to whites; thus the free blacks were, in effect, slaves without masters.

Free blacks were torn over the question of identity. Some, particularly those who had been slaves themselves, resented the institution of slavery but viewed themselves as incapable of doing anything to challenge a system that was so well entrenched and so pervasive. Other free blacks felt very little racial solidarity with enslaved Africans and sought instead to fashion their culture on the basis of a European model that was deemed more cultured and proper. Since free blacks were often so divided in their sympathies and loyalties,

African slaves in the early colonial era often lacked the support of those who might have been capable of being their advocates and mitigating the harsher demons of enslavement.

A Well-Oiled Machine

The system of the transatlantic slave trade that first emerged in the early sixteenth century was perfected as trade to the Americas grew. In the process of this growth, the slave trade emerged as a business that was both sordid and quite lucrative. There were tremendous profits to be earned in the slave trade, but it was a dangerous enterprise. Slave ship captains operated their vessels under conditions designed to maximize profits, but these conditions often did very little for the Africans who were being transported. Ships were periodically overloaded by captains, who used a system called “tight packing” to transport as many Africans as possible on the transoceanic leg of the voyage known as the Middle Passage. Cramped quarters, lack of food and fresh water, the persistence of disease, and the stench of human misery and filth made the Middle Passage a horrid experience for the African slaves aboard the slave ships. Not all of the Africans survived the voyage, and the dead and near-dead were often tossed into the sea during the crossing. The certainty of profitability was guaranteed by insurance companies that issued policies protecting ship owners from human losses.

Mortality rates were high among the Africans aboard slave ships, but the rates were even higher for crewmembers. The coastal areas of Africa were known as the “white man’s grave” because many tropical diseases killed European sailors who had no immunity to malaria and other such maladies. The danger posed by insurrection at sea also made crewmembers’s work quite precarious. Slave vessels were usually well armed and sometimes even included small cannon, but if weapons fell into the hands of the Africans, the lives of crewmembers could be at risk. In addition, slave ships also had to be concerned with pirates who robbed slave ships of their cargoes on the high seas and killed crewmembers.

After the British acquired the *asiento* in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), English ports like Liverpool and Bristol became some of the primary home ports of slaving vessels. Fine city houses symbolized the wealth accrued through the triangular trade as ships plied their way from Britain to the West African coast, from West Africa to the Caribbean, and from the Caribbean back to Britain. During this exchange,

the commodities of rum, slaves, and sugar, filled the holds of the ships that operated their routes like clockwork and generated profits from each leg of their venture. The slave trade may not have been the most respectable trade, but it was a lucrative business. By 1744, 50 percent of the ships that operated out of Liverpool were involved in the slave trade.

Requiem

In 1441 the Portuguese carried ten Africans to Lisbon, where they were auctioned at a market. By the time the colonial era drew to a close, an estimated 10 million Africans had been transported across the Atlantic Ocean to labor on plantations, farms, and mines in the Americas. What had begun as a trickle quickly turned into a mighty stream. The slave trade that emerged was partly the result of the simultaneous growth of Europeans' familiarity with Africa and exploration of the New World. The magnitude of the trade was amplified by the establishment of cash crops such as sugar, and later cotton, that became staples in spite of the means of production associated with their cultivation and harvest.

Although slavery had monumental consequences for the Americas—the effects of which are still being felt—the impact of slavery on Africa itself was also consequential and tragic. The depopulation of the African continent during the Diaspora paved the way for subsequent generations of European colonialism. In spite of decolonization and twentieth-century independence movements, much of Africa is still reeling from the ill effects of the slave trade and European colonialism.

The historical reality of the transatlantic slave trade changed the history of the world and certainly impacted the development of the New World colonies in consequential ways. The system of slavery that originated in the Caribbean islands and eventually spread into Mexico, Central America, and South America would also take root in isolated colonies established by the British on the Atlantic seaboard of North America. With 178 years of experience already accomplished and the infrastructure of the slave trade in place, slavery would take root in the North American colonies and soon flourish. The words of the Senegalese poet Leopold Sedar Senghor seem appropriate: “Listen to the voices of our Forebears . . . in the smoky cabin, souls that wish us well are murmuring.”

EARLY AMERICAN SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES AND THE HARDENING OF RACIAL DISTINCTIONS

England established its first permanent colony on the Atlantic seaboard of North America at Jamestown in 1607. The settlement was formed on an island in the James River in a region the settlers named Virginia. The colony's location on an island, particularly one that was 30 miles inland from the coast, was believed to provide a degree of protection from the ravages of Atlantic storms and the dangers posed by possible Indian attack. The decision was seen as a wise one, since previous efforts to establish a settlement on Roanoke Island two decades earlier had failed for these suspected reasons. Still, Jamestown was not the most ideal location for planting a colony.

From its start, Jamestown was a tenuous settlement. The elevation of the island was low, and the region was prone to occasional flooding. Swamps abounded in the area, but the settlement's location

north of the tropical latitudes meant that many of the diseases and maladies that plagued warmer climates were not present at Jamestown. The settlement fell within the coastal region of Virginia known as the Tidewater, a region that was affected by the daily ebb and flow of tidal changes. Thus the potential contamination of groundwater and of the James River—the sources of the colony's fresh water supply—was always a concern as habitation of the region by English colonists affected the local ecology.

Tremendous numbers of colonists died within the first year of their arrival in Virginia, and the pattern continued for the first three years of the colony's existence. The difficulties of this “starving time” as it came to be known caused some of the initial settlers to leave the colony and live among the Indians where food was more abundant, while other reports sug-

gested that cannibalism may have occurred in the island settlement as well. Famine reduced the settlement's population from a height of 500 residents down to only 60. Conditions were so bad in Jamestown and the mortality rates were so high that by 1610 the colonists had decided to abandon the venture and return to England. They were only halted in their evacuation by the arrival of a royal governor, Thomas Lord De La Warr, who brought much-needed provisions and additional settlers to the incipient colony.

Virginia was settled by English colonists sent to North America by the London Company of Adventurers, a joint-stock venture of English merchant-capitalists who hoped to profit from the colony's economic success. Judging primarily from the Spanish experience in the Americas, many English investors believed that precious metals like gold and silver would be as abundant in North America as they had been in Mexico and Peru. If this were true and if an indigenous labor force could be utilized to exploit such resources, the economic potential of a colony in Virginia was boundless. Much of this belief, however, was premised on speculation that had very little real bearing on the conditions in Tidewater Virginia.

The business of carving a colony in the wilderness of a New World environment was a difficult one that few of the colony's initial settlers had fully contemplated before their arrival. The labor-intensive efforts were made even less appealing when it became clear that precious metals did not abound in the region. Many of the colonists' and their capitalist financiers' initial hopes were dashed as it became clear that easy wealth was not to be had in colonial Virginia. The success of the venture and the profitability that its investors deemed essential would have to be obtained through alternative means.

In other parts of the Americas, the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers had begun to cultivate cash crops in areas in which precious metals had not been located. As early as 1580, the Portuguese settlers in Brazil had begun to cultivate sugar on a large scale, and Spanish colonists had begun to grow coffee and tobacco on some of their Caribbean possessions. In those colonies developing single-crop, agricultural-based economies, two unique, supply-oriented issues had arisen. One was the delivery of sufficient foodstuffs and other necessary provisions to the colonies was essential, and the other was the introduction of a labor force that could handle the intensive agricultural demands of large-scale production. The British would learn from the experiences of other European colonizers in the Americas

and would seek to transform Virginia into a profitable venture based on export-oriented agricultural production.

Tobacco became Virginia's main cash crop. Indians had cultivated a strain of tobacco, and their knowledge convinced some of the early English settlers that large-scale production of the crop in the colony might be possible. By 1612, an Englishman named John Rolfe had introduced a variety of tobacco that had been successfully cultivated in the West Indies, and the crop acclimated well to the soil and conditions in Virginia. Europeans had become familiar with tobacco, a product of the Americas that had first been introduced to Europe only after the Spanish conquest, and both the novelty and the addictive nature of the new product had made it fashionable in social circles of European society. Interestingly, as early as 1604, King James I of Great Britain had written "A Counterblaste to Tobacco," an essay that criticized the noxious leaf, and by 1620, a Dutch physician named Tobias Venner had issued the first medical warning of the harmful effects associated with tobacco.

Early success in growing tobacco in Virginia convinced both investors in London and officials in the colony that further cultivation and expansion of the colony were warranted. During the 1610s, additional colonists were transported to Virginia not to seek and find precious metals, but rather to become farmers. It was a time of extraordinary transformation in the colony, as the infrastructure for a plantation-based society and an export-oriented economy converged to produce and distribute tobacco. The growth of colonial Virginia did not follow a prescribed path; instead, the colony's growth and expansion were determined by the exigencies of a burgeoning market. In many respects, the society and culture that emerged in Virginia, and subsequently in other British colonies in North America, were a product of market forces that drove colonial policy.

Land Rich and Labor Poor

It did not take the English colonists long to realize that North America was a vast region that possessed ample lands for agricultural development, but this awareness was tempered by the understanding that legions of settlers would be needed to tap the land's productive potential. The early colonists were a hardy lot who were willing to undertake a treacherous ocean voyage and plant themselves in an unknown and alien environment in the hope that they might encounter success.

Stories about the “starving time” in early Virginia, reports of high mortality, and the difficulties of enduring in the harsh conditions of frontier life were not particularly appealing to those who might otherwise have considered life as a Virginia colonist. It soon became clear to both the colony’s financial patrons and its officials that Virginia was in need of an influx of settlers who would become the center of a tobacco-based export economy.

England contained a substantial population of landless, dispossessed peasants who were potential North American colonists. The enclosure movement, which arose when traditional rights to share common pasture lands in villages throughout the English countryside were eliminated to foster development of an early woolens industry, created a growing population of the poor that presented a deep social and economic dilemma. English jails became filled with individuals who were imprisoned because of their debts, and the fear of peasant rebellion in the countryside was an ever-present concern. Authorities believed that the many dangers posed by a disaffected peasant population could be remedied through colonization.

With land as the most available resource in North America, colonial officials in Virginia and subsequent English colonies devised the headright system, in which settlers who relocated to the North American colonies were guaranteed 50 acres of land as an incentive. Such a promise would certainly have been appealing to the landless in England, but many did not have the means of making the transoceanic voyage to North America to claim the headright that had been promised. The system was also fraught with abuses. Unscrupulous ship captains sometimes transported colonists to the North American colonies with the intention of claiming the headrights of their passengers as payment for the cost of the voyage. As such, there were many individuals who became owners of huge tracts in Virginia and other colonies by claiming property that was not rightfully theirs.

The headright system seemed to make sense for an area that was land rich but labor poor. Yet the circumstances by which impoverished English peasants who might otherwise have become colonists faced limited options reduced the overall effectiveness of the system, and the policy was eventually suspended. Still, the need for colonists remained great, and the profitability of the entire colonial enterprise hinged on delivering a steady labor supply to North America to render productive the agricultural capabilities of the land.

The solution that evolved in the British colonies was the introduction of contract laborers known as indentured servants. Although the terms of their indi-

vidual contracts varied, the typical indentured servant would agree to sell his or her labor for a period of three to seven years as payment for the cost of their transoceanic transport to North America. In exchange, those who issued the contracts generally promised to equip the servants with so-called freedom dues—the tools and a parcel of land provided upon completion of their indenture so that these individuals could become independent farmers in the tradition of the English yeoman. The contracts generally circumscribed the rights and privileges of the indentured servants, making them beholden to the prerogatives of the masters who had financed their voyages. The contracts were written in such a way that any servant who violated the terms of the contract might be punished by having additional years of service, without pay, added to their period of indenture.

The indentured servant system clearly exploited laborers, but nonetheless thousands of impoverished English peasants, along with Europeans of other nationalities, accepted the offer and sold themselves into a period of limited servitude in North America. Ships packed with European indentured servants plied the waters of the Atlantic in a fashion similar to that of slaves in the Middle Passage, but the indentured servants traveled with the assurance that they would one day be freed. Estimates are that by the time that the colonial period ended, nearly half of the residents of Great Britain’s North American colonies could trace their ancestry through individuals who had first arrived in the colonies as indentured servants.

After their service was complete, white indentured servants emerged as independent landowners who could blend into the social and political life of the colony. Since there was no particular onus placed upon the freed indentured servant and no racial or ethnic distinctiveness made them stand out, the transition from indentured servitude to freedom was relatively seamless, and former indentured servants experienced the blessings of freedom and citizenship upon completion of their labor tenure. In this fashion, for some the society that emerged in the British colonies had the appearance of being egalitarian.

The work of the indentured servants varied tremendously. Many found themselves employed in agricultural labor since the profitability of the colonial venture depended on the success of the tobacco crop. Other indentured servants, particularly women, found employment as household and domestic servants. Others still were engaged in the difficult task of creating a colony out of wilderness. The clearing of timber, brush, and stumps to create and till fields was a time-consuming and laborious task, but it needed to be

done as the colony grew and agricultural lands under cultivation expanded. Other aspects of the colonial infrastructure also needed to be created, and indentured servants found themselves employed in these capacities. Indentured servants also cleared roads, constructed bridges over streams, and erected fortifications to secure the colonial outposts from potential enemies.

Even with the promise of freedom at the end of their contracted service, indentured servants in the British colonies experienced tremendous hardships. Mortality rates remained high among the indentured population, so there was not always the guarantee that one would survive to see freedom and become an independent farmer. In addition, the contracts for indentured servants could be bought and traded, so the indentured servant labored at the whim of the master who issued the contract. Many indentured servants found the labor expected of them in the British colonies to be much more severe than that experienced by apprentices in England, and many indentured servants were physically and sexually exploited.

Indentured servants frequently ran away from their masters in an effort to void the terms of their contracted labor. Those who were captured generally had additional years of service added into their contracts. For the particularly recalcitrant, indentured servitude could become a virtual lifetime of forced labor. Sometimes indentured servants were beaten as a means of punishment, some were branded, and egregious offenders often filled the colonial jails. Occasionally, indentured servants who escaped lived among Indian communities, and after the introduction of African slavery into the British colonies, they sometimes lived in isolated maroon communities or helped organize potential slave revolts.

Indentured servitude remained in use even after the introduction of Africans into the British colonies and the growth of slave labor. The custom of indentured servitude that largely involved white laborers was a striking contrast to slavery that relied exclusively on black laborers. The white versus black dichotomy of race would eventually fashion the freedom-versus-slavery pattern that persisted throughout subsequent generations.

1619 and Beyond

African American history and the approximate start of slavery in the British North American colonies began on August 20, 1619, when a Dutch ship delivered “twenty and odd” Africans to the English settlement at

Jamestown, Virginia, where they were sold at auction as indentured servants. Although they did not become slaves immediately, these twenty individuals represented the first permanent involuntary African immigrants in the region that eventually became the United States. According to the contemporary records of John Rolfe, “About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars.” Most indentured servants were released after serving a term, generally three to seven years, and then were allowed to become property owners and participate in civic affairs. Within the first generation of their arrival in Virginia, most of the first African servants had witnessed their period of indenture extended to the point where they became servants for life.

It is difficult to say exactly when slavery began in the English colonies. Africans were first introduced in Virginia in 1619, but the first laws specifically recognizing the status of slaves as a class of persons do not appear until December of 1641, when section 91 of the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties* recognized the existence of a class of slaves within the colony. It is clear that the legal status of Africans began to emerge within the first two decades of their introduction into the English colonies, but the details of that transformation and the complexities contained therein are difficult to fathom. In Virginia, for example, a free black named Anthony Johnson imported five servants into the colony.

The use of Africans as slave laborers in the British colonies presented clear advantages over the continued use of white indentured servants. Slaves were much cheaper and easier to obtain than were indentured servants. Since no “freedom dues” were involved, the mere provision of food, shelter, and clothing was all that was necessary to sustain a slave laborer and the quality and extent of these sustenance benefits could vary tremendously through the colonies. In addition, the procurement necessary to obtain a ready supply of indentured servants was not a problem with the use of African slave labor. The transatlantic slave trade had emerged by the early seventeenth century as a global enterprise that regularly transported thousands of Africans to various destinations in the Americas where they were sold as slaves. The adoption of slavery within the British colonies simply tapped into the existing slave trade network that had perfected the efficient delivery of large numbers of Africans to the Americas.

In addition, the badge of racial distinctiveness set the Africans apart from European indentured servants. Although an indentured servant might escape from one location and try to blend into another community as just another English settler, this opportunity was

not a viable option for Africans. Racial distinctiveness made the African stand out and indirectly made all colonial observers part of the elaborate maintenance network that was necessary to establish and sustain a slave-based economic order. Although the Africans did find occasional allies among disaffected indentured servants and Indians, they found themselves placed in a setting in which white residents were de facto slave catchers upon whom the peace, stability, and economic success of the colonies relied.

Africans also were alien to the English political and civil tradition. Although indentured servants could always appeal to their traditional rights and prerogatives as Englishmen, such was not the privilege of African slaves. Although white indentured servants could expect the benefits that English tradition and precedent accorded them, Africans were effectively a class of persons outside of the law who were not naturally entitled to the hereditary rights of Englishmen. For example, Englishmen could enter into contracts with other Englishmen by which both parties would be honor bound to comply with terms and stipulations, but such was not the case with Africans. In 1661, Virginia authorities declared that thereafter all black indentured servants would be servants for life.

The Frontier of Slave Territory

Virginia was the first of the thirteen British colonies planted on the Atlantic seaboard of North America. It would remain the only colony in the region until religious dissenters from England settled at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and were followed to the region by a large contingent of English Puritans by the end of the decade. Even with two colonies—Virginia and Massachusetts—there existed vast expanses of frontier that remained unsettled on the Atlantic seaboard. Those fugitives who sought to escape from their conditions in either colony had ample space in which to navigate should they decide to run away.

In 1624 the Dutch planted a colony at New Netherlands (which included parts of present-day Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut), located between the English colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts. Building on their active involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, the Dutch introduced Africans into their colony in substantial numbers. It was common for Dutch slaving vessels to sell as many Africans as they could in the Caribbean islands and then to bring those Africans who could not be sold to New Netherlands. Such Africans, often the elderly,

the lame, or the otherwise infirm, were frequently enslaved as household servants among the early Dutch families that settled New Amsterdam (New York City after 1665) and some of the patroon estates in the Hudson Valley region. Throughout the colonial period, New Netherlands would contain a substantial slave population.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much of the North American continent would become contested terrain as the French in Canada and the Spanish from Mexico and the Gulf borderlands worked to extend their colonial hegemony into the interior of North America. At times the amorphous boundaries that separated colonial spheres became ideal ground for slave fugitives who sought escape and prospects of freedom. In the case of Spanish Florida, invitations were extended in the early-eighteenth century to slaves in the colonies of Georgia and the Carolinas; these invitations said that freedom would be granted to any slave from British territory who escaped and ventured into Florida.

The British established a number of new colonies after the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 following the English Civil War and the rule under Oliver Cromwell. These colonies, known as the Restoration Colonies, included the Carolinas, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. (New York was wrested from the Dutch in 1664.) Slavery took root in these and all the British colonies that formed on the Atlantic seaboard.

Slavery Becomes Institutionalized

The British did not establish colonies in North America with the purposeful intent of establishing a slave-based economy. Nonetheless, circumstance and opportunity had created just such an environment in the developing colonies. As a result, there was no institutional design of how a slave system would develop in North America, and the independent formulation and regulation of slavery in thirteen separate colonies created an imperfect system. Still, by the time of the American Revolution (1775–1783), a rather unified code had emerged through custom and tradition as each colony defined the nature of slavery and the laws that would regulate the practice.

As early as 1630, the Massachusetts Bay colony enacted a measure that dealt with the subject of fugitive slaves. Freedom, it seems, was not just an aspiration of English colonists but was seemingly a desire of Massachusetts slaves as well. Over subsequent years, all of

the colonies would pass measures that protected the rights of slaveowners and called for the return of fugitive slaves who sought escape.

Early statutes regarding slavery were designed to focus on the notion of racial purity, an issue that was of theoretical concern to white Europeans but not one they followed in practice. Antimiscegenation laws tried to prevent marriage or intercourse between individuals of different races by judging such behavior to be a criminal offense. Although all of the colonies developed laws to regulate this matter, enforcement was uneven. In Virginia a white man named Hugh Davis was publicly whipped in 1630 for “defiling his body by lying with a Negro,” but such cases were rarely brought before the courts. A double standard existed that criminalized in the harshest means possible such action committed by a male slave upon a white woman, but white men were seldom censured for committing similar acts with slave women.

Colonial assemblies enacted general slave codes that regulated the rights and the liberties of the slaves. These regulations were seldom designed for the protection or benefit of the slave, but rather were legal controls that were employed to maintain the peace and security of white residents, particularly those living in areas that contained a substantial black majority. Laws were passed that prohibited slaves from carrying firearms within a colony, prohibited blacks from serving in the militia, and made slave insurrection a capital offense. Yet despite the bevy of laws instituted, the slaves had no real standing before the courts.

Slaveowners were encouraged to provide Christian religious instruction to their slaves in the hope that such training would help to bestow the blessings of civilization on their bonded laborers, but the acceptance of Christianity did not change their status as slaves. Once again, numerous laws such as Maryland’s 1664 measure were passed, stating that Christian baptism did not change one’s status as a slave. Similar measures were eventually enacted in New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, but not in Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The British Parliament even offered its advice on how policies toward the colonial slaves should be instituted. In its 1667 measure, “An Act to Regulate the Negroes on the British Plantations,” Parliament described persons of African descent as possessing a “wild, barbarous and savage nature, to be controlled only with strict severity.” The colonial assemblies responded with measures that exacted severe punishments for violators.

Resistance

Colonial assemblies sought to protect their citizens from the greatest possible danger that slave-based societies could face: the specter of slave insurrection. In efforts to restrict the liberties of slaves to maintain a strict discipline on colonial plantations and farms, public officials and the owners of slaves often instituted repressive policies that relied on harsh treatment of slaves, but these measures sometimes fanned the flames of insurrection instead. Most slaves had a rudimentary idea of what justice was, and when owners and overseers crossed the line and committed egregious offenses, slaves often lashed out in retribution.

In addition to actual outbreaks of slave revolt, the mere existence of rumors of revolt was usually enough to strike fear in many communities and hasten the use of extralegal justice to punish the alleged conspirators. Fears of rebellion would often stir paranoia and hysteria in the colonies, and such episodes often resulted in the executions of those presumed guilty. Suspicious action like the burning of a barn or the theft of weapons stirred rumors that assumed a life of their own. Sometimes isolated incidents that had no real bearing on fact resulted in the colonial militia being called out and white residents maintaining increased vigilance.

Despite the persistence of a few isolated slave plots or rumored conspiracies in the seventeenth century, most of the significant rebellions in the British colonies occurred during the early eighteenth century. South Carolina’s Stono Rebellion of 1739 was the largest and most serious uprising of the colonial era. Fomented by the hope that freedom awaited them in Florida, a number of South Carolina slaves began to make their way southward to reach the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. South Carolina militia caught up with the slave exodus and did battle with the fugitives. Peace was restored in the colony and a harsher slave code was enacted, but the threat of persistent revolt continued for many years.

The threat of slave revolt was not limited to the southern colonies. Nine white residents were killed and seven wounded in a slave revolt that occurred in New York City in April 1712. Once the tumult had subsided, twenty-one were convicted and sentenced to death for their role in the uprising, and six others committed suicide. In response to the revolt, the colonial assemblies of New York and Massachusetts enacted measures designed to prevent, suppress, and punish slave conspiracies and insurrections within their colonies.

New York City faced another plot in 1741 when a series of arson attacks set off wild rumors of a unified conspiracy between slaves and the city's poor white residents either to burn or seize control of the city. Although the evidence of such a plot was slight, a general hysteria developed, and eighteen blacks were hanged, eleven were burned alive at the stake, and seventy were banished from the colony. The white backlash against the slaves stemmed from their mere presence in the city rather than from any real evidence of their connection with a criminal conspiracy.

Slave Country

Slavery existed in all of the thirteen British colonies in North America, but slavery's relative significance varied significantly by region and the demographic distribution of slaves was equally varied. In general, slavery was much more essential to the six plantation colonies—Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, which were all located south of Pennsylvania. The rocky soils and small farms of the northern colonies were not well suited for large-scale plantation agriculture, but slaves did labor in those colonies often as domestic workers.

The largest concentrations of slaves in the British colonies were found in two locations. The Chesapeake Bay region, encompassing portions of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, had the greatest per capita density of slaves of all of the regions along the Atlantic seaboard. Much of the Chesapeake region consisted of lands where tobacco cultivation was the principal crop. In addition to the Chesapeake, the region of Charleston, South Carolina, and its surrounding coastal lowlands and Sea Islands also had a high population density of slaves. Much of this region was devoted to the cultivation of rice and indigo, with limited production of cotton on the Sea Islands.

Slave populations tended to be located in the eastern portions of the colonies where plantations lined rivers that provided access to the sea and world markets that lay beyond. Counties in the Piedmont had substantially fewer slaves as conditions in the region, much like those of the northern colonies, were not conducive to large-scale slave-based agricultural enterprises. These skewed demographics were made even more challenging by the distribution of political power in several colonies. In Virginia, for example, populous counties in the Piedmont found their relative political influence limited by Tidewater counties that contained fewer white residents. The political structure of colo-

rial Virginia was set up in such a way that the plantation owners of the Tidewater maintained political control in the region even though growing numbers of poor, Scots-Irish, and other immigrants were settling the mountainous backcountry. If laws were needed to maintain and support slavery, it was necessary for the planters to control the colonial government.

The settlement patterns found within the thirteen British colonies left many communities isolated from one another. No real transportation infrastructure existed in colonial America, and north-south roads were practically nonexistent. In addition to the absence of a transportation infrastructure, there was no real communications network in place in the British colonies, which helps to explain why rumors were often accepted as fact. Even though newspapers eventually existed in larger cities like Philadelphia, there was no single paper that had anything more than a local readership in colonial America. In order to protect a colonial population that was so scattered and so isolated that standing armies and militias would have little effect, each community had to be prepared and capable to defend itself against any possible contingency that might befall the region. It was from this understanding that the notion of extralegal justice came to be an accepted concept in determining how order and stability would be maintained in slave country.

Other Cash Crops

Although tobacco was clearly the cash crop that saved the Virginia colony in its early years, it was not the only crop that was cultivated by slave labor in North America. In portions of South Carolina and Georgia, conditions were suitable for the cultivation of other crops, and indigo and rice were introduced to the region. Since these were considered to be specialized crops, slaveowners often sought out African slaves who had some experience with the cultivation of these crops in the West Indies or in Africa.

Blacks from the Gold Coast in Africa were believed to be familiar with indigo production, and Africans from Angola had technical experience with the intricacies of rice cultivation. The planters who cultivated these crops wanted to purchase slaves who were familiar with their production. As a result, planters developed a keen understanding of the different attributes and qualities of Africans from different regions. Although a particular understanding of African tribal, linguistic, or ethnic variations was typically not a concern of most slaveowners, such subtle clues were important to rice and indigo cultivators in determining what slaves they would purchase.

Colonial Slave Culture

A tremendously rich slave culture existed in colonial America. Because many of the slaves who were introduced into the Chesapeake region were imported directly from Africa, elements of African custom and tradition had not completely vanished from their memory as they fashioned a new culture in captivity in the Americas. Similarly, many “seasoned slaves” were still introduced to the North American colonies after having labored in the West Indies for a period of time. As a result, these slaves often transmitted elements of Spanish, French, Creole, or West Indian cultural influence when they were sold and traded. Still, many slaves were individuals who were born in North America, perhaps living for several generations within some families by the end of the colonial era, and their cultural perception was therefore totally different from that of African-born or West Indian-resident slaves.

Within the rich cultural milieu that existed, slaves formulated the limited cultural space that was allowed to them. Within the slave community on the plantations and farms, they created their own cultural identity from the African, West Indian, and American elements that were known to them. In this cultural fusion a synthesis of practices occurred, and a new type of cultural identity took shape. This identity was expressed in story, song, and dance, through religious practices, in cooking, and in the limited family experience that slaves were permitted to have.

Slaves incorporated elements of Christianity into the cultural identity they formed. Quaker and Methodist missionaries made an effort to visit the plantation districts of the British colonies to convert slaves and to spread the gospel. Although some plantation owners were leery of allowing slaves to worship on their own, they generally did not resist the introduction of Christianity, believing that the faith might help to make slaves more docile. Some owners believed that the otherworldly focus of the Christian message might make slaves more willing to accept an onerous yoke in this life, knowing that something better awaited them in eternity. Christian slaves who were perceptive found

a common bond with biblical stories of the captive Hebrews and longed for the day when their Moses might appear and lead them into the promised land of freedom.

By 1770, near the end of the colonial era, the population of British North America was estimated at 2,312,000, which included 462,000 slaves, or approximately 20 percent of the colonial population. In the era of the American Revolution, many of the colonial Patriots felt themselves to be Americans, products of seven generations of free people born on the North American continent—a new breed of men. Similarly, descendants of Africans looked curiously at the Patriots and wondered how the slaves might be identified. Born into captivity, perhaps several generations raised in North America, they, too, had formed a new breed of men, but they only knew freedom from a distance.

During the American Revolution, the Patriots would compare their relationship with Great Britain as a condition of slavery and servitude without sensing the irony in the claim. Perhaps the Americans were a new breed and there was some validity to a claim of American exceptionalism, but part of what made the experience unique was the presence of slavery. Generations removed from a tenuous outpost on the James River, more than 2 million British colonists had fashioned a land and were prepared to carve a country, but the sons and daughters of Africa had helped to shape the land.

The transformation of the British colonies from 1607 to 1776 was remarkable. In the view of many, civilization had extended its blessings to a once heathen land and the prosperity that emerged was a sure sign that nature and the heavens were pleased with what had transpired. Although many would have sung such high hosannas, not all would have agreed. Slaves played an essential part in the planting, building, and developing of the British colonies, but they were rendered an almost invisible presence in the story of the national founding that followed. They were there and they mattered, they were there and they toiled, they were there and they struggled because they were there.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY, CITIZENSHIP, AND SLAVERY

The last generation of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth century witnessed an age of revolutions that transformed much of the Western world. Starting with the political and social change wrought by the American Revolution (1775–1783) and the French Revolution (1789–1792), the revolutionary ideology of the era further inspired independence movements in Haiti (1791–1804) and throughout the colonies of Latin America. As colonized people clamored to be free and couched their rhetoric in the natural rights philosophy that was prevalent at the time, freedom prevailed for some, but in most settings the status of slavery remained largely unchanged.

The ideological origins of the age of revolution emerged during the era of the Enlightenment, a period of intellectual liberation in which rationalism broke free of all restraining tendencies that heretofore had limited human thought. Although intellectual revolutions do not of their own accord naturally inspire a popular response, many of the writers of the Enlightenment era, known as the *philosophes*, believed that their duty was to become promoters and popularizers of the new ideas so that a true societal transformation could be achieved. In the wake of the intellectual changes that were occurring, a new appreciation of ideas like justice, liberty, and freedom began to emerge in the hearts and minds of those who realized that their capacity for even greater opportunity was restricted by archaic traditions and beliefs that were maintained in spite of their illogical nature. Inspired by Voltaire's rallying cry of "Ecrasez l'infame" (Crush infamy!), the authors of the Enlightenment hoped to dispel the illogical myths and traditions of the past to create a better and more rational world.

For many Enlightenment thinkers, the movement was motivated by a desire to restrict what they considered the stifling power of organized religion to limit human thought and understanding. Some of the authors took an antagonistic position against the theological perspectives that they charged had enshrined misconception and pretense in the place of truth. Such a worldview, they argued, unduly limited the capacity of human logic to counter the horrid abuses that had been perpetuated throughout history as unquestioned matters of tradition and faith. For some of the early abolitionists, who were inspired by the notions of Enlightenment thought, the failure of organized religion

to speak to the evils of slavery was an example of how such perversity, if left unchecked, could limit human potential.

Much of revolutionary ideology centered on the multiple meanings of freedom in human affairs. All of the transformations that occurred during the age of revolution were motivated by people who desired a greater degree of freedom in their lives, but did not necessarily believe that the blessings of freedom should extend to all in equal measure. Despite the hypocrisy that one might observe in reading behavior through a modern lens, those who sought greater freedom did so within the confines of a socially-stratified, class-based patriarchal system that did not consider all persons to be equal in all things. Even when such revolutionaries spoke of freedom in glowing universal terms, their specific point of reference was much more limited and circumscribed than their rhetoric.

Slavery and Revolutionary Rhetoric

Enlightenment thought alone does not explain the rise of antislavery sentiment in the Western world. The roots of abolitionist thought have complex origins: not all of the Enlightenment thinkers objected to the institution of slavery while some individuals found the means to criticize the practice from within the confines of organized religious movements. Abolitionism was for many an intellectual commitment that was borne by their inability to find a rational foundation for the practice, but for others the antislavery impulse was an emotionally charged belief that aroused great passion among those who recognized sin as the motivating factor in man's inhumanity to man. Abolitionism was essentially a movement of both the heart and the mind that emerged in the Western world during the eighteenth century and found expression through the revolutionary ideology that was swirling at the time.

Emotionalism also experienced a resurgence at the same time that rationalism was emerging. In North America, the thirteen British colonies witnessed a profound spiritual rebirth during the Great Awakening that began during the 1730s. This movement of religious revivalism was inspired by an evangelical fervor that reawakened the spiritual lives of many colonial residents. Inspired by the preaching of Puritan divines

like George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards, thousands of individuals found themselves reconnected to their faith and inspired to lead lives that would show an outward expression of their inner light. The motivation for individuals to lead righteous lives that would make manifest their godliness was an important spiritual legacy of the Great Awakening, but it was a difficult task to accomplish in a society where slavery prevailed.

Much of the popular appeal of the evangelism associated with the Great Awakening took place in the 1730s and 1740s throughout colonial America. The genuine religiosity that was experienced by many during this era was tempered by the social reality of slavery becoming manifest in colonial America at the same time. In 1730 it was estimated that there were 91,000 slaves in British North America, but by 1750 that number had more than tripled to 236,000 slaves. During the same period, the colonial population of white residents had not quite doubled, rising from an estimated 538,000 in 1730 to 935,000 in 1750. It was impossible to fail to notice the transformation that was occurring in colonial life as more and more slaves were imported to North America, but it was also increasingly difficult to avoid recognizing the incongruity between supposed lives of godliness and a world where slavery prevailed.

Abolitionism was essentially a radical doctrine that challenged the prevailing orthodoxy of the time. In order to be an abolitionist, one had to believe that organized religions were wrong since there were no biblical injunctions against slavery and the practice seemed to be sanctioned by scripture. In addition, those who avowed an antislavery perspective had to denounce as wrong the thousands of years of human history, custom, and tradition that suggested slavery to be a normal practice of peoples worldwide. Even the Greek and the Roman societies of classical antiquity on which much of the Western heritage was founded had been slave-based societies. Abolitionists had to assert that the laws were wrong. One of the key principles of maintaining civil society was the respect for and the maintenance of the law; yet radical abolitionists spoke of injustices that were inherent within the laws that protected and defended slavery. In addition, besides criticizing orthodoxy the abolitionists had to maintain that they were right—that their views were superior to all of the collective wisdom that had come before. In the context of eighteenth-century values in which personal modesty was deemed a virtue, the notion of voicing antislavery sentiment called attention to oneself in a fashion that was considered outrageous by standards then prevailing.

Voices in the Wilderness

The first public criticism of slavery in the North American colonies appeared in Pennsylvania on February 18, 1688, when a group of Mennonite Quakers (from the Society of Friends) openly declared at their monthly meeting that slavery was contrary to Christian principles and signed an antislavery resolution to that effect. Known as the Germantown Protest, the document prepared by Francis Daniel Pastorius and his fellow brethren is viewed as the first public condemnation of the institution and practice of slavery in the Western Hemisphere. It is also seen as one of the first examples of nonviolent protest in the history of the United States.

Although the Germantown Protest called upon Pennsylvania residents to disavow all connections with the slave trade and with slavery itself, such changes did not immediately follow. Slavery had become so entrenched in colonial America and had proven to be so profitable that many colonial economies were dependent on its continuation for their survival. Even in Pennsylvania, a number of Quakers were engaged in aspects of the slave trade that represented a lucrative enterprise. Efforts to reconcile matters of profit with matters of faith did not always produce a quick or easy remedy.

The Quaker brethren continued their efforts to instill an antislavery consciousness among the faithful. In 1693 the Quaker author George Keith published *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes*, which had been presented as a paper at the Quaker annual meeting in Philadelphia. It was Keith's desire that those Quakers who owned slaves should free them as soon as possible. By the time of the 1696 annual meeting, Quakers admonished members for participating in the importation of slaves and threatened those who continued to import slaves with possible expulsion from the Society of Friends.

Having not yet adopted an exclusively antislavery perspective, members of the Quaker community struggled with the moral dilemma of slavery. In 1698 the Pennsylvania Quaker William Southeby petitioned fellow Quakers in Barbados to stop shipping blacks to Pennsylvania as slaves. Because of his sustained efforts to combat slavery, Southeby was eventually expelled from the Society of Friends, which had not yet adopted abolitionism in principle.

The early voices against slavery were not limited to Pennsylvania. Judge Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts published the antislavery tract, *The Selling of Joseph*, in 1700, in which he argued that slavery was not condoned by biblical sources and urged his fellow citizens to work for the abolition of slavery. That same year,

Sewall organized an antislavery organization known as the Boston Committee of 1700, which lobbied the colonial assembly to impose a higher duty on slave imports. Members of the group believed that excessive taxation might be one effective means of destroying the slave trade in Massachusetts, but their efforts were unsuccessful. Early efforts at encouraging antislavery sentiment in Massachusetts continued in 1703 with the publication of *John Saffin's Tryall*, a narrative that examined the life and sufferings of a slave. In subsequent years, the literary genre of the slave narrative would emerge as one of the abolitionists' most effective tools to convey their message and attract supporters to the antislavery cause.

The sustained efforts of William Southeby and other early Quaker abolitionists appeared to gain ground in Pennsylvania in 1711 when the colonial assembly enacted a measure that outlawed slavery in the colony, but the measure was immediately overruled by the British Crown. Despite this setback, the assembly voted on June 7, 1712, to ban the further importation of slaves into the colony, thus making Pennsylvania the first of the British colonies to ban the slave trade.

Early abolitionists began to employ a variety of strategies to encourage support to the antislavery cause. The Quaker author John Hepburn published the tract, *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule* (1715), in which he presented many arguments against slavery but stressed that most importantly, slavery was a practice that robbed individuals of the freedom of choice. Using a different strategy, abolitionists in colonial Massachusetts began to advance the argument that the presence of slaves in the colony had a debilitating effect on encouraging the immigration of additional white settlers to the colony.

Benjamin Franklin joined the abolitionist movement in 1727 when he established a benevolent association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, that was called the Junto. Members who joined the organization pledged that they would work toward the abolition of slavery and other forms of inhumanity to man. Within a few years, Franklin's printing press in Philadelphia was used regularly to publish antislavery tracts by abolitionists like Ralph Sandford and Benjamin Lay that could further the cause of abolition.

All of the early efforts by abolitionists in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts met with limited success; few individuals became convinced of the necessity of ending slavery. The economic life of the North American colonies seemed secure, and many believed that the prosperity resulted from the success of the slave trade and slave-based agricultural productivity. Few were willing to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy and the

economic well-being of the colonial settlements to defend the purported natural rights of the slave. To many in the North American colonies, the economic success of the colonial experiment was evidence of God's approval of the enterprise. Challenging slavery would be to venture into disrupting the divine order that prevailed at the time.

Britain's Rule in North America

The Stirrings of Discontent

The economic hegemony that the British maintained within their North American colonies was made possible through the effective use of mercantile policies that emerged through the course of the colonial period and often found expression in the various Navigation Acts. Although these measures were ultimately designed to enrich the mother country by maintaining a favorable balance of trade that strengthened the national treasury, the colonies themselves did benefit through the trade and commerce that ensued. The slave trade and the production of cash crops for export produced by slave labor were essential elements of the colonial economic system that had emerged since the early seventeenth century.

British success in North America was threatened, however, by the continuous growth and expansion of other colonial enterprises on the continent maintained by their European rivals, the Spanish and the French. Since mercantilism was premised on the notion that national wealth was determined by the amount of gold and silver in a nation's treasury, the competition for scarce resources and markets created a zero-sum game in which economic rivalry was merely an expression of economic warfare. With respect to the competing interests for North American colonies and the potential resources and markets that they represented, economic warfare turned into actual warfare during much of the eighteenth century as the European powers struggled for mastery of the North American continent.

Despite a pledge that the British and French kings made in the Peace of Whitehall (1687), whereby both monarchs pledged that their nations would never fight over colonial interests, the promise was broken almost as soon as it had been made. During the course of the eighteenth century, a series of wars that pitted Great Britain and France as constant rivals emerged, and some of these conflicts brought about territorial changes in North American colonial possessions. A progression of conflicts including the War of the Grand Alliance (War of the League of Augsburg, or King William's War, 1688–1697), the War of the Span-

ish Succession (Queen Anne's War, 1702–1714), the War of the Austrian Succession (King George's War, 1740–1748), and the French and Indian War (Seven Years War, 1755–1763) had the effect of a continuous campaign designed to wrest control of colonial possessions in North America. In this bitter struggle, the British would ultimately emerge victorious and drive the French from the North American mainland.

The British fought these wars ostensibly to guarantee their economic hegemony and to ensure further development of their national coffers, but protection of the colonies was tantamount to achieving this desired end. As a result, it became difficult for the British to distinguish between measures taken to secure its colonies and measures taken to secure its own economic interests since both of these were associated roles. The difference was made more real, however, when the British tried to determine who should pay for the cost of defending the North American colonies. The efforts taken to answer this question and the colonial responses they engendered would set in motion conflict between Britain and its North American possessions.

The Rights of Englishmen

Colonists in North America would come to discover the limitations of their freedom as British taxation policies became more stringent during the 1760s, and increasingly they began to express their dismay at being treated as slaves by the British Crown. On the eve of the American Revolution, the Virginia Patriot leader Patrick Henry would ponder the rhetorical question, "Is life so dear or peace so sweet to be purchased by the price of chains and slavery?" before exhorting his compatriots to choose between liberty or death. Virginians certainly knew what slavery was, but they seemed quite uncertain at parsing the various gradations that existed between those who were completely free and those whose hereditary rights faced infringement of one degree or another.

The North American colonists initially appealed to their rights as Englishmen in an effort to protect themselves from burdensome taxation that was imposed to cover the costs of their own protection and help pay the debt incurred by the French and Indian War. The colonists appealed to the Parliament with the understanding that their rights as colonists were no different than the rights of those who lived in England, so they expressed their concerns in terms of justice, equity, and fairness. Tradition, however, indicated otherwise as the tax burden placed on those living in England was more severe than the share that was apportioned to the North American colonists. Even Sir William

Blackstone's *Commentaries on English Law*, considered the penultimate source of the English legal tradition, suggested the weakness of the colonial claim that the traditional rights of Englishmen extended to countrymen in the North American colonies. Facing such a difficult argument, the North American colonists found support in an alternative approach that would help them define, and eventually win, their freedom.

The English political philosopher John Locke first articulated the "natural rights" theory in his *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1690), a work considered one of the founding documents of liberal political theory. Written largely as a defense of England's Glorious Revolution (1688) when Parliament deposed the Stuart king James II and invited William and Mary to become the coregents of the realm, Locke's political theory had to determine a legal foundation for the right of revolution in order to confer legitimacy on Parliament's extraordinary actions. He was able to formulate such a theory by hearkening back to the considerations that he assumed had motivated the invention of civil government when it emerged from what Locke termed a "state of nature."

In Locke's view, government existed by virtue of a contract that had been formed from the beginning of civil society. According to the nature of this contract theory of government, the purpose of forming a government had been to protect the natural rights that were inherently due to all. In Locke's formulation of the theory, he identified three rights—life, liberty, and property—as the natural or God-given rights that were due to all and could not be alienated. Since, in Locke's view, government existed only to protect these natural rights, any government that became abusive of these ends or failed to protect the natural rights of the people was in violation of the terms of the contract that had brought about its creation. Under such circumstances, Locke argued, the people had a right to abolish such government and institute new government in its place. Locke's theory had fashioned a defense of revolution in civil society, and this would become the new line of reasoning used by the North American colonists to strive for their natural rights that presumably had been violated.

"No Taxation without Representation"

After the Parliament's passage of the Sugar Act (1764), New England merchants and the captains of slave ships protested the increase in the prices of sugar and molasses, declaring these items to be indispensable to the slave trade, which they described as "vital commerce" for the region. A group of merchants published a pamphlet entitled *A Statement of the Massachusetts Trade*

and *Fisheries* in which they protested that the increased duties on such essential commodities might bring economic disaster to New England. That same year, James Otis published *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* to protest Parliament's imposing the Sugar Act. Otis maintained that the British action represented "taxation without representation," and he further claimed that slaves had a right to be free. Sensing an inconsistency between coercive action and liberalism, Otis saw a connection between the infringement on colonists' liberties by the British and the institution of slavery, and he criticized slavery as an evil that "threatens one day to reduce both Europe and America to the ignorance and barbarity of the darkest ages."

Although many colonists shared Otis's sentiments regarding "taxation without representation," few supported his antislavery views. Most colonists in North America were able to distinguish between the economic bondage that Britain tried to impose on the colonies and the chattel bondage of black slaves that they considered an economic necessity for the strength and security of the colonies. They were able to despise one form of slavery and laud the merits of another.

By the time Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765, slaves made up an estimated 20 percent of the North American colonial population. The ever-expanding commerce of the slave trade and the slave-produced colonial exports constituted a tremendous source of revenue for the British Crown that far exceeded what new tax measures might garner. The number of slaves imported into the North American colonies continued to increase annually until 1771, when for the first time, importation of Africans into the colonies began to decline as antislavery sentiment began to emerge in Great Britain.

First Blood

Tensions between the North American colonies and Great Britain escalated throughout the 1760s as a series of new tax initiatives enacted by Parliament were met with an increasing air of resistance by the colonists. Measures of civil disobedience against "taxation without representation" carried out in a nonviolent fashion gave way to more brazen acts of assault as British revenue officials were assaulted and occasionally tarred and feathered by aggrieved colonists. As early as the summer of 1765, private militia groups had begun to form and drill in some communities as the Sons of Liberty began to organize and carry out attacks in the interest of the North American colonists.

Sensing the increased hostility by colonial residents, the British government had maintained a troop presence in the colonies, particularly in the New England

region where resistance seemed the strongest. In addition to protecting royal interests in the colony, the troops also sought to protect the lives and property of revenue officials who ably performed the tasks that would benefit Great Britain's treasury. Over time, the association of British taxation and royal troops would become indelibly linked in the mind of many colonial Patriots who viewed the presence of standing troops as another aspect of the enslavement that Britain was forcing on its rightfully free colonists.

On the evening of March 5, 1770, the association of unlawful taxation and military oppression would become inextricably linked in the hearts and minds of many Bostonians when violence erupted near the colonial State House. The event that became known as the Boston Massacre marked the spilling of the first blood in a conflict that eventually led to the independence of the North American colonies. The first of five Patriots to die in the encounter was Crispus Attucks, a mulatto and former slave who perished when British forces opened fire into an increasingly unruly mob. In a North American colonial setting where 20 percent of the residents were slaves, that the first of five to die was a former slave seems almost a prophetic omen, but such an awareness appears to have escaped notice at the time of the event.

Colonial discontent reached a fevered pitch after the Boston Massacre as committees of correspondence were organized throughout the North American colonies to keep residents of distant communities informed of the reputed atrocities conducted by the British in defense of the onerous taxes. Violent encounters between the Patriots and the British revenue officials grew more frequent and more pointed as when the Sons of Liberty torched the revenue cutter *Gaspée* after it became grounded in Narragansett Bay off the Rhode Island coast in 1772. Parliament passed the Tea Act in March 1773 in an effort to prop up the failing East India Company by creating a monopoly for their product in the North American colonies, but the Patriots responded in December by staging the Boston Tea Party and dumping 342 chests of tea into the icy waters of Boston Harbor.

When Parliament sought to punish the citizens of Boston with the Coercive Acts of 1774, sentiments throughout the North American colonies were unified in the view that these punitive measures were unlawful. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia authored *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* in July 1774, a pamphlet that argued Parliament had overstepped its authority with the Coercive Acts and that the residents of the North American colonies were only beholden to obey King George III. At this point, Jefferson and

other Patriot leaders still believed that well-intentioned appeals to reason could inspire the king to action that would lead to a redress of grievances.

An Appeal to Arms

The North American colonists held to their beliefs that petitions to the king could remedy the problems that were at hand in the early 1770s. When delegates met at a Continental Congress in 1774, they hoped that by issuing a petition and launching a boycott of British goods they could persuade the king to move Parliament to rescind its taxes and other coercive legislation that had caused the breach between the mother country and its colonies. Despite these well-intentioned efforts, and the naive assumptions on which they were based, neither the king nor Parliament was moved to action by the request of the North American colonists. Both sides in the dispute were quickly approaching a point of no return.

Delegates at the Continental Congress agreed to meet again the following spring if redress of the grievances outlined in the petition to the king were not met. Few understood at the time the momentous events that would transpire between the time of the two meetings. In some New England towns, volunteer militias began to drill openly in preparation for defending their natural rights by force of arms if necessary. In many communities residents began to hoard arms, ammunition, and powder for what they believed would be the coming assault on their traditional liberties. The free citizens of the North American colonies were no longer willing to be enslaved by British taxes and mercantile policies.

Just weeks before a second Continental Congress was set to meet in Philadelphia, open warfare between colonial and British forces erupted near Boston on April 19, 1775. In what the poet Ralph Waldo Emerson would later call “the shot heard round the world,” the North American colonists stood their ground at Lexington and inflicted casualties on the British at Concord in the first encounters of what became the American Revolution. Even as delegates gathered in Philadelphia in May, military operations continued to be conducted in and around Boston. By mid-June 1775 colonial forces engaged British troops in battle at Bunker Hill where they inflicted more than 1,000 casualties on the British before they were forced to retreat from the hill.

Although the second Continental Congress took measures to prepare for war, including the creation of the Continental Army and the appointment of George Washington as its commander, the delegates at Philadelphia also sought to negotiate a peaceful resolu-

tion of their differences with Great Britain, though that prospect seemed increasingly fleeting. The colonists extended an Olive Branch Petition to the king, still hoping to settle outstanding concerns short of war, but George III rejected any attempt to negotiate with rebels who had assaulted royal forces and committed treason against the Crown.

We Hold These Truths to Be Self Evident

In June 1776 the second Continental Congress approved of a resolution introduced by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia. The measure called for independence from Great Britain. Upon passage of the resolution, the Congress formed a committee of five to draft a declaration of independence that would outline the reasons for why such a break with the mother country was necessary. The committee included Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, John Adams of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert Livingston of New York. Jefferson would become the primary author of the final document.

By basing his argument for independence on the natural rights philosophy of John Locke, Jefferson argued that Britain’s repeated offenses against the North American colonies represented a violation of the original contract upon which government is premised and justified the colonists’ act of rebellion to create new government. In addition to explaining succinctly the key elements of Locke’s theory, the declaration also included an enumeration of twenty-seven grievous offenses that either the king or Parliament had inflicted on the North American colonists. These measures were included to convince the faint of heart who might otherwise have believed that rebellion against the British Crown was unwarranted.

The Declaration of Independence, as penned by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted by the second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. In the final deliberations, Jefferson was swayed by the arguments of delegates from South Carolina and Georgia who had objected to his inclusion of lines that were critical of the slave trade and denounced slavery. He agreed to delete a passage that had criticized George III for encouraging “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 in another hemisphere.” Although Jefferson deleted these references from the final draft of the Declaration of Independence, the second Continental Congress had previously passed a resolution on April 9, 1776, calling for an eventual end of the transatlantic slave trade.

Jefferson's hesitancy to include language critical of the slave trade and slavery in the Declaration of Independence reflects the colonial mentality on the issue. Recognizing what all might recognize as self-evident truths was easier to accomplish if the slave trade and slavery were not made part of the argument. Although it is admirable that Jefferson and the other Founders applied Locke's natural rights philosophy to their call for independence, it is particularly telling that they understood rights to be natural for some and not so for others. The document that gave birth to freedom was one that still enshrined slavery.

Workers in the Vineyard of Freedom

When it became clear that the North American colonists intended to make war on the British Crown, the British seized on an opportunity to raise a Loyalist army in the colonies by promising freedom to slaves who would flock to the royal cause and take up arms in defense of Great Britain. On November 14, 1775, John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore, who was the royal governor of Virginia, issued a decree in which he promised to free any male slaves who deserted their plantations and farms and joined British forces in an effort to suppress the rebellion that had been initiated by the colonial forces. An estimated eight hundred Virginia slaves accepted Dunmore's invitation and joined the royal forces, but Dunmore lost the support of many Loyalist planters by initiating this policy.

Although the second Continental Congress initially decided against arming either slaves or free blacks to support the American cause, it tempered its policy by 1779 and more than five thousand black troops saw service during the American Revolution. Most of the slaves who fought were promised that they would be emancipated upon the conclusion of the war.

Black troops fought nobly as workers in the vineyard of freedom during the American Revolution. On May 10, 1775, Lemuel Haynes, Primas Black, and Epheram Blackman fought with Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys during the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in New York. This event was considered to be the first aggressive action taken by colonial forces during the American Revolution. Several weeks later, the black soldiers Peter Salem and Salem Poor distinguished themselves through service at the battle of Bunker Hill. Two black soldiers, Prince Whipple and Oliver Cromwell, took part in George Washington's famed crossing of the Delaware River in December 1776 to attack British forces and their Hessian mercenaries at Trenton, New Jersey.

The courageous actions by more than five thousand black troops during the American Revolution convinced many of the North American colonists to recognize their bravery and appreciate their humanity. In many respects, the participation of black troops as soldiers during the war helped lead to the first emancipation in the northern states following the American Revolution.

Varieties of Emancipation

War with Great Britain produced an independent United States of America where free citizens could enjoy the blessings of liberty free from the bondage that had been associated with colonial rule, but this was not true for all residents of the new republic. Slavery would end in some parts of the new nation, but in the southern states where it was most prevalent, its status was not altered.

Some slaves found freedom by supporting the Loyalist cause and aiding the British during the war. In 1782 British ships carried off an estimated five thousand slaves when they sailed from Savannah, Georgia. Many of these black Loyalists would eventually settle in the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In 1783, British ships would similarly evacuate black Loyalists from New York City, where three thousand were evacuated, and from Charleston, South Carolina, where another sixty-five hundred slaves were removed and resettled as free citizens in other British possessions.

By the end of 1783, all of the states located north of Maryland had enacted measures to ban the further importation of Africans for use as slave laborers. Many of the northern states began to consider legislation that would emancipate slaves within their jurisdiction.

In Massachusetts the courts intervened before the state assembly could take positive action to end slavery. The case of *Commonwealth v. Jennison* concluded that the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, which was included in the state constitution of 1780, stated that all men were "born free and equal." According to their interpretation of this measure, the jurists declared that slavery was thus repudiated within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Subsequent action by state assemblies emancipated slaves in Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1785, and New Jersey in 1786. The legislation through which slavery was ended employed different methods and timetables, thus producing varieties of emancipation within the northern states. In some cases slaves were emancipated immediately, as in the case of Massachusetts, while many states, including Pennsyl-

vania, New York, and New Jersey, adopted gradual emancipation measures.

In some states the status of slavery persisted even though the burden of slave labor was no longer expected. In the case of the well-known black abolitionist Sojourner Truth (born Isabella Baumfree), though she was born circa 1797 in New York State, she did not escape from her owner until 1826. She became free in 1827 according to the terms of New York's gradual emancipation law that had been enacted in 1785.

In the case of New Jersey, slaveowners were given advanced warning of the date when slavery would end in the state, and some owners were able to sell their slaves to other owners in the southern states where slavery remained legal. By employing these means, some New Jersey owners did not realize a financial loss

from emancipation in their state, but the slaves they sold did not gain the emancipation that had been promised them by the state's legislative action.

When the American Revolution began in 1775, slavery existed in all thirteen of Britain's North American colonies, but by the end of the conflict it only remained legal in six southern states. Although the initial flurry of activity by northern legislatures held promise that freedom was on the ascendancy, it soon became increasingly clear that slavery was well entrenched in the southern states and would not be ending anytime soon. However, the ideology of the Enlightenment and the fervor of evangelical Christianity had indeed made inroads in challenging the power of slavery; yet a long and bitter campaign lay ahead to realize the true meaning of liberty and justice for all.

THE END OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE RISE OF ABOLITIONISM

The same intellectual and evangelical religious attitudes that fomented the American Revolution and the many other political revolutions that transformed the Western world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also played an important role in beginning to challenge the underpinnings of slavery. The age of revolution was closely paralleled by the rise of a powerful transatlantic abolitionist movement that started to challenge the foundations on which slavery had been supported and maintained for centuries. The opponents of slavery would develop tactics that viewed the abolition of the African slave trade as a first and necessary step toward the eventual abolition of slavery itself. Despite their marginalized status as fanatics who sought to undo the social fabric on which much of economic power and public order had been maintained, the abolitionists maintained the intensity of their struggle with a buoyant optimism that their cause was not only right but also essential.

Although much of the support for early abolitionism grew out of the religious community, it was not the mainline denominations that took the lead in advancing the cause, but rather some of the groups that were considered to be either beyond the mainstream of traditional Christianity or at odds with some of the more traditional groups. In both Great Britain and the

United States, much of the early antislavery agitation stemmed from the Quakers (Society of Friends) and after the 1740s from the Methodists. In this era each of these religious congregations was perceived as a radical faith community. Among the Quakers, the lack of characteristic religious hierarchy, the nondescript nature of services, and the individualistic reliance on one's "inner light" to motivate and inspire spirituality were perceived as being at odds with the more staid traditional Christian congregations. Similarly, the Methodists were initially viewed as a communion of believers who were revolting against the trappings of Anglican (or Episcopalian) ceremony and practice. Yet unlike the Puritan revolutionaries of an earlier era, reliance on a rational "method" of spiritual practice made the Methodists seem to be too modern or too closely affiliated with notions of the Enlightenment and its presumed antireligious sentiments. Only after Quaker and Methodist abolitionists initiated the antislavery movement did supporters from other religious communities join the social and moral crusade to end slavery.

Early abolitionists also faced another criticism as they rooted their antislavery beliefs in their faith and sought to impart their moral beliefs to society at large. The notion of the social gospel, or the view that one's faith must be made manifest by reforming real-world

conditions that are in need of moral improvement, was not yet fully accepted as part of the responsibility that Christians were expected to bear. The belief that one's faith must direct one's works or that spirituality must transform itself into action in the world of the present was at odds with the view of those who saw religion as directed to an otherworldly existence exclusively. Concerns about being "too much of this world" caused many to resist the abolitionist impulse since the tradition of reading social justice into the calling of the gospels had not yet become an accepted practice within many religious communities.

Still others resisted the abolitionist movement in its early stages because they perceived the antislavery movement as being contrary to the social and political order that was necessary to maintain a civil society based on laws, customs, and traditions. The long history of slavery and the legal framework that had been created to support it were considered to be *de facto* evidence that the practice was a necessary and proper element of the social order of things. Those who questioned the justification of slavery were seen as challenging the most basic foundations of order in the eyes of traditionalists who did not view civil disobedience as evidence of good citizenship. In addition, any suggestion that the slave was the equal of those who were born free was perceived as a dangerous form of social leveling in societies that viewed stratified, class-based distinctions as both necessary and proper for the maintenance of public order and security.

In addition to all of these tendencies, the individual dispositions of many of the early abolitionists also prevented some from supporting the antislavery movement. Most abolitionists were viewed as unequivocal advocates of their cause who were totally convinced of the moral certainty of their position, and this practice of calling attention to oneself was not characteristic of late eighteenth-century sensibilities. Thus the composite perception of the abolitionist as the dissenter, the radical, the social leveler, and the unreserved individualist all contributed to the resistance that antislavery advocates faced as they challenged the status quo and sought to remake society.

A Transatlantic Movement

Much of what transpired in Great Britain influenced the rise of the abolitionist movement in the United States. During the eighteenth century, an estimated 5 million Africans were transported to the Americas by slave-trading vessels. A large portion of this trade was conducted by British merchants and traders who prof-

ited immensely from the insatiable demand for slaves that resulted from the ever-increasing production of sugar in the Americas. The profits that Britain would accrue from its involvement in the transatlantic slave trade would set in motion the forces that started an abolitionist movement by the late eighteenth century.

When the Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War (1702–1714), British merchants and traders won a major concession from the Spanish as they acquired the *asiento*, the contract that authorized British vessels to deliver African slaves to Spain's New World colonies. This lucrative trade was a prize of war that coincided with what would become the most massive century of the transatlantic slave trade. Vessels packed with captive Africans ventured across the Atlantic throughout the eighteenth century as suppliers tried to keep up with the incessant demands for more and more slaves in the Americas. The profitability of the enterprise was enormous.

In many respects, the transatlantic slave trade was an invisible form of commerce to most Britons. Seaports like Bristol and Liverpool witnessed an increased activity as the construction and outfitting of new ships kept many laborers employed throughout the century; these vessels regularly sailed in and out of the port cities to other ports of call and destinations unknown to most. The trade that some Britons saw did not contain the human cargo of slaves, but only the raw material of sugar or the manufactured product of rum—essentially the *cause* and *effect* of the need for a slave trade. The sailors who manned the ships of the slave trade witnessed aspects of the business that were beyond the sight and the imagination of most Britons, but few of these seasoned sailors shared their tales of the trade. The profitable commerce remained intact largely through an understood conspiracy of silence among many of its members and most immediate observers.

The necessity of the transatlantic slave trade was argued by the sugar planters of the West Indies, who demanded a steady supply of slave laborers to plant, cultivate, harvest, and refine the sugarcane that had made the colonies such a lucrative setting. Since disruptions in slave supply could translate into poor harvests and decreased profitability, the planters had agents who worked on their behalf in Great Britain to make sure that slave ships regularly supplied the demands of the sugar colonies. Over the course of time, the agents and supporters of the colonial plantation interests formed a West India lobby in order to guarantee that Parliament would enact no measures that were detrimental to the slave trade and the financial well-being of the sugar producers.

Out of Sight, Out of Mind?

As long as the business of the slave trade remained a distant enterprise that was isolated from the thought and awareness of most Britons, it was unlikely that the issue would cause much concern or motivate any social agitation. Profits from the trade in sugar and slaves streamed into Britain during the eighteenth century, but few if any devoted much consideration to the basis of this wealth. Aside from limited populations in Bristol and Liverpool, the slave trade was largely out of sight and out of mind.

The feigned ignorance of the slave trade began to change in the 1760s as more information about the conditions of the slave trade emerged and some began to experience moral qualms about the inhumanity of the slave trade. Coincidentally, the birth of William Wilberforce (1759–1833) and Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), two British abolitionists and members of Parliament who would lead the struggle against the slave trade and slavery itself, occurred at the dawn of an era when the issue of slavery became a prominent social concern in British society. It is not surprising that men like Wilberforce and Clarkson would be influenced by the changing temper of their times to view the slave trade and slavery as social ills that needed to be addressed through legislative remedy.

Granville Sharp became one of the first British abolitionists who publicly questioned the conditions associated with the slave trade. After being contacted by Africans in Britain who sought his assistance as a solicitor to help them obtain their freedom, Sharp became an advocate for the cause of the Africans and devoted much of his time and energy into researching the slave trade and making his findings available to the general public. Sharp was responsible for bringing forward the case *Knowles v. Somersett* (1772), which resulted in the abolition of slavery in England. In 1783 Sharp would investigate the case of the *Zong*, a British slaving vessel that had been associated with the criminal act of tossing 133 Africans who were near death into the waters of the Atlantic.

Knowledge about slavery also increased as Britons began to read about the practice through firsthand accounts that were written and published by former slaves. In 1787 the former slave Quobna Ottobah Cugoano published *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, by Ottobah Cugoano, a Native of Africa*. Similarly, a young African named Olaudah Equiano was captured sometime around 1756 and sold into slavery. He would later publish *The Interesting Narra-*

tive of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavaus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself (1789).

Appeals for a Parliamentary Inquiry

Encouraged by the early successes, Granville Sharp and other British abolitionists pressed their case in the 1770s for an investigation by Parliament into the operations and conduct of the transatlantic slave trade. Their efforts were met with stiff resistance by the West India Lobby, which had the support of many members of Parliament who were not favorably disposed to such an inquiry because of the potential dangers it might pose to the colonial sugar interests. Thus, even when Parliament appeared to take an interest in the matter of the transatlantic slave trade, its actions were halfhearted, and its findings were always a foregone conclusion.

In 1776 the British Parliament briefly debated a measure that called for an end to the African slave trade. This event was especially noteworthy, for it was the first time that Parliament had ever considered the question. In the same year, the House of Commons defeated a resolution that condemned slavery as being contrary to the laws of God. Despite these setbacks, Sharp and the other British abolitionists continued to press their case.

The House of Commons agreed to establish a parliamentary committee in 1778 that would investigate the transatlantic slave trade. That same year, Joseph Knight, a slave who had been taken from Jamaica to Scotland, sued for his freedom in the Edinburgh Court of Session. The Scottish court declared Knight to be free, basing its ruling on the judicial precedent established in *Knowles v. Somersett* (1772).

Granville Sharp appealed to Anglicans in 1779 to voice their opposition to the African slave trade, but they chose not to become involved in the political fray. Despite this failure, Sharp did attract some support when the British political leader Edmund Burke, an opponent of slavery and a member of Parliament, wrote the essay “Sketch of a Negro Code” as a means of preparing slaves for a future life of “civilization and gradual manumission.”

New and more strident voices joined the British abolitionist movement in the 1780s as antislavery advocates continued to press their case against the transatlantic slave trade. In 1788 the British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson published *An Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade*, and fellow abolitionist James Ramsey published *Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade with Answers*. British abolitionists organized a petition drive throughout the nation to have Parliament outlaw the transatlantic slave trade, and leading abolitionists such as William Pitt, William

Wyndham Grenville, and William Wilberforce addressed Parliament in support of the proposal. For its part, Parliament enacted the Dolben Act, a statute regulating the conditions permitted in conducting the African slave trade, but the measure fell far short of abolition, which the antislavery supporters had demanded.

Limiting Slavery's Expansion in the United States

In the immediate aftermath of the American Revolution, seven of the original thirteen states enacted measures that provided emancipation in various forms to the slaves within their jurisdiction. Slavery remained legal in the six southern states where large-scale agricultural production on plantations remained the principal form of commercial activity. All legislative action to abolish slavery or to preserve and maintain it was conducted at the state level, and the national government made no effort to address the question or the status of slavery.

The government of the United States that was organized during the early years of the republic was fashioned by the Articles of Confederation, an early constitution that formed a weak national government with limited powers while sustaining autonomous state governments that continued to maintain their traditional powers. This arrangement of a weak national government paired with strong autonomous state governments characterized political life in the 1780s as the young nation sought to implement a form of federalism that rendered state powers supreme. In such a system, the national government had no ability to speak to the status of slavery within the individual states since that was a matter of local control.

In 1784 the Congress under the Articles of Confederation government considered a "Report of Government for the Western Territory" that had been drafted by Thomas Jefferson. Before adopting the measure, Congress deleted certain controversial provisions, including by a vote of seven to six, a proposal that would have prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude from all western territories after 1800.

Congress did adopt the Northwest Ordinance in 1787 to provide a framework for settlement of and future statehood by the western territories located north of the Ohio River. In enacting this measure on July 13, 1787, the Congress ruled that slavery was prohibited from all territories north of the Ohio River (the "Old Northwest" that later included Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,

Michigan, and Wisconsin). Speaking as the legislative body of the national government, Congress made clear that the prerogative of determining the status of slavery in the territories fell within the purview of the national government.

A More Perfect Union

Throughout the summer of 1787, delegates from the various states met in Philadelphia to draft a new constitution for the United States that would replace the largely ineffective Articles of Confederation. The document that would be produced was revolutionary in nature as it formulated a powerful national government at the expense of weakened powers left to the autonomous states. Although the new document never specifically mentioned the word "slave," the implied protection of the slave trade and slavery itself were enshrined and protected in the new document.

On September 17, 1787, delegates signed the U.S. Constitution and submitted the document to the states for ratification. The new document included a "three-fifths clause," which meant that only three of every five slaves would be counted for purposes of representation and taxation. The U.S. Constitution also stipulated that the Congress could not act to prohibit the transatlantic slave trade for twenty years.

It had been the decision at the Constitutional Convention to establish a bicameral Congress and to apportion seats in the House of Representatives on the basis of population that precipitated much of the debate over slavery. A division of states allied on the basis of small states versus large states, which was notoriously similar to free states versus slave states, debated the key question of whether or not slaves would be counted as population when apportioning seats in the House of Representatives. The "three-fifths clause" was inserted into the U.S. Constitution to settle this matter.

The twenty-year moratorium on consideration of ending the transatlantic slave trade was inserted into the U.S. Constitution as part of a commerce-related compromise between northern and southern states. Although the southern states hoped to maintain the right to import Africans as slaves without the threat of government suspension of the trade, northern states were fearful that a strong national government might tax the region's exports, thus making manufacturing interests fearful. The solution was to satisfy both sides by including both protections in the U.S. Constitution. The national government prohibited the taxation of exports, and the issue of ending the African slave trade could not be considered until 1807 at the earliest.

In addition to these two key provisions, other portions of the U.S. Constitution also provided inherent protections to slavery. The states were made to extend “full faith and credit” to the laws of fellow states, thereby preserving the status of slave for any fugitive who might escape to seek liberty in a free state. The states also were made to honor preexisting contracts through which it became understood that northern states were duty-bound to return fugitive slaves to their owners. This matter would be further explicated upon passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which made clear the responsibility of northern states to remand into custody any fugitive slaves who were captured within their jurisdictions. In addition, the weight of the U.S. military was available to “insure domestic tranquility” should the threat of a slave insurrection affect the peace and security of any slaveholding region.

In subsequent years, some abolitionists would charge that the U.S. Constitution was a document that had been designed specifically to protect and preserve the interests of slaveholders in the United States. Some even argued that a “slave power conspiracy” existed within the nation as a result of the undue influence the U.S. Constitution gave to the southern slaveholding states.

Early Government

Having been ratified by a sufficient number of states, the U.S. Constitution became effective on March 4, 1789, when the first meeting of the U.S. Congress was called into session. By late April George Washington took the oath of office in New York City and became the first president of the United States, a young nation of thirteen states divided almost evenly on the question of slavery.

In 1790 the first census of the United States revealed that 757,181 blacks, representing 19.3 percent of the national population, resided in the thirteen states with 59,557 identified as free blacks and 697,624 as slaves. Only Massachusetts (and Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts) reported having no slaves.

The issue of slavery quickly emerged as an issue of concern in the new nation. In early February 1790, the U.S. Congress received its first formal petition calling for the emancipation of the slaves. The petition was presented by the American Quakers (Society of Friends) and the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Benjamin Franklin had signed the petition and urged Congress to remove “this inconsistency from the character of the American people.” After having failed to persuade Congress to his position, Franklin published

“An Essay on the African Slave Trade” in the March 23 issue of the *Federal Gazette*. Using the biting satire for which he had become well known, Franklin parodied the prevailing proslavery attitude in the Congress by presenting a Muslim argument that could be used for justifying the enslavement of Christians.

In 1790 the U.S. government also entered into its first treaty with the Creek Indian nation. The treaty included a provision that required the Creek to return any fugitive slaves who sought protection by escaping to Creek territory. To many abolitionists it became clear that the agency of the government of the United States under the Constitution supported the legal rights of slaveholders to maintain the institution of slavery. Many antislavery advocates began to question whether abolitionist legislation could ever be obtained by working within the strictures of the government.

Warner Mifflin, a Virginia Quaker, sent an antislavery petition to the U.S. Congress in 1792, and the matter caused a contentious debate. One South Carolina congressman questioned whether the First Amendment’s right to petition expressly included the “mere rant and rhapsody of a meddling fanatic.”

On February 12, 1793, the U.S. Congress enacted a federal Fugitive Slave Act that made it a criminal offense for anyone to harbor a slave or to prevent the arrest of a fugitive. The law based its legality on Article 4, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, which established the legal mechanism for the recovery of fugitive slaves. The measure would remain in effect until Congress passed a stronger Fugitive Slave Act in 1850.

Seeds of Discontent

Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in Mulberry Grove, Georgia, on October 28, 1793. This invention revolutionized southern agriculture as it made short-staple (upland) cotton easier to process, and as the planting of upland cotton increased in the Old Southwest (territories south of the Ohio River), the region of slaveholding also increased. Whitney received the patent for his invention on March 14, 1794.

A particularly telling sentiment of the times appeared in a letter from President George Washington to fellow Virginian Alexander Spotswood in which Washington shared some of his views on slavery. Washington wrote:

Were it not then, that I am principled against selling African Americans, as you would cattle at a market, I would not in twelve months from this date, be possessed of one as a slave. I shall be happily mistaken if they are not found to be a

very troublesome species of property ere many years to pass over our heads.”

Ending the Transatlantic Slave Trade

Efforts to abolish the African slave trade proceeded in both the British Parliament and the U.S. Congress. In both settings, many believed that the abolition of the slave trade was the necessary first step toward ending slavery. Viewing the matter as a question of supply and demand, many believed that eliminating the supply of Africans as slaves would cause the institution of slavery to flounder.

On March 22, 1794, the U.S. Congress voted to prohibit the slave trade to all foreign ports and also prohibited the outfitting of any foreign vessels in any American port for the purpose of slave trading. Although this legislation was a welcomed sign to abolitionists, it was not the comprehensive ban on the slave trade that antislavery advocates desired, so they continued in their efforts to petition until the matter would be concluded to their liking.

The U.S. House of Representatives rejected a petition advanced by a group of free blacks from Philadelphia on January 2, 1800. The petitioners sought to end slavery in the United States through a system of gradual emancipation. The petition also protested against the transatlantic slave trade and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. The measure was defeated by a margin of 85 to 1.

On December 2, 1806, President Thomas Jefferson sent a message to Congress urging passage of legislation ending all slave importation to the United States effective January 1, 1808. This proposal was designed to address the twenty-year moratorium on addressing the slave trade that had been written into Article 1, Section 9, of the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Congress enacted the recommended legislation on March 2, 1807, and Jefferson signed it into law. Despite the U.S. government's efforts to enforce the measure, violations did occur all the way to the time of the Civil War.

Having twice defeated similar measures in 1804 and 1805, the British Parliament took up a measure to outlaw the African slave trade on March 25, 1807. With the backing of Lord Grenville's government, the Parliament enacted the measure that would outlaw the transatlantic slave trade effective on March 1, 1808. The Parliament also enacted measures that permitted the Royal Navy to enforce the terms of the legislation to ensure that slaving vessels would no longer ply the waters of the Atlantic.

Emboldened by their victories against the slave

trade in both the United States and Great Britain, abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic set their sights on achieving their next main objective—the abolition of slavery itself. That campaign would be effected through different means and on different occasions in each respective nation.

Retrenchment and New Objectives

When the ban on further importation of Africans as slaves took effect on January 1, 1808, it is estimated that there were 1 million slaves in the United States. To optimists, elimination of the supply of additional African slaves was going to initiate the inevitable decline of slavery, but such would not be the case. By 1860 there would be nearly 4 million slaves in the United States. The failure of abolition to be achieved through the laws of supply and demand meant that new measures, and a sustained antislavery effort, would be required to effect emancipation in the United States.

Results of the Third Census of the United States, completed in 1810, revealed that 1,377,808 blacks, slave and free, constituted 19 percent of the nation's population. When the Fourth Census of the United States was taken a decade later, the incomprehensible seemed to be happening. The black population of the United States had increased to 1,771,656, or 18.4 percent of the nation's population. The laws of supply and demand were not moving the nation toward abolition as the natural increase of the slave population was sustaining and enlarging the labor supply of slaves. In response to this reality, new types of antislavery organizations and new methods of agitation began to be employed in the United States to hasten the coming of emancipation.

Although the slave population of the United States was expanding in the 1810s, it was the growing population of free blacks in both the northern and southern states that first attracted the attention and concern of many. A curious blend of reformers, some of whom were motivated by the best interests of free blacks and some of whom were driven by ulterior motives, coalesced around the concept of emigration—the idea that free blacks should be allowed, if they chose to do so, to return to Africa. The idea of emigration had support in Great Britain as well as in the United States.

Supporters of emigration to Africa gathered in Washington, D.C., on December 28, 1816, to form the American Colonization Society (ACS), an organization that endeavored to return free blacks who sought its services to Africa. Meeting in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the U.S. Capitol

building, the ACS members vowed to support the emigration of free blacks to Africa. By 1820 the ACS had established the colonial outpost of Liberia on the western coast of Africa to receive those free blacks who chose to emigrate.

Most abolitionists in the United States did not support the colonization plans of the ACS. Delegates attending the 1817 meeting of the American Convention of Abolition Societies approved of a resolution stating “the gradual and total emancipation of all persons of colour, and their literary and moral education, should precede their colonization.” A group of 3,000 free blacks in Philadelphia, led by the free black community leader James Forten, met to protest the plans of the ACS to encourage the removal of free blacks to Africa.

In 1820 the *Mayflower of Liberia* (formerly the brig *Elizabeth*) sailed from New York City with eighty-six free blacks who had agreed to return to Africa as part of the colonization plans of the ACS. The group was brought to Sierra Leone, a colonial outpost that the British had established for former slaves who wished to be repatriated to Africa. Between the time of its founding and the Civil War, the ACS would repatriate nearly fifteen thousand free blacks to Liberia.

Agitation

New independent organizations that employed distinct strategies aimed at effecting the abolition of slavery began to form in the United States during the 1810s and 1820s, and by 1833 when the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, the movement assumed a national following even though its strongest support was limited to New England. The preponderance of new antislavery organizations and the strategies that they employed suggest that there were *varieties* of abolitionism under consideration rather than a single unified approach. The divisions that were apparent within the antislavery movement tended to keep it weak and likely delayed the eventual achievement of emancipation in the United States.

Lewis Dupre published the antislavery tract *An Admonitory Picture and a Solemn Warning Principally Addressed to Professing Christians in the Southern States*. Published in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1810, the pamphlet urged southern slaveowners to adopt an enlightened view and work to bring about an end to slavery through principles of Christian justice. Such appeals on the basis of faith were designed to bring about abolitionism without the necessity of resorting to a legislative solution that would have been difficult to attain. Despite such goals, working toward emancipation through religious denomina-

tions became increasingly difficult. The General Conference of the Methodist Church determined in 1812 that slaveholders were no longer eligible to be elders within the congregation.

The presence of limited antislavery sentiment existed in the southern states during this era. In 1814, Charles Osborne and other antislavery advocates established the Manumission Society of Tennessee and by 1819 had founded the antislavery newspaper the *Manumission Intelligencer*. The goal of the group was to encourage slaveholders to emancipate their slaves so that abolition could be achieved through voluntary means. A society with similar motives was established by North Carolina Quakers in 1816.

In St. Clairsville, Ohio, the Quaker abolitionist Benjamin Lundy organized the Union Humane Society in 1815. In addition to later publishing and editing antislavery newspapers, Lundy was also one of the promoters of the “free produce” movement that encouraged individuals to purchase only those commodities that were produced by free laborers who earned wages rather than supporting slavery by purchasing slave-produced goods. Lundy and other abolitionists would operate free stores where no slave-produced items were sold.

Another path followed by antislavery advocates was the more radical approach. In 1816 the abolitionist George Bourne published *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable*, often considered to be one of the most radical antislavery tracts ever published in the United States. In Bourne’s view, one could not be a Christian and a slaveholder since the two concepts were incompatible.

Although moral suasion, voluntary manumission, economic boycotts, and radicalism were all approaches that individually might advance the antislavery cause, the different strategies did not coalesce into a unified course of action that all abolitionists should pursue. The number of slaves in the United States continued to increase, and the relative political influence of the slaveowners also grew during an era when abolitionists were struggling to focus attention on the antislavery cause.

Gradualism vs. Immediatism

Abolitionists in both the United States and Great Britain were also divided on a key strategy in the antislavery debate—the question of the timetable and the process whereby emancipation might be achieved. Some abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic believed that a system of gradual emancipation was the most efficient and least disruptive method that could

be used to bring about the end of slavery. Others claimed that since slavery was evil, only immediate emancipation could rid the nation of its sin and begin the process of redemption. Those who supported gradualism generally adopted a more conservative stance, believing that the abolition of slavery would take an extended period of time to achieve, while the more radical immediatists believed that swift action could free slaves all at one time.

Most of the early abolitionists in the United States fell into the gradualist camp. When slavery had been abolished by seven northern states after the American Revolution most of the states had used a form of gradualism to bring about emancipation. Although the system was somewhat cumbersome to employ and held the possibility of long-delayed freedom for many, it had produced emancipation in the northern states without causing the social disruption that many had feared. Support for gradualism remained strong in the United States until the late 1820s when more strident voices began to call for immediate emancipation.

Intellectual support for gradualism declined after the publication of an 1824 antislavery work by the British abolitionist Elizabeth [Coltman] Heyrick. In her work *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition, or, An Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery*, Heyrick supported immediate emancipation because she believed that slavery was a moral question rather than an economic or political concern.

The transition from support for gradual emancipation to immediate emancipation was associated with a dramatic change in the tone of antislavery rhetoric. Antislavery advocacy couched in genteel appeals to reason gave way to more vitriolic prose that attacked not merely the institution of slavery itself, but also those who supported and sustained it. The war of words intensified as immediatism became the primary strategy, and rhetoric on both sides of the question—proslavery and antislavery—became sharper by the 1830s. The intensification of the debate caused a re-trenchment in both camps as proslavery defenders and antislavery agitators became true believers in the certainty of their cause.

On the Precipice

The abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison launched his antislavery newspaper the *Liberator* on January 1, 1831. Vowing “No Union with Slaveholders” and disavowing political action as a means to effect emancipation, Garrison’s strategy was to confront slavery as the evil that he believed it to be and to labor to rid the nation of the odious stain of slavery. In his inaugural issue of the *Liberator*, Garrison declared, “I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD!”

When many in the South saw a cause-and-effect relationship between the launch of Garrison’s newspaper and the outbreak of the Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia in August 1831, the fear of Garrison and his fiery rhetoric grew even stronger than it had been before. The belief, however mistaken, that antislavery rhetoric in New England could foment slave rebellion in Virginia increased Garrison’s stature within the abolitionist movement and made him a pariah in the eyes of southern slaveowners. Garrison relished the criticism and used it to attract new recruits to the antislavery cause.

On December 4, 1833, Garrison, along with other black and white abolitionist leaders including Theodore Dwight Weld, Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan, met in Philadelphia where they established the American Anti-Slavery Society. This organization, with Garrison as its titular leader, became the leading antislavery organization in the United States until a rift in the 1840s caused factions to form within the Society. Garrison’s ideology of immediatism and his fiery rhetoric animated the cause as abolitionists in the United States finally coalesced, at least momentarily, into a unified reform movement with clearly defined objectives. Garrison published the *Liberator* continuously until December 1865 once the Civil War had concluded, and the American Anti-Slavery Society remained in operation until 1870 when it ceased to exist after passage of the Fifteenth Amendment granted the right to vote to African American males. William Lloyd Garrison had been heard.

THE RISE OF “KING COTTON” AND THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY

Just as the colonies that Britain had developed on the North American continent needed to be economically viable communities in order to survive, the thirteen independent states that formed the United States faced similar challenges. The new nation faced tremendous obstacles as it emerged onto the world stage since its economic potential was not yet realized and it carried mounting debt that had accrued throughout the revolutionary era. Structurally, the United States was an agricultural economy with only limited manufacturing taking place in selected portions of New England, and the immediate prospects for development in 1789 as the new U.S. Constitution took effect did not augur that any dramatic transformations were imminent. Without the solid foundation that a sound national economy would provide, the young nation might have found itself perpetually relegated to the ranks of lesser states for whom the status of dependency on the great powers became the mode of financial life.

The Constitution of the United States was formed to provide a stronger national government to the United States, a task that clearly had not been achieved under the Articles of Confederation. Although the principal doctrines of a stronger government were largely perceived as being political matters, there were certainly other means through which national strength could accrue through better and more effective government. For many, the success or failure of the U.S. Constitution would hinge largely on the new government’s ability to provide the framework on which a sound economy might be fashioned so that the new country could emerge strong and prosperous within the family of nations.

During George Washington’s first presidential administration, the responsibility for formulating an adequate strategy to achieve the nation’s short-term and long-term financial objectives fell squarely on Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Realizing that national power stemmed from fiscal strength, Hamilton envisioned a vibrant economic life that could animate the young republic through the creation of wealth. In both his *Report on the Public Credit* (1790) and *Report on Manufactures* (1791) that he prepared for the Congress, Hamilton outlined a financial plan for the United States that would include debt management, limited taxation, and fiscal responsibility, but all of this was rooted in the promise of free

market capitalism, which, if left unfettered, could stimulate economic growth and promote the creation of wealth. Hamilton’s plans largely created an engine for economic prosperity but did not specifically identify the fuel that would power the transformation.

The economic impact of the early Industrial Revolution had begun to be realized in Great Britain in the eighteenth century as textile factories emerged and began to transform the social landscape. The rise of urban population centers as an ancillary component of the nascent factory system was not yet fully understood in the early stages of industrialization, as elements of the British model began to emerge in the United States as well. Unlike most Americans of the time, Hamilton, realized the potential social and economic change that manufacturing could bring to the United States, and he relished the prospect of growth that lay in the nation’s future. Others, who saw the nation’s destiny tied to the maintenance of an agricultural-based economy, feared the potential expansion of a manufacturing sector and viewed such changes not in terms of increased national prosperity but in terms of lost national virtue.

Whether one was a protoindustrialist or an advocate of the citizen farmers in 1789, their fortunes were inextricably tied together. The United States was an agricultural society and would remain so for quite some time, but the emergence of a manufacturing sector would grow out of and in response to the exigencies of the nation’s farm- and plantation-based productivity. In many respects, the rise of manufacturing interests in the United States was largely driven by the expansion of the nation’s agricultural sector.

Changing the Old Ways

The creation of a vibrant national economy would require the establishment of a commercial infrastructure that was sorely lacking in the early United States. During the colonial era, the nature of the colonies acting as autonomous economic entities had not fostered the development of any unified system that linked the activities of one region with another. Coordination, for example, between Massachusetts and South Carolina was nonexistent as each colony had viewed its fiscal ties directly with Britain rather than with other colonies that were generally seen as economic rivals.

The development of roads, bridges, and port facilities emerged to service local economic needs, but the macroeconomic concerns of a region or a nation did not drive commercial life.

In the southern colonies where a plantation-based agricultural economy had emerged, many large estates operated autonomously even within their specific colonial setting. Located along navigable rivers, many plantations had created their own dock and wharf facilities where products of the land could be loaded onto vessels that were destined for British ports, thus bypassing the need for regional ports and harbors. In general, colonial economic transactions more regularly occurred on an east-west axis than on a north-south one as transatlantic trade largely surpassed intercolonial financial activity.

Even under the days of the Articles of Confederation, the notions of sovereignty that had been retained by the thirteen independent states perpetuated the perceptions of economic rivalry and political suspicion that had emerged during the colonial era. The primary task of a nation that wanted to live up to its motto of *E pluribus unum* ("Out of many, one") rested in the ability of its people to see the interconnectedness that was essential to national life. Putting aside differences and quelling regional passions would be difficult tasks, but they were essential elements to formulating a new nation whose political solidarity and economic stability were premised on the belief that unity was attainable.

Convincing citizens that the interests of the tobacco planter in Tidewater Virginia were comparable with those of the farmer who grew corn in western Pennsylvania or that the Connecticut dockworker had similar economic passions as the South Carolina artisan were challenges of the highest order. In many respects, the success or failure of the American experiment with democracy rested not on the theoretical foundations on which the national government was based but more on winning the hearts and minds of a disparate citizenry to recognize their common interest as stakeholders in the new nation. More challenging perhaps would be the tacit understanding that slave states and free states existed because of the mutual dependence of one on the other in the complexities of national economic life.

The Emergence of Cotton

On the eve of the American Revolution in 1770, the commodities that were produced by slave labor in the North American colonies had constituted much of the bulk of goods traded with Great Britain. Tobacco (27.1

percent), rice (10.1 percent), and indigo (3.9 percent) together formed 41 percent of all colonial exports at the time, and no manufactured goods seemed poised to threaten the economic supremacy that the plantation interests maintained. By the time the U.S. Constitution took effect in 1789, exports stemming from fisheries and iron ore rose slightly, but the dominance of exports based on slave-produced commodities had changed little.

Cotton cultivation and trade, which came to dominate southern plantation agriculture and stimulate American manufacturing, was an infinitesimally small specialized crop localized to the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia at the time of the nation's founding. Few would have imagined at the time that cotton would transform all sectors of the national economy during the early nineteenth century.

A variety of cotton that was acclimated to the Sea Islands had been under cultivation for many years but did not rival the profits from indigo and rice. The fibers of Sea Island, or long-staple, cotton were considered to be of high quality and had a smooth or silky texture, but cultivation of the crop was geographically limited to those areas that provided an ideal growing season without the danger of early-season frosts that could ruin the harvest. The moderating influence of warm Gulf Stream currents made the Sea Islands well suited for the cultivation of long-staple cotton, but few other locations in the United States were appropriate for large-scale cultivation of the crop on a plantation model.

Slave labor was used in the locations where Sea Island was cultivated to plant, tend, and harvest the crop as well as to remove the seeds from the cotton once it was picked. This was a labor-intensive task that was often relegated to women and children, but it was made somewhat easier because the black seeds of long-staple cotton generally separated rather easily from the cotton fibers. The removal of the seeds was done by hand by slave laborers.

Other varieties of cotton existed and were grown in parts of the South. One type, known as upland or short-staple cotton, grew practically like a weed in almost any soil type or climate zone of the South. Short-staple cotton could be cultivated in the red clay soils of the upland South in areas that were otherwise thought unfit for large-scale agricultural development. Although its growth in various settings was ubiquitous, the cultivation of short-staple cotton had not emerged as a plantation crop because the time-consuming efforts of seed removal and the perceived lesser quality of the cotton fiber made it a less attractive product than Sea Island cotton.

Technological innovation would transform the nature of southern agriculture, and subsequently of American manufacturing, when short-staple cotton became a viable crop for large-scale production on a plantation model using slave labor. This change was wrought when Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in Mulberry Grove, Georgia, on October 28, 1793, since this invention revolutionized southern agriculture as it made short-staple (upland) cotton easier to process. As the planting of upland cotton increased after 1793 and both new and marginal lands came under cultivation, the profits that were realized fostered the expansion of cotton production into new lands that were farther inland. The settlement of the Old Southwest and the concomitant expansion of slaveholding in the region would accompany the rise of cotton cultivation and trade.

A Need for Slave Laborers

As cotton cultivation expanded during the years of the early republic, it became increasingly clear that a large supply of slave laborers would be needed to develop the new acreage coming under cultivation as new plantations and farms were established in portions of the upland South. At the time when the U.S. Constitution was being written in 1787, the Founders had included in the document a twenty-year moratorium on any consideration of ending the transatlantic slave trade. Thus the Congress could not consider such a legislative item until 1807 at the earliest. Accordingly, the importation of Africans as slaves into the United States continued unheeded during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and many of these new slaves were introduced to plantations and farms in the Lower South where cotton cultivation was expanding.

In addition to the importation of Africans until the transatlantic slave trade was outlawed, there emerged a large-scale domestic slave trade business in the United States that provided the sale and transit of slaves from the Upper South to the Lower South throughout the antebellum era. In many respects, some slaveowners in the Upper South were beginning to realize the marginal utility of slave labor on their plantations and farms and began to sell their slaves to the Lower South to recoup their investment and often garner handsome profits. Although the prices of slaves varied considerably from one period to another, the nearly constant demand for slave laborers on southern cotton plantations made it likely that one could profit considerably from selling slaves through the domestic trade.

The dependency on the African slave trade and the domestic slave trade to provide plantation laborers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is in-

congruous with the pattern that had emerged at the end of the American Revolution as northern states manumitted slaves and outlawed the practice of slavery. The trend that emerged in the United States in the 1780s was that slavery was being diminished both in theory and in practice in the new nation. Not only had northern states abolished slavery, but the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had also prohibited slavery from being introduced into the territory north of the Ohio River. The first decade of American independence had seemingly indicated that freedom in the United States was a growing tendency that might one day be appreciated by all, but the circumstances of the 1790s indicated that slavery was not dead yet.

Cotton Land

The widespread cultivation of cotton meant that not only would additional slave laborers be needed to establish new plantations and farms, but new territory would also be needed to meet the insatiable demand for cotton exports that were being demanded by world markets. The expansion of cotton cultivation was motivated by the incessant demands of textile manufacturers in Europe and in the northern states of the United States who spun cotton into manufactured products that had mass appeal. Drawn almost inextricably into a classic economic model of supply and demand, southern producers responded intuitively to the urgent calls for more cotton and the profits it would accrue, and the twin requirements of additional slaves and additional land became endemic necessities.

Although the acquisition of additional slaves was an economic activity that individual planters had to effect through their own initiative and means, the acquisition of new territory in which plantation agriculture might be expanded was a task that sometimes involved geopolitical gamesmanship and in which the United States government became a willing participant. Certain parts of the Old Southwest, such as the Natchez District, were well suited for cotton cultivation. Those areas were being farmed commercially in the early years of the republic, but other areas would require different government efforts before they could come under possession of the United States and eventual agricultural development.

Diplomatic initiatives of the United States government during the early nineteenth century would help to form the eventual “Cotton Kingdom” that emerged by the late-antebellum period. The Louisiana Purchase (1803), the annexation of West Florida (1810), the purchase of East Florida (1819), and the annexation of Texas (1845) were all part of the territorial expansion of the United States, but all of these acquisitions permitted the

extension of cotton cultivation and the expansion of slavery.

In addition to the territorial acquisition that stemmed from international treaties and disputes, the United States also maintained a consistent policy of territorial aggrandizement in its relation with the various domestic nations, or Indian tribes, that initially inhabited the lands of the Old Southwest. Starting with the Treaty of Fort Jackson at the conclusion of the Creek Indian War and continuing through the Indian Removal of the 1830s and the Seminole Wars, the efforts of the United States to remove the five “Civilized Tribes” from the southeast to reservation lands in Oklahoma was designed to acquire more territory that could come under cultivation by southern planters and their slaves. Even though the United States government couched the language of Indian Removal in rhetoric that was seemingly beneficial to the Indian and motivated through acts of benevolence, the clearing of the land for a higher economic purpose was central to the Indian Removal efforts.

Consciously or unconsciously, whether contrived or unintentional, the systematic expansion of the United States during the early nineteenth century and the removal of Indian tribes from the region served the economic interests of southern cotton planters and helped facilitate the expansion of slavery into the region. Although such a self-serving policy to advance the cause of southern interests may seem likely, it provides only a partial explanation for government actions. The economic expansion of the United States was rooted in the interconnectedness that existed between raw cotton produced in the South by slave laborers and the textile mills of the North that spun southern cotton into manufactured products. Some abolitionists criticized a “slave power conspiracy” for controlling the apparatus of government and determining policy only in support of slaveholding interests, but the complexity of the truth is more damning of all parties. Cotton had become so essential a commodity to the United States that its economic power held sway over many decisions made at the national level. Both as an export commodity and as a natural resource that powered a growing manufacturing sector in the young nation, cotton had tremendous economic implications. It seemed as though slavery was safe in the United States as long as the benefits of a cotton economy accrued to all parts of the nation both North and South.

A Better Way

In an amoral sense, profit is profit and no nation

should be expected to question the foundations on which its prosperity is based. Even the residents of those portions of the United States that had abolished slavery after the American Revolution found themselves benefiting from the perpetuation of slavery in the southern states and from the market commodities that slave labor produced. America’s national prosperity in the antebellum era did not produce widespread pangs of guilt, but it did have its detractors who argued that there must exist a better way to create wealth without stealing the labor of others. To such critics, slavery could not be excused as merely a necessary first step toward economic maturation in a young nation because slavery was a moral abomination, a practice that was inexcusable in any civil society.

Some of the early Quaker abolitionists believed that the purchase of slave-made goods was a sin of commission through which individuals perpetuated the institution of slavery by creating a ready market for such products. Believing that every dollar spent in the marketplace was, in effect, an endorsement, such abolitionists argued that only by purchasing exclusively those products that were made by free laborers who earned wages could one effectively fight against the practice of enslaving fellow human beings. Abolitionists like Benjamin Lundy and others established free stores in Quaker communities that only handled products that were produced or manufactured by free laborers who earned wages. They argued that only through the deliberate and conscious act of avoiding any endorsement of slavery through purchase could one honestly consider himself to be an abolitionist. Although the movement was small and had limited effectiveness, it presented an alternative to the free market capitalistic model in that individuals were willing to pay higher prices for goods if they knew that their conscience would be clear that they were not supporting the perpetuation of slavery.

The free store concept was not the only economic alternative that abolitionists presented in their efforts to promote antislavery ideals. In 1826 the British abolitionist Frances Wright established Nashoba plantation near Memphis, Tennessee, as a utopian community experiment that was designed to train blacks for eventual settlement outside of the United States. Wright hoped to demonstrate that cotton produced on a plantation where laborers received wages could be just as competitive in the marketplace as slave-produced cotton. Although Wright’s experiment ended when her plantation faced bankruptcy in 1830, the argument about the relative merits of free produce as compared to slave produce continued until the time of the Civil War.

The “Cotton Kingdom” Emerges

Settlement of the Old Southwest was marked by the creation of new slave states that joined the Union in rapid succession in the early nineteenth century. Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), and Alabama (1818) quickly emerged as areas where expansive agriculture on a plantation-based model existed, and portions of western Georgia that were cleared for white settlement after Indian Removal in the 1830s followed a similar pattern. By the early 1840s, the demographic profile of the Old Southwest began to reflect the emergence of the “Cotton Kingdom” in which large plantations with many slaves fashioned the social and economic base of the region’s identity. The area’s so-called Black Belt began to take shape as plantation lands fanned out in crescent shape across the Old Southwest from northeast Georgia across Alabama to northeastern Mississippi in what became some of the prime cotton lands of the region.

The cotton monoculture that dominated the lands of the Old Southwest was an essential element of the regional identity that formed, but it was augmented by a proslavery ethos that emerged in the 1830s and became embedded in the cultural identity of the Cotton Kingdom. Among southern slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike, it became common to hear stirring defenses of the positive aspects of slavery as the economic practice became enshrined as an essential component of the southern way of life. In this fashion, slavery became a part of the moral order of society, and its perpetuation was argued not in terms of profitability but instead in terms of social necessity. Those like the abolitionists who would dare to question the moral legitimacy of slavery were challenging what southerners perceived to be a basic institution on which civil society itself was structured. Accordingly, the ideologies of such economic radicals and social levelers needed to be confronted in every possible fashion.

The antebellum Cotton Kingdom also emerged in the aftermath of the Nat Turner Revolt that shook Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831. This event, convergent with the rise of “radical” abolitionism as evidenced by William Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator* that began publication in 1831, heightened tensions in the South and convinced most southerners that only a united and sustained effort to combat the enemies of slavery would prevent the forces of insurrection from threatening the peace and security of the South and its inhabitants. Southern defenders of slavery became increasingly fanatical in their rhetoric as

they decried northern efforts to interfere with slavery in any fashion.

Southern politicians, too, became vocal advocates of the economic and social necessity of protecting and perpetuating the institution of slavery. Congressional defenders of slavery were able to institute a “gag rule” in the House of Representatives that remained in effect from 1836 to 1844. The rule was curiously coincidental with the emergence of the cotton South, as southern legislators sought to prohibit consideration of any antislavery petitions or memorials that might be presented to the Congress. When Arkansas became the twenty-fifth state in June 1836, the slaveowning states constituted, for the first time in the nation’s history, a majority of states in the Union. In many respects, the ascendant power of slavery seemed quite real in the 1830s as the expansion of cotton cultivation in the United States changed the nature of the debate over slavery.

The Global Economy

The cultivation of cotton in the United States impacted not only the economic power of the United States, but also much of international trade during the antebellum era. A casual review of the expansion of cotton as a commodity on the world market reflects the power of the cotton interests to influence the nation’s economic policy. In 1820 cotton exports totaled \$22 million, by 1830 they totaled \$30 million, by 1840 \$64 million, by 1850 \$72 million, and by 1860 cotton exports had jumped to \$192 million in U.S. exports. Although these figures represent dollars alone and not the volume of cotton traded, the 1840 and 1860 figures are especially revealing. During the 1830s the value of cotton exports doubled, and the 1850s witnessed cotton exports increasing by 267 percent more than in the previous decade. In 1850 U.S. cotton production was estimated to be 2.5 million bales (400 pounds each), and this level of production had more than doubled by 1860. These astronomical growth rates suggest the power inherent within the cotton economy of the South to influence national policy.

Most of the cotton exports during the antebellum era fed the textile mills of northern England as free wage-based laborers transformed the slave-produced cotton into manufactured goods that were then sold on the world market. To borrow the notion from the Quaker abolitionists that all were sullied who trucked with slave-produced goods, the transoceanic shippers, the British manufacturers, and all who purchased

cotton products that were manufactured shared complicity, if not compunction, with the system of slavery that existed in the South. Far from being an economic matter of limited concern, the slave-produced commodities of the southern states influenced the global economy of the nineteenth century and thus had far-reaching consequences.

In the United States, too, the textile mills worked with cotton cultivated by slaves. In the heart of abolitionist New England, the mill towns of Waltham, Lowell, Chicopee, and Lawrence, Massachusetts, all spun cotton that was cultivated on the plantations and farms of the southern states. In 1820 these mills had 220,000 spindles working with cotton, and by 1840 the number of spindles was just under three million. The jobs held by many workers in the northern textile industry were grounded in the perpetuation of slave-based cotton production in the southern states, and few abolitionists rose from the ranks of the mill workers.

Abolitionists in both Great Britain and the United States recognized that convincing their respective governments to wean themselves away from slave-produced goods was an almost hopeless challenge. Using the empty power of moral suasion to overcome the incalculable profits that tens of millions in exports and manufacturing could generate was an obstacle to effective advocacy of the antislavery position.

Perils of the Trade

Cotton was a commodity on the world market, subject to all the vagaries and uncertainties of market conditions. Thus cotton prices varied considerably. Adverse weather patterns and dangers of crop infestation could produce temporary fluctuations in cotton prices, while more sustained economic panics could inflict severe drops in commodity prices. Since the world demand for cotton grew tremendously during the early nineteenth century, these economic downturns created a buyer's market in which relatively cheap cotton could be purchased and warehoused for later manufacture. Planters generally saw decreased profits during the downturns, and since most plantation costs of production were fixed, little could be done to offset such losses. Despite these occurrences, there were good years when cotton prices were high, and these gains more than offset the losses created in the panic years. But as a general trend, cotton prices declined during much of the antebellum era.

Since slave laborers were also bought, sold, and traded as chattel property, the relative cost of buying and selling slaves also varied with changes in the market. The cost of purchasing a prime cotton fieldhand

might have varied from a high of \$1,200 on the eve of the Civil War to a low of perhaps \$800 in the immediate aftermath of the Panic of 1837. The prices of slaves were always dependent on the age, health, and general appearance of the slave, so even within a particular era the prices paid for individual slaves might have varied tremendously.

The price of public lands remained fairly consistent during the expansion of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest. Planters and farmers wishing to acquire additional acreage could purchase public land for as little as \$1.25 per acre, though better quality land would draw a higher price. In many cases, planters wishing to expand their lands under cultivation would often clear marginal lands and place these under cultivation rather than purchase additional acreage. This effort kept costs down and provided tasks that slaves could perform in the off-season when planting and harvesting were not taking place.

Historians have long speculated as to whether or not slavery was profitable. Some nineteenth-century abolitionists speculated that the demise of slavery would come about in response to its economic viability. Such observers believed that the moment slavery ceased to be profitable it would be abandoned and wage labor would take its place. Apologists for slavery, both during the nineteenth century and since, claimed that slavery was maintained as a social institution out of a sense of benevolent paternalism and that its maintenance was not associated with any supposed link to its profitability. Most studies that have examined the economic history of slavery in the United States have concluded that slave labor was indeed profitable for southern cotton planters who were garnering profits ranging from 6 to 12 percent on the eve of the Civil War.

Texas

One factor that expanded cotton production in the United States and enlarged the Cotton Kingdom was the annexation of Texas in 1845. The rich lands of eastern Texas were considered to be prime cotton lands on a par with the Black Belt of the Old Southwest and the Delta region of the Mississippi Valley. The productivity of Texas cotton lands helped to satisfy market demands of the 1850s, even though cotton prices diminished somewhat because of fears of overproduction and the impact of the Panic of 1857.

The impact of market forces on Texas cotton production is reflected in the state's demographic transformation during the decade prior to the Civil War. In 1850 Texas had a slave population of 58,161, but by 1860 that figure had increased to 212,592. Texas had the

fastest growing population of any slave state in the Union on the eve of the war. During the decade of this expansion in slave population, Texas increased its cotton production by 600 percent over 1850 levels.

When cotton prices dropped in the late 1850s, many British manufacturers, fearing the escalating tension in the United States, bought up large quantities of Texas cotton at reduced prices and warehoused these bales. As a result of acquiring such a supply, British manufacturers were not adversely affected by the disruption of supply caused by the Civil War. This supply of warehoused cotton prevented the British government from being forced into recognizing the Confederate States of America in order to maintain a ready cotton supply. The Confederacy’s strategy, known as “King Cotton Diplomacy,” failed to effect the diplomatic recognition so desperately sought during the war years.

Other Crops

Although much attention is paid to the power and impact of the Cotton Kingdom in influencing antebellum economic life, the southern states produced other crops and farm commodities that had an impact on both the regional and national economy. Cotton was certainly the dominant cash crop of most of the southern states, but other crops under cultivation by slave laborers were equally profitable.

Most of the parishes of southeastern Louisiana were under cultivation in sugarcane, and the annual productivity from the region had been steadily increasing throughout the antebellum era. New technologies in sugar making, such as the multiple-effect vacuum evaporation process, had been implemented to extract the greatest possible quantity and the highest possible quality of product from the cane cultivated in Louisiana.

Tobacco cultivation remained the principal crop cultivated by slave laborers in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky during the antebellum era. Even though the acreage under tobacco cultivation had declined somewhat owing to soil depletion and to planters making the transition to corn and other foodstuffs, the volume of tobacco produced in the region remained consistently high.

Other regions used slave labor to produce different cash crops. Sections of coastal South Carolina and Georgia still cultivated much of the rice that was grown in the United States. In areas like Virginia’s Shenandoah Valley, slave labor was used to cultivate foodstuffs such as corn and wheat, which were under intensive cultivation. The Shenandoah Valley would

become the breadbasket of the Confederacy during the Civil War. In addition, slave labor supported the cultivation of livestock in many parts of the South. In particular, cattle and pigs augmented the profits attained through crop cultivation.

The Balance Sheet

The results of the eighth census of the United States, completed in 1860, revealed that of the more than 8 million white residents of the South, only 383,637 were identified as slaveowners. The black population, both slave and free, was recorded at 4,401,830, constituting 14.1 percent of the nation’s population. Of this total, 448,070 were identified as free blacks and 3,953,760 were slaves.

As the slave population in the United States had experienced a fourfold increase from 1808 when the transatlantic slave trade had been outlawed, the economy of the South had also witnessed a dramatic transformation. The cultivation of short-staple (upland) cotton had generated economic growth in the agricultural South, and it had fueled manufacturing in the free states of the North. Cotton had also provided an export commodity that made the United States the key trading partner with Great Britain in the early nineteenth century.

In many respects, the Founding Fathers’ economic dreams had been realized. Alexander Hamilton had envisioned an America where factory workers and shopkeepers would dominate an urban-industrial society. Thomas Jefferson had pictured an America in which the produce of the land would constitute the nation’s riches. To an extent they were both right as elements of each vision had been achieved by the cultivation of cotton and the manufacture of textiles.

A significant portion of America’s prosperity in the antebellum era stemmed from the economic viability of slave-based agricultural productivity and its linkage to the trade networks of a transnational economy. The magical powers of free market economics directed the forces of supply and demand in such a way that the “invisible hand” of which Adam Smith spoke in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) fashioned a way for cotton produced in the Black Belt of Alabama to reach the boutiques of London and Paris. The creation of wealth that emerged from such a process was phenomenal.

Some southern planters showcased their wealth in ostentatious displays, lavishing enormous sums on grand homes to mark their economic prowess. Others used their newfound wealth to purchase more slaves.

A Voice in the Wilderness

Hinton Rowan Helper, a North Carolina abolitionist who despised blacks, ignited a firestorm of protest when he published *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (1857). Helper based his arguments on statistical information he had gleaned from the seventh census of the United States taken in 1850 and asserted that slavery had caused great economic distress to nonslaveholders and poor whites of the South. He urged the South's poor whites to rise up and overthrow slavery, but he also advocated the deportation of freed blacks to Africa. Sixty-eight members of the U.S. House of Representatives endorsed Helper's book, most without having read it, and the Republican Party distributed 100,000 copies of it in the northern states. Once the book was published it was banned in the southern states. Helper was considered such a pariah in the region that he was forced to flee to New York for his personal safety.

The Impending Crisis presented an alternative, albeit controversial, interpretation of the economic impact of slavery on southern society. Rather than focusing on the dualism of the master-slave arrangement, Helper

gave his attention to marginalized groups like non-slaveholders and poor whites and questioned the presumed benefits of a slave-based cotton economy. He also highlighted the limited extent to which any real economic transformation had occurred in the region. By attacking the economic premise that had sustained slavery as a system, Helper attracted critics who were eager to quell any voice of discontent challenging the status quo.

By the eve of the Civil War, the voices of critics like Helper were drowned out by the stirring rhetoric of proslavery apologists who touted the economic benefits of the institution of slavery and praised the important social role that slavery provided in an ordered, class-based society. Their argument was smug, but they were the true believers. The world they knew and the economic system they envisioned was a world apart from that of the slave or even that of the poor white or nonslaveholder in the South. Preaching to the solidarity and common aspirations of their own social group, the proslavery apologists affirmed what they hoped was plausibly true as a bulwark against their unspoken fears.

SLAVERY, PATERNALISM, AND ANTEBELLUM SOUTHERN CULTURE

All efforts to examine slavery through the lens of modernity make it difficult to comprehend how individuals supported and sustained an institution for centuries that degraded and dehumanized others for the exploitation of profit. Slavery was a multidimensional practice that influenced economic thought in its time but also affected the social, cultural, and moral ethos of both its defenders and its detractors. The slaveholder and the nonslaveholder alike were sullied by maintaining a slave-based society, and all individuals, whether they lived in the South or North, found their life and times circumscribed by the necessities inherent in preserving slavery and preserving civil society simultaneously. The response to this challenge led to the formation of a defensive posture that acknowledged the place of slavery in the natural order of things and viewed abolitionist challenges to the "peculiar institution" as errant beliefs that would only produce social discord.

It is difficult to understand how a society might fashion an attitude that legitimates the buying, selling, trading, and owning of others as an acceptable form of commerce. Even more disconcerting is the level of blind hypocrisy that is readily apparent when defenders of slavery in the United States who mouthed the revolutionary rhetoric of liberty and freedom as natural conditions of humankind found common cause to support the enslavement of their fellow human beings. That people of faith with a clear conscience recognized the need to perpetuate slavery seems terribly at odds with modern sensibilities of morality and social justice, but the intellectual foundation of the times created a bulwark against all contrary notions. As such, slavery was seen as part of the moral order on which society rested, and slaveowners were viewed by many as benevolent individuals who maintained an essential social task.

Defenders of slavery found ideological support for the practice in their society's cultural heritage as they

rooted their beliefs in commonly held assumptions and historic precedent and practice. The language of the Bible was used to espouse the enslavement of Africans and to justify its moral necessity. They also mined intellectual tradition dating back to classical antiquity to find the rhetoric that would support a class-based society where slaves were meant to benefit and serve others. The discipline of science, and the use of pseudoscience, fashioned explanations that defended the “natural” inclination of Africans to be enslaved by their social betters. Moreover, the proslavery apologists employed a careful reading of history to explain the notion of human progress through the perpetuation of class-based societies that relied on slave labor. To challenge the legitimacy of slavery would therefore require a denunciation of all the intellectual antecedents that justified, rationalized, and buttressed the practice.

God's Will

At the same time that abolitionists were acknowledging that slavery was contrary to Christian practice and were urging coreligionists to end the practice, defenders of slavery were finding an alternative message in scripture that justified the moral necessity of the institution. The apologists believed that Christians had a moral imperative to be slaveowners because the system conferred beneficial effects on the enslaved. Other people of faith interpreted the same sacred text in a widely different way. Nonetheless, both sides in the debate were certain of the moral urgency of their calling, and both were animated with the evangelical fervor of true believers.

Thornton Stringfellow, a Baptist minister and proslavery apologist from Virginia, published *A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery* (1841) to refute the abolitionist argument that slavery was contrary to Christian practices. Stringfellow believed that the number of references in the Bible supporting slavery was sufficient proof of the moral legitimacy of the practice. His work challenged the notion that “the gain of freedom to the slave, is the only proof of godliness in the master” because he held that owning and maintaining order among slaves provided a form of moral education that would uplift and enlighten the slave. Stringfellow confronted what he perceived was the antislavery advocate’s misreading of scripture. He found it inconceivable that “God has ordained slavery, and yet slavery is the greatest of sins?” as the abolitionists had argued.

Others found a defense for slavery, particularly for

the enslavement of Africans, in the story of Noah in Genesis, which became known as the “Curse of Ham.” According to this tradition, Noah placed a curse on his son Ham that implied his son’s descendants would be “servant of servants” for all eternity. An interpretation of this passage by the twelfth-century religious scholar Benjamin of Tudela implied a racial association of blackness, which he ascribed to Ham, thus equating the notion of servant with the badge of racial exclusiveness. Religious leaders in the antebellum South regularly used the “Curse of Ham” to defend the enslavement of Africans as something that was divinely inspired and biblically sanctioned. They questioned the motives of anyone who would challenge the class-based doctrines on which southern society was structured.

The fact that mainline Christian denominations were not quick to condemn slavery was perceived as a tacit endorsement of the practice by many. Pope Gregory XVI did not declare the Roman Catholic Church’s opposition to the slave trade and slavery until he issued the 1839 papal letter *In supremo*. But Roman Catholics in the United States generally ignored the papal pronouncement and continued to hold slaves. Among the Protestant religious communities in the United States, slavery did not emerge as a key moral concern until the 1850s when schisms divided many denominations over the question of slavery.

The religious argument in support of slavery was a primary defense presented in “The Pro-Slavery Argument” (1852), published by a group of southern apologists including William Harper, Thomas R. Dew, and James Henry Hammond. This work contained a collection of essays, many of which had been previously published, that based their theoretical justification for the institution of slavery on biblical and classical sources.

The incongruity of slavery with religious belief does not seem to have registered with those who considered themselves righteous before God. The sincerity of these beliefs is apparent as slaveowning southerners endeavored to introduce their slaves to Christianity as a means of moral uplift for the slave and evangelical urgency to the owners. Sensing themselves as virtual trustees of a benighted people, slaveholders considered bringing faith to the faithless to be one of their highest callings. They accepted this duty without hesitation, never allowing their Christian zeal to grasp the enormous inconsistencies between belief and practice.

Classical Antecedents

The classical origins of Western culture were made

manifest through the ancient Greeks who articulated the individual's place in the universe through an understanding of a well-ordered society. In the vast marketplace of ideas, the Greeks posited questions of relationship as they strove to understand the interconnectedness of all things around them. Central to this discussion was the place of human beings and the relative abilities of each to contribute to the ultimate good of society. Humans' ability to actualize their potential, however great or small, was deemed essential to the well-being of society.

Classical antiquity suggests that slaves existed from the beginning of civilized society. Homer makes reference to the presence of slaves in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, thus implying that the origins of slavery were organic to social development as captives of war became servants to the victors. These mores and values were accepted without question. In his *Works and Days*, the Greek author Hesiod acknowledged the existence of slaves but did not distinguish them greatly from free workers who also toiled laboriously. By not describing the slave as a commodity that could be traded, he implicitly viewed slaves as a protected class of laborers who were not subject to many of the burdensome anxieties and responsibilities that befell free citizens.

Slavery was also defended in the earliest formulations of philosophy. Plato and Aristotle not only affirmed the condition of slavery, but also owned slaves themselves, attesting to the ancients' justification of the institution. When Plato tried to create a model of the ideal state in *The Republic*, he included slavery as part of the social order of this perfect state. In his view, there was nothing wrong with the enslavement of foreigners, and he believed that slavery should be confined to barbarians exclusively. Furthermore, he did not believe that freed slaves should be allowed to become citizens of the ideal state. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, wrote, "From the hour of their birth some are marked out for subjection, others for rule." When he died in 322 BCE, Aristotle left an estate that included fourteen domestic slaves.

Similarly to their Greek counterparts, the Romans defended the institution and practice of slavery in their society. The security of an ordered society was always given precedence over the rights and liberties of the individual; thus maintaining slavery was viewed as being more beneficial socially than the particular liberties denied the individual slave. The Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro in his treatise *De re rustica* ("On Farming") advised that slaves "should be neither cowed nor high-spirited," and he warned owners to "avoid having too many slaves of the same nation, for this is a fertile source of domestic quarrels."

Later Christian writers such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas did not challenge the sense of order that slavery created in society. In *The City of God*, Augustine observed that slavery was a status that "has been imposed by the just sentence of God upon the sinner." Later Aquinas developed Augustine's views into the notion of "just war," which could be pursued for divinely sanctioned purposes. Over time, European slave traders would come to understand the operations of the slave trade to be a manifestation of just war.

With such rich intellectual antecedents, it is not surprising that proslavery apologists in the United States South found evidence to support their claims that slavery was both necessary to maintain an ordered society and beneficial to the slave. A flurry of proslavery literature appeared during the antebellum era as abolitionist rhetoric was matched by the intellectual defense of slavery.

In 1832 Thomas Roderick Dew, a professor of political economy at William and Mary College in Virginia and a southern apologist for slavery, published his "Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832." Dew emphasized the proslavery perspective of the debates that had followed the Nat Turner insurrection of 1831. In 1832 Dew also published an essay entitled "The Pro-slavery Argument," in which he provided an intellectual foundation for the racist assumptions that slaveholders used to justify the institution and practice of slaveholding.

George Fitzhugh of Virginia, a noted proslavery polemicist, published *Cannibals All! Or, Slaves without Masters* (1857), in which he presented the argument that northern "wage slaves" were essentially worse off than slave laborers in the South. Fitzhugh believed that the exploitative nature of industrial capitalism did not provide a system of economic security to northern workingmen similar to that found in the South's paternalistic institution of slavery.

Southern rhetoric in defense of slavery grew more vociferous after 1831. With the beginning of the radical abolitionist movement, as shaped by William Lloyd Garrison's publication of the *Liberator*, and the outbreak of the Nat Turner Revolt in Virginia, many slaveholders became more vocal in their belief that slavery was divinely sanctioned and intellectually sound. They believed that only through the sustained defense of the "peculiar institution" could they protect it—and essentially themselves—from the dangerous doctrines advocated by abolitionist fanatics.

Scientific Error

Although both religious and intellectual arguments were offered in defense of slavery, some of the strongest

support by proslavery apologists came from men of science. The idea that rational arguments rooted in science could defend slavery was a new argument first expressed in the United States during the antebellum era. With findings supposedly rooted in scientific inquiry, proslavery apologists believed that such support would be able to counter the emotionally laden charges that abolitionists had leveled against the institution. The assumption was that the facts would not lie.

Many of the prevalent notions about race in the nineteenth century were fashioned by the Mobile, Alabama, physician Josiah Clark Nott who wrote *Connection between the Biblical and Physical History of Man* (1849), *Types of Mankind* (1854), and *Indigenous Races of the Earth* (1857). An avowed apologist for slavery who tried to couch his defense of the institution in the rationalism of science, Nott studied the physiological traits of the African and deemed that the Africans' physical endurance and limited mental capacity made them a "race" specially suited for slavery. Arguing that there were "fixed races" of humankind, Nott hypothesized that a racial hierarchy existed that identified those who must rule and those who must by nature be ruled.

Using Nott's work as a foundation, southern proslavery apologists found it fashionable to use the language and appearance of science to defend slavery. The New Orleans, Louisiana, physician Samuel A. Cartwright, for example, published articles in the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* in the 1850s that focused on new findings about the ethnology of the slave population in the South. Cartwright tried to use science to mask and defend his own racist assumptions, and he began to use pseudoscience to make claims about the relative attributes of slaves. He argued, among other things, that the propensity of slaves to run away was not a natural desire for human freedom but rather a malady that he called *drapetomania*. In similar fashion, *dysaesthesia aethiopica* was distinguished as the illness that caused "rascality" to appear in some slaves but not in others.

Both Nott and Cartwright misused the scientific method to suit their own interests. Rather than letting scientific research take them to an undetermined goal, which is the key objective of empiricism, both men began with a predetermined goal and sought out only what they considered to be appropriate evidence supporting that goal. Their writings are more characteristic of propaganda or boosterism than of true science.

Slavery in History

Slave-based societies have existed throughout the his-

tory of the world, but none of these civilizations ever gave rise to an abolitionist movement. Defenders of slavery used this sense of historical awareness to argue that the antislavery activism that emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Great Britain and the United States was an anomaly that had no antecedents and thus should be dismissed. Proslavery forces believed that the absence of comparable abolitionist movements in the history of past societies was sufficient evidence that slavery was part of the accepted nature of things and that it was a normal condition in society.

In past societies where slavery had emerged or receded, it had done so in response to market forces and not in reaction to popular agitation rooted in antislavery morality. Since slavery was viewed primarily in economic terms as a labor force that was necessary to maintain a certain level of market production, proslavery apologists deemed as unworthy any criticism of the practice on any basis other than market-based principles. As such, agitation rooted in emotionalism and sentimentality had no place in determining market decisions that would influence the economic well-being of society.

History also demonstrated that some of the world's most powerful and longest-lasting empires had been those societies that used slave-based labor on a large scale. This was certainly the case with the Greeks and especially with the Romans, and the Roman model had inspired British imperial designs. Since the United States emerged from the thirteen British North American colonies, many believed that the cultural antecedents of greatness, which included slavery, were rooted within the young nation almost as a birthright. To proslavery apologists, any criticism of slavery was interpreted as a criticism of the American experiment with liberty and was designed to reduce the economic capacity of the new nation. To its defenders, any criticism of slavery was perceived as disloyalty to the dreams and aspirations of the American Founders. Freedom could not exist without slavery.

At Home on the Plantation

Many slaveowning southerners believed that their ownership of slaves was a necessary form of social control that was rooted in paternalism. According to this view, the slaves were almost childlike creatures who were ill-prepared to be left to their own devices. It was necessary, nay essential, for white southerners to "look after" their slaves and tend to them much as a parent might govern and discipline a child who was not yet

prepared to accept responsibility and act independently without supervision. The slaveowner was the mentor and teacher, and some would later argue that the plantation or farm was essentially a school where tutelage occurred.

A parent–child relationship is marked by genuine bonds of affection and is usually characterized by a sense of mutuality or reciprocity in which both parties to the arrangement comprehend at least some aspect of the benefits that occur. This aspect was not, of course, always present in the form of paternalism that existed on plantations and farms in the South. Even though many of the slaveowning whites may well have had genuine feelings of goodwill, mutuality did not exist, for the tacit appreciation of the relationship was not universally acclaimed. This is not to say that genuine bonds of affection did not exist in some cases.

Tremendous variations in the master–slave relationship existed throughout the antebellum South. The relationship between the owner and the slaves was much different on small farms where an owner might have a small number of slaves than what it was on a large plantation with a large number of slaves. On the large estates owners had very little direct contact with slaves inasmuch as a hierarchy of managers consisting of overseers and slave drivers had more day-to-day contact with slaves during the operation of the plantation. On a small landholding, an owner would likely work side by side with slaves—an arrangement that would not have occurred on a large plantation.

In addition, the level of paternalism would have also been affected by the slave's degree of autonomy. Skilled slaves who were hired out as day laborers had a different type of relationship with their owners than did slaves who remained constantly on the plantation or farm. In addition, different levels of paternalism, or perhaps favoritism, might have developed in the case of house slaves as compared to common field laborers. Since familiarity often breeds affection over time, those slaves with whom the owners were most acquainted would likely have experienced treatment that was different than that accorded to the more isolated field laborers.

Southern planters often viewed their estates in patriarchal terms as the “plantation household”—an extended kinship network that included all immediate family members, employees, and slaves who operated the plantation. But this household was more fictive than real. Slaves found themselves living within two worlds, one the fictive plantation household that was dominated by their owner and defined by the values of an almost alien culture and another that took place within the slave quarters of the plantation in which the

slave community maintained its own mores and values. The persistence of these two worlds always meant that paternalism, if it did exist, had limited influence within the slave community.

Divide and Conquer

Throughout the South during the antebellum era, white slaveholders constituted a minority of the population, but in all of the southern states they controlled the mechanism of state and local government. The dominant population group in the South consisted of nonslaveholders, who might be broadly defined in two groups: affluent nonslaveholders and poor whites. The affluent nonslaveholders were individuals who owned some form of real property, typically in land, but also in the form of livestock. Poor whites were generally landless and worked as tenant farmers on the land of others. Most slaveowners tended to be quite wealthy by relative comparison to the affluent nonslaveholders and the poor whites.

Racial exclusivity was used during the antebellum era (as it would later be used in the post–Civil War era) to maintain a wall of separation between the interests of economically disaffected whites and the slave population. Rather than permitting individuals to recognize their common association through the economic forces that united them, the divisive issue of race was used to separate the loyalties of individuals on a basis that had a purely constructed meaning. It is true that on occasion poor whites sometimes aided slaves who were conspiring to revolt, but generally poor whites and other nonslaveholders in the South viewed their loyalties to the white slaveowners as being more immediate than any connection with slaves.

Planters dominated state legislatures in the South and controlled the southern governorships during the antebellum era. The legislation they enacted and enforced was generally beneficial to the planter class. Although they used their bond of common racial interests to create white solidarity in the South, they only paid lip service to the needs of economically disadvantaged white southerners, instead developing policies beneficial to the planters. For example, most states in the South provided very little funding of public education prior to the Civil War because slaveowners feared that increased literacy in the South might lead to the emergence of a dangerous slave population. Thus, in an effort to keep the mass of slaves illiterate, all white southerners, except for those wealthy enough to hire tutors or send their children outside the region for an education, suffered.

Patriarchy and Power

The dominance of the planter class on the regional political level was paralleled by their unchecked supremacy within the plantation household. Decisions about plantation management or any actions associated with the buying or selling of slaves were made by the master and perhaps his sons. In most cases, women were not permitted a role in plantation management, though this situation differed on smaller farms. In addition, in isolated instances women managed plantations effectively and were able to run a profitable enterprise. This later became evident during the war when many women were required to operate plantations and farms while their husbands and fathers were away.

Much of the myth of planter paternalism was shattered by the uncontested use of patriarchy and power on plantations and farms as white men abused women and girls whom they owned as slaves. The sexual exploitation of female slaves was prevalent from colonial times up to the Civil War, as evidenced by the growing population of mulatto offspring. Although some of these relationships were mutual and genuine, most were premised on power and authority and constituted rape. In the case of younger girls, the offense was even more onerous. Planters, the brothers, sons, and nephews of planters, and overseers often treated their plantation household as a private harem. Theirs were not typical family values.

White women in the South, trapped within the cycle of patriarchy and power, had only limited power to challenge the status quo. Wives and daughters of planters found themselves degraded by the sexual indiscretions of their husbands and fathers, but being economically beholden to the plantation, were hushed into a world of silent frustration. In some cases, white women in the South lashed out at slave women whom they suspected of “luring” their white men. In reality, however, all of the women concerned—both white and black—were being victimized by the same oppressors. In spite of their common suffering, the same myth of racial exclusivity that maintained the political hegemony of white planters also maintained their power within the household. Since divorce was rare in the antebellum South, white women endured fictive marriages, feeling bitter resentment toward both their husbands and slave mistresses.

Cavaliers versus Yankees

One of the myths associated with southern exceptionalism is that the region's values were uniquely inspired

by its founding settlers, the Cavaliers of Old England. When the southern colonies were settled, in particular the Carolinas and Georgia, many of the English who emigrated to North America were former supporters of the royalist cause during the English Civil War, who were known as the Cavaliers. In appreciation of the Cavaliers' support of his deceased father, Charles I, the new Stuart monarch, Charles II, granted the restoration colonies established after 1660 to several of the Cavalier families. As the Old Southwest was settled in the early nineteenth century, many believed that it was the descendants of the early Cavaliers who moved into the newly opened territories and states.

During the English Civil War, the royalist forces of the Cavaliers fought against the parliamentary forces associated with the Puritan cause. Many in the Old South, viewing themselves as the descendants of the Cavaliers, believed that their nemesis in the northern states, the abolitionists and the manufacturers, were the descendants of the early Puritans who had populated the New England region during the colonial era. Ascribing the pejorative name “Yankees” to the descendants of the Puritans, the southern Cavaliers, as they styled themselves, recognized a sense of regional distinctiveness that was different from that of the Yankees and their monied interests.

Honor and violence were closely intertwined in the mythic South as those who sought to demonstrate their refinement dueled in the streets to settle old scores. Those who chose to perpetuate the mythic Cavalier image believed that the South was essentially a feudal aristocratic society in which planter lords controlled fiefs that were tended by slave vassals. Imagining the dutiful labor performed by slaves as evidence of *noblesse oblige*, the planter lords conveniently failed to remember that slave labor was the product of power and the lash, and not willingly given. While some imagined the South to be a genteel land of honor where gentlemen protected their ladies, the reality was much different.

If the South was indeed distinct from the North, it was the presence of its monoculture agriculture and slave labor that made for the differences. The culture fashioned in the South was more a response and coping mechanism to particular exigencies than it was a product of a feudal-aristocratic mentality magically transposed to the cotton lands of the Black Belt. Southern culture was more complex than moonlight and magnolias, and it was a contested culture.

Agricultural Economy

Partly in an effort to be unlike their northern “Yankee” brethren, southern planters established a regional

economy based largely on agriculture. Although key cash crops varied by region, monoculture was the practice within specified areas: cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice formed the bulk of southern production cultivated and harvested by slave laborers. As a result of its dependence on one-crop cultivation, the South lagged behind the North in developing a manufacturing capability, and the region's railroad infrastructure was sporadic at best.

Lacking industrial development, the South relied on imports from abroad or items purchased from northern manufacturers to supplement the paucity of goods produced in the region. In the case of imported products, southerners found themselves paying the bulk of the national tariff on imported goods; thus tariff policy was a long-standing political issue that raised the ire of southern residents and politicians alike.

Southerners believed that their lack of manufacturing was another factor that made their region distinctive. They celebrated this distinction by extolling the supposed virtues of agricultural productivity and decrying the poor conditions experienced by "wage laborers" in the northern states.

"A Troublesome Species of Property"

In 1794 President George Washington candidly addressed the topic of slaves in a correspondence with a friend and prophetically wrote, "I shall be happily mistaken if they are not found to be a very troublesome species of property ere many years pass over our heads." Washington's astute observation was made at a time when the total population of slaves and free blacks was less than 1 million, yet he could foresee difficulty if the United States sought to maintain a servile population over time.

By the eve of the Civil War, the black population of the United States, both slave and free, had grown to just over 4 million. In two states—South Carolina and Mississippi—blacks constituted a population majority, and in Louisiana the black population was slightly less than 50 percent of the state's total. Some counties in the Black Belt and in the Mississippi Delta had black population majorities of as much as 80 percent. Maintaining public safety in such areas was decidedly difficult as the "troublesome species of property" was perceived as a constant threat to regional security.

In some communities a "siege mentality" was an ever-present reality of life for white residents. Factors such as rural isolation, distance from militia gathering points, and general malaise often made it difficult to maintain concerted readiness against any possible con-

tingency. Slave insurrection was perceived as the worst possible calamity that could befall a community, and individuals often lived in constant fear that such an episode would occur within their community. When actual outbreaks of violence did occur, the suppression by local authorities was swift and brutal.

Local authorities established patrol groups that enforced slave codes within their respective communities, and all able-bodied men were expected to participate in local militia efforts if outbreaks of slave violence threatened the region. Even when there were slave insurrection scares that did not culminate in actual revolt, momentary hysteria would give way to episodic outbreaks of extralegal justice. Many believed that only the most brutal means of suppression could strike sufficient fear into the slave populace to prevent future rebellion.

A Region unto Itself

As proslavery sentiment in the South hardened after 1830, the region increasingly began to distinguish itself from the northern states. Although there had been free and open discussion of antislavery views in previous decades, with antislavery newspapers even published in Tennessee in the 1820s, attitudes changed dramatically in the decades that followed as dissent was silenced.

Abolitionists who resided in upper southern states like Kentucky and Tennessee found it increasingly difficult to remain in the South and espouse antislavery sentiments. As attitudes grew more stringent, many of these abolitionists left the South and moved northward to locations in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. By the 1830s abolitionist newspapers were no longer being published in the southern states, and even those newspaper presses located in the North that were within reach of southern mobs found it difficult to operate. The antislavery editor Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered in Alton, Illinois, in 1837, and antiabolition riots in Cincinnati threatened presses in that city during the 1830s.

The exodus of most abolitionists from the South and the closing down of the antislavery newspapers were indicative of the fact that freedom of thought in the South was increasingly coming under attack. The emerging belief was that all opinion with respect to slavery must be spoken in a unified voice that defended the institution at all costs and tried to silence all critics.

When northern abolitionists tried to flood the South with antislavery literature in the "Great Postal Campaign" of 1836, southern postmasters refused to

deliver the materials. In the streets of Charleston, South Carolina, many abolitionist newspapers and pamphlets were burned in symbolic protests. Such action, though a violation of federal law, was condoned by Postmaster General Amos Kendall, who argued: “We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live.”

When southerners became fearful that free blacks visiting port cities on merchant vessels might either try to entice slaves to escape or perhaps foment rebellion, they responded with proscriptive legislation that barred such free blacks from disembarking from their vessels while in southern ports. Through the Negro Seamen’s Acts, the southern legislatures attempted to maintain freedom and security in their respective regions while denying freedom to others. Such an action was indicative of a region that had begun to view itself as not merely distinctive, but almost alien to the civil culture of the United States of which it remained a part.

No Middle Ground

In an 1858 speech, South Carolina Senator James Henry Hammond drew a distinction between the laborers of the South and the North by stating, “The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most painful manner, at

any hour in any street in any of your large towns.” It was clear to Hammond that slave labor was not merely more efficient than wage labor, but more moral.

As the United States drew closer to civil war, it became apparent that the nation had divided into separate cultural worlds long before the first secession resolutions were ever introduced. Conditions had changed and attitudes had hardened in the generation that preceded the Civil War to the point that politicians of the North and the South could not find common cause on which they might reach compromise. Southern exceptionalism had come into being as the defense of slavery at all costs became the mantra of the region’s political leaders. The Cavaliers were not willing to sound the retreat.

Southerners were so convinced of the righteousness of their cause that they would not retreat an inch on the defense of slavery. They considered their religious, intellectual, scientific, and historical justifications of slavery as superior to any abolitionist argument that could be posed to challenge the merits of slavery. Moreover, their genuine belief in their own benevolence, as evidenced in the spirit of paternalism that permeated the plantation South, represented a higher ethic than that of the money-grubbing interests of New England merchants and antislavery agitators. Finally, the purity of their culture and the virtue of their cause made southerners believe that God was on their side and they had nothing to fear.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE AND STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL

That a distinct culture was able to take shape during the generations of oppression that slaves endured in the United States is one of the most remarkable aspects of the “peculiar institution.” Much of slavery was premised on the notion that Africans or blacks born in the Americas who were enslaved had to be separated from any knowledge of a cultural past and indoctrinated in the understanding that only servitude and bondage were fitting conditions for persons of their rank and status. Plantations and farms served to educate in only the most punitive terms, so that the enslaved accepted the conditions in which they found themselves and dared not fashion

any sort of cultural defense against the stifling burden of labor and the demeaning sense of nothingness that slave status imposed on them. Bought, sold, owned, and traded, slaves were perceived as objects—things rather than persons—and the entire mechanism of the institution of slavery was predicated upon keeping them lowly and fit to be cowed by social betters who owned them. This worldview of the masters could only be replicated in the hearts and minds of slaves if they were prevented from having a culture of their own that resisted all of these efforts and fashioned a spirit of hope in an otherwise hopeless world.

Cultural formation is a complex process that involves

a culling of things past and things present into a viable worldview, a system that employs both continuity and change. Part coping mechanism and part defensive bulwark, the slave culture that developed on the plantations and farms of the South was a natural and essentially human response to an otherwise dehumanizing practice. It allowed the slaves to draw boundaries and say “no” to an institution that otherwise sought to maintain absolute control over their lives and activities.

Slaveowning southerners tried to control elements of the culture that slaves fashioned, but such a practice was difficult to control. Much of cultural creation is internalized and grows from what is accepted within the community rather than what is sanctioned from without. The power to accept or reject attributes of culture lies with those who must make use of it, and such decisions cannot be arbitrarily imposed by either the will or the whim of white southerners. In a society where slaves owned little that was theirs, the sense that they owned their own culture was a powerful force that helped to create an alternative reality for the slave community. Living essentially in two worlds—one that was fashioned by the slaveowners and imposed upon them and another that was formulated within their own hearts and minds—slaves found a way to endure the burden of slavery.

Am I Not a Man and a Brother?

The system of slavery that developed in the Americas was based on the assumptions that slavery was most ideally suited for Africans and that it represented a condition of servitude for life. All other elements aside, these two beliefs were the most basic defining characteristics of the system of chattel slavery that developed in the American colonies and became firmly established in the United States when it emerged as an independent republic. The necessity of maintaining such a system required that Africans be stripped of their essential humanity and relegated to the status of animals. It also required that the slaves passively accept such a status.

The mechanics of chattel slavery could only thrive through the systematic depersonification of the slave. If slaves could be commercially traded like livestock at auction, it meant that they needed to be perceived and treated in animalized form. The chaining, beating, and branding of slaves that transpired through the centuries was a symbolic effort to deny slaves the human qualities that they were due and to impose upon them the obtuse traits and behaviors of domesticated livestock. Physically shamed and culturally broken, such

slaves were assumed to become the docile creatures who would do the bidding of their social betters.

In order for this system to persevere, the twin conditions of slavery—low social standing and forced servitude for life—had to be maintained. Any deviation from this practice would present a challenge to the key assumptions on which chattel slavery was structured. Yet it was only natural that such challenges would emerge. The emancipation of some slaves through the process of legal manumission created the presence of a new social status—the free black. The existence of free blacks in slave-based societies was viewed as troublesome because it demonstrated that persons of color were not, after all, destined by nature to be slaves and that such servitude was not essentially a lifetime arrangement. Furthermore, the rise of literacy within the free black community demonstrated that the presumed animal nature of Africans was more mythic than real. The presence of free black communities and the success they experienced made it difficult either for white society to maintain or for slave society to accept the natural inferiority of Africans.

The essential humanity of Africans thus affirmed, whether tacitly or implicitly, made it difficult for slaveowners to maintain the ideological suppositions on which it was based. Nonetheless, they maintained the system because they argued that it benefited the slaves. The degradation of human beings that was key to slavery was understood as a form of tutelage necessary to instill the blessings of civilization and Western culture on otherwise benighted persons who had lived in ignorance. The slaves themselves had always recognized and understood their own humanity, and for them the condition of slavery was something that had to be endured for the sake of survival. However, African Americans clearly claimed ownership of their culture, and they carefully filtered and resisted any attempt to impose cultural change.

Most slaves were employed as agricultural laborers; much of their world was defined by the regimented system of forced labor. Operating within a cycle that was defined by the syncopation of the seasons, slaves found themselves planting, cultivating, and harvesting cash crops that varied by region in workdays that generally ran from sunup to sundown. On occasion the particular demands of the harvest might require additional hours of labor to guarantee that frost would not damage or destroy the crop. On most plantations and farms, the slaves employed in agricultural labor worked six days per week with Sundays off.

The type of labor performed by agricultural slaves could vary in several respects. Slaves who worked on smaller holdings might have experienced greater liber-

ties than those who worked on larger plantation estates. In addition, plantation slaves would have experienced varieties within their labor regimen, depending on whether the task system or the gang system was used on the estate. A slave who was employed on the task arrangement might well have some spare time during the day after his work had been completed. This time could be devoted to tending private gardens, or provision grounds, where slaves grew foodstuffs to supplement their own diet or for sale in the plantation community. Slaves who worked on the gang system operated in groups that were directed by a slave driver, usually a trusted slave who represented a low-level manager in the plantation hierarchy. Depending on the slave driver's kindness and benevolence, other slaves could cover for those slaves who were weak, ill, or pregnant.

Men and women labored side by side in the fields of the plantation South in a gendered egalitarian setting. Only the young children and the elderly slaves were exempt from the more onerous tasks associated with southern agriculture. Elderly slaves were often granted oversight of groups of children who might walk the rows after the harvest to pick items that were missed. In the absence of formalized family structures, notions of "aunt" or "uncle" were often ascribed to fictive kin who assumed roles within the plantation community that needed to be filled. Older slaves, in particular, filling the role formerly held by tribal elders, would narrate stories and lessons that were passed from one generation to another within the slave community.

Behind the Big House

Much of slave culture was fashioned and formalized in the plantation quarters where slaves resided. Even though owners sought to maintain a degree of control over what happened within the slave quarters, this location served as a "world within" the plantation setting that maintained its own ethos and values. It was here that slaves cultivated and passed down social attributes that defined their sense of self-identity and navigated the tenuous boundaries that existed in the "world without" the slave quarters.

The slave family was one of the most essential cultural creations of the plantation community. In most parts of the antebellum South, slave marriages were not legally recognized, and thus families could be broken up when slaves were sold to different plantations. Marriage records were kept in portions of Roman Catholic Louisiana, but even there, slave marriages were often severed without question as resale separated

husbands, wives, and children from one another. Although examples of the nuclear family have been found on some plantations and farms as family units remained intact, this was not the most common experience throughout the plantation South. Customarily, family units were created out of circumstance and necessity as slave parents raised orphaned children along with their own. Kinship was determined more by a sense of mutual dependency than by a factor of blood relationship.

An enduring spirit of lovingness was found within the plantation community as slaves came to understand the importance of their relationship and bonds. Knowing that their self-interests could only be maintained and protected within the sense of the slave community, plantation slaves found the means to create group solidarity against the forces that held them in slavery. Sometimes these bonds were expressed through acts of active or passive resistance that were directed at obtaining greater liberties either for individuals or for the group. In many cases the group solidarity helped fashion a conspiracy of silence when slaves protected members from within the community who may have absconded or committed petty offenses on the plantation.

Natural Increase

One of the most dynamic attributes of the slave community in the United States was its ability to sustain itself through a natural population increase. Unlike the slave societies of Latin America and the Caribbean where the population of slave men far exceeded that of women, in the United States there was a relatively even gender distribution among slaves, and it was easier for slave families to form.

In addition to the equitable gender distribution, other demographic factors were at work contributing to the natural increase of the slave population. Among slave women in the United States, the fertility rate was nearly twice as high as that of their counterparts in Latin America and the Caribbean. On the eve of the Civil War, the average slave woman in the southern states had 9.2 pregnancies during her childbearing years. In addition to the high fertility rate, the mortality rate among slaves in the United States was considerably lower than comparable rates in other slave societies in the Americas. With the combined effect of a high fertility rate and a low mortality rate, the natural increase within the slave population was dramatic.

In 1808, when the United States outlawed the transatlantic slave trade, the estimated population of slaves was 1 million, but by 1860, the slave population had risen to 4 million. Many in 1808 had believed that

slavery would die once the supply of African slaves was eliminated, but the dramatic rate of population growth through natural increase transformed and swelled the ranks of the slave community.

A Community of Believers

It was commonly assumed in the antebellum South that those slaves who had been exposed to Christianity tended to be better behaved and more passive than those who had not received religious training. Planters were encouraged to provide religious instruction to their slaves as a means of effective plantation management rather than for the presumed moral benefits that might accrue. Docility rather than dogma influenced policy in this regard.

Most slaveowning southerners were willing to provide religious instruction to slaves as long as they had some means of control over the religious messages that would be preached to the congregants. In many cases, only white ministers were allowed to conduct religious services with slaves, while slave preachers were sometimes permitted to conduct religious meetings under the supervision of white authorities. It was clear to white southerners that the gospel of liberation should not be a message that was extended to the slaves, but rather the message of long-suffering in this world to prepare for a better eternal life.

Among the slaves who accepted Christianity there was a common bond found in the Old Testament stories of the Hebrews being held in bondage. The story of Moses, though muted to conform to the wishes of southern planters, found special meaning among the long-suffering bondsmen who were longing for liberation. In many respects, the messianic language of redemption found in the Christian message offered hope to those who awaited a better day and also inspired the urgency of action to seek justice in the face of ever-present evil. Depending on the reading of the gospels, one might find their redemption awaiting in the hereafter, or a more immediate day of judgment might await them.

Matters of faith were not only relegated to church services, but were also embedded within the daily world of the slave's experiences. Spirituals that were rooted in biblical verse became associated with the toiling that slaves performed and served as both a pastime and a diversion during the workday while also reminding the faithful that a better day did await them. Slaves found a common bond with biblical figures like Job who endured and maintained faithfulness despite being tested beyond human limits.

The slave community found a way to incorporate its own cultural elements into the religious teachings

that Christian ministers expressed to them. Elements of folk religious belief found their way into traditional Christian theology, and aesthetic elements of song and dance were incorporated into the more staid practices of white Christians. Open-air services that involved the participation of exhorters, rather than ministers, and utilized uniquely African expressive forms like the ring shout were conducted by slaves, who found a sense of liberation in their ability to make the religious practices their own through spiritual improvisation. In spite of their acceptance of Christian beliefs, slaves in some parts of the South continued to rely on elements of conjure and vodou in their comprehension of spirituality.

Connections to a Remembered Past

One of the strongest cultural elements within the slave community was the power of story to convey message and meaning while preserving the historical association with a remembered past. Among peoples who were largely illiterate, the use of story to convey knowledge and institutional history was quite powerful. Use of the oral tradition permitted the transgenerational migration of ideas and beliefs to occur, so that younger generations of slaves might have some connection with a dynamic, albeit distant, past.

Quite often, folk tales were used to convey life lessons in a form that might be easily remembered. In many of these stories, slaves, who were dehumanized in the embodiment of slavery, found themselves related to animals who used their powers of quick wit and common sense to outsmart other story characters who embodied the qualities of southern whites. The stories were entertaining and easy to remember and were premised on moral lessons and other virtues that provided encouragement to the slaves. As the rabbit could outwit the fox, so too could the slave survive the travail foisted on them by slaveowning whites.

Slaves also used their conversations within the slave quarters to learn of the world beyond their plantations and farms. Some skilled slaves were allowed to work off of their home plantations, and in the course of their travels they learned much from the surrounding community. This knowledge was not only limited to geographical knowledge about the surrounding region, but also included bits of conversations overheard in the community and reports of news that circulated in the region. On occasion, some slaves learned of the northern abolitionists and their efforts to bring an end to slavery. This knowledge existed within the plantation community and was discussed on occasion in the isolated security of the quarters.

Slaves planned their escape within the confines of

the slave quarters; some discussed their plans with other slaves, while others remained silent about their intentions. The knowledge and collective wisdom found within the plantation community could provide invaluable information to the prospective fugitive, and the heroic exploits of those who did escape successfully were often shared in stories many years after the deed was done. Although not everyone in the plantation community was willing to be a rebel, those who did find the means to escape were admired.

Literacy

As noted earlier, slaveowning southerners generally sought to prevent their slaves from learning how to read and write. Most southern states in fact had laws prohibiting the teaching of slaves, and these laws were enforced as much as possible. Still, some slaves did become literate.

It was feared that literacy among the slave population would lead to spreading the antislavery doctrine that abolitionists espoused, but such sentiments already existed in the hearts and minds of most slaves with or without the prompting of northern abolitionists. Perhaps the greatest fear was that the educated slave had a greater chance of becoming an articulate leader of a mass movement among the slaves. Literacy, it was believed, would produce leadership, which, in turn, would result in organization. White southerners were unwilling to risk such a danger.

The South also exhibited resentment of literate slaves since many southern whites, both nonslaveholders and poor whites, had not been provided with educational opportunities. For white southerners the notion of literate slaves was contrary to the social station deemed appropriate for slave laborers.

A Little Commonwealth

In many respects, the slave community on larger plantations functioned much as an African village. There was a clear sense of communal responsibility within the plantation's slave community as familial roles often were carried out on the basis of extended kinship. Group dynamics were at work as child-rearing responsibilities were often shared, as was the necessity of provision ground plots where produce was cultivated for consumption or sale. Even though they might be beyond their prime as field laborers, the advice and counsel of elderly slaves was valued, and they served almost as trusted tribal elders in the little commonwealth that existed within the plantation community.

Since slaves had so little that was their own, they

sought to maintain a sense of control over what was theirs. Violations of their community, either by members of the slave community or by outsiders (white residents), were not condoned. Although a slave could steal from the plantation household, theft of possessions belonging to another slave was a violation of community standards and would earn the condemnation of others. Violations of the slave community by whites, usually in the form of sexual exploitation and indiscretion, were resented within the slave community, but only limited responses could be exacted for such transgressions.

Far from being a conspiratorial den where plots of insurrection were constantly hatched, the slave community often exerted a calming influence on irate slaves whose passions were quelled by the collective wisdom of fellow slaves. Rather than running headlong into insurmountable resistance for every point of contention that was raised, the slave community carefully chose its battles and forms of resistance. Weapons of the weak ranging from arson to tool breaking to foot dragging could be more effective to achieving specific objectives than overt resistance that was almost always doomed to fail.

Navigating Boundaries

One of the most important elements in the slave culture that formed in the antebellum South was its propensity for community survival. Slaves generally adopted a long-range strategy of endurance and survival rather than opting for a short-term solution that might involve suicidal resistance. By looking upon community survival as the most essential goal, the slaves sought to fashion the changes they could effect with the means at their disposal, but they also recognized that some desires were beyond their means and expectations.

Not all of the slaves in the South could cope with a strategy of strategic endurance, and many chose to run away to seek their own liberty. Many were successful in their pursuit of freedom, while others were recaptured and some died in the process of attempting to escape. No community has the absolute power to impose its values and standards on every member, and it is not surprising that individual acts of resistance far outweighed the number of incidents in which group resistance was readily apparent. Unable to communicate with other slaves throughout the South to coordinate their efforts, the mass of southern slaves, nearly 4 million individuals by 1860, operated on the basis of their common sense and their understanding of realistic expectations in the various communities in which they lived.

In some respects, the slave community mimicked

the methods and strategies of white southern society and demanded that traditional rights and responsibilities be honored through custom and practice. In recognizing that society was an association of structured classes, of which slaves constituted an integral part, each group in society found itself defined by hereditary rights or traditions that were associated with its status. Violations of community norms, such as making slaves work on Sunday, were considered to be unfair encroachments on traditional rights, and slaves might invoke passive forms of resistance to demand a return to traditional privileges. Such small battles, invoked in thousands of isolated settings throughout the South, were the means through which slaves helped to define the limits of what was tolerable and what was insufferable to the slave community.

White society, too, had to recognize that there were limits to what could be imposed on the slave community without exciting unrest. In parts of the plantation South where slaves greatly outnumbered white residents, slaves cherished the fluid boundaries of what was considered acceptable behavior, and white southerners had to avoid excesses that tested the limits of traditional social boundaries. Both communities—white and black—were motivated by their self-interest to maintain the social deference that was necessary in order to coexist peaceably without incident.

Coping Mechanisms

Some slaves learned quickly that feigned acquiescence to white authority and influence was the most effective survival strategy they could employ to cope with the realities of slavery. Since white perceptions of slaves were that they were almost childlike in their disposition and ill-equipped to cause any real disruption to southern society, many slaves found that behavior conforming to this stereotype was a form of personal security that would serve them well in the long run. Although one can speculate as to whether or not slaves were troubled by the charade, it is indisputable that the method served to protect many from the harsher abuses of slavery.

Historians like Stanley Elkins have argued that the Sambo image, the childlike simple slave, represented a deep-seated personality that had been formed by the psychological trauma wrought through slavery. It is possible, however, that this behavioral trait was purposeful in intent. If survival was the key goal of slaves when confronted by the harsh realities of slavery, resorting to a childlike persona that white society had imagined to exist could well be a brilliant strategy. One might appear on the outside to portray Sambo-like qualities while harboring seething resentment and hatred of those who perpetuated and maintained the

system of slavery. Far from a benign creature, the childlike slave could well have been a potential rebel.

Other coping mechanisms also helped slaves to survive the “peculiar institution.” In many respects a keen maternal instinct motivated many slave women to survive and endure so that they could protect their children. It was physically difficult for many women to escape, and it was even more difficult for a fugitive to escape with small children. Many slave women found themselves practically trapped by repetitive pregnancies and the responsibilities of caring for young children and had to submit to the reality that they would likely spend their entire life in slavery. Such women often found an inner strength that permitted them to endure because the well-being of their children depended on their survival.

Faith was another mode of survival for many slaves. Resigning themselves to the understanding that they would be slaves for their entire lives, they found a means to bear the yoke of slavery by accepting the burden of their labors. Like the long-suffering characters of the Bible, such slaves viewed themselves as laborers in the vineyard who would face their tasks with Christ-like resolution, hoping that a better day lay ahead. They struggled diligently knowing that the salvation they sought to attain in this world would likely never arrive, but believing that a life beyond held great promise for the true Christian.

The Rebels

Not all slaves were willing to accept a life of quiet acquiescence with slavery. Resistance to slavery was a common part of the experience within the slave community, but it manifested itself in a variety of forms. Although there were occasional slave revolts or conspiracies that were discovered, much of the resistance was carried out in smaller, less spectacular events. Not every slave was a revolutionary at heart, but many grew tired of the burden imposed on them and dared to strike a blow at the institution that denied them their liberty and their dignity.

One of the most common forms of resistance to slavery was expressed by slaves who ran away from plantations and farms and sought to attain their own liberty as fugitives. In a process often described as “stealing oneself away from slavery,” the fugitives not only desired to attain their liberty, but also to inflict an economic burden on their owners who stood to lose both the value of the escaped slave and the diminished labor capacity resulting from his departure. Even though not all slaves who sought to escape by running

away were successful, there were many cases of slaves seeking to run away on multiple occasions. Despite the threat of punishment if caught or even the possibility of death, the desire to be free inspired countless slaves to rebel personally against the system that kept them in bondage.

Slave rebels had many other tools at their disposal. On occasion southern planters experienced severe financial losses from arson that resulted in the burning of plantation homes, barns, fields, cotton gins, and sugar refineries. Such attacks on the infrastructure of slavery were often timed strategically to coincide with the harvest, thereby causing severe financial losses to southern planters. The occurrences of arson were so common in the antebellum South that the crime was considered a capital offense in most states punishable by death.

Slave rebels also found other available means to resist slavery. They frequently broke tools and other equipment necessary to their labor. These actions were often masked as acts of ignorance or incompetence, but they were specifically targeted actions that reduced the burdensome labor to be performed and caused further economic loss. Broken tools needed to be replaced, and this was often a burden that required additional time and added cost during the time-sensitive seasons of planting or harvesting.

In thousands of actions both large and small, slave rebels successfully attacked the economic infrastructure of the system that kept them in bondage. Whether it was through theft of foodstuffs from the plantation household or through foot dragging that slowed down production, slaves found the means to effect some degree of control over their lives. Sabotage was a weapon of the weak that could empower, and slaves used every opportunity within their means to weaken the institution of slavery.

Women found the means to resist the institution of slavery in a variety of ways. In some instances they carried out acts of infanticide or chose to terminate a pregnancy by self-aborting as a means of denying their owner another child who would be raised to become a slave. Often these actions were carried out by women who had been assaulted and raped by owners or overseers and who viewed their actions as a deliberate effort to punish the men who had harmed them. On occasion other women within the slave community assisted in these actions but maintained a conspiracy of silence when confronted about the occurrence.

Nameless rebels confronted the institution of slavery and made the cultural statement that they were not powerless creatures, but resourceful individuals who desired liberty. The bolder among them left their names recorded to history in courageous deeds.

The Insurrectionists

Some slaves, not satisfied with employing minor acts of passive resistance to fight slavery, wanted to do more to end the practice outright. Plots and rebellions did take place throughout the history of slavery in the United States, but none achieved long-term success. Death and destruction could be visited upon localized areas and white hysteria could be evoked, but those who chose to conspire and those who were determined to revolt never attained their lofty goals.

The success of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) encouraged many potential rebels to believe that slave insurrection could be successful and could bring real results, but none of the incidents of revolt in the United States ever came close to achieving a similar outcome. Incidents like the German Coast Uprising in Louisiana in 1811 and the Nat Turner Rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831 were large movements that inspired local panic but ended in immediate and brutal suppression. Even when conspiracies were detected before revolt was carried out, such as the Gabriel Prosser plot in Richmond, Virginia, in 1800 and the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, the execution of the principal leaders marked the savage repression of the incidents by local authorities. Officials in the southern states were determined that they would not permit the horrors of St. Domingue to occur in the United States.

Even though the slave revolts failed to effect real change during the antebellum era, plots were being hatched right up to the time of the Civil War. Potential slave insurrectionists were unwilling to dismiss the possibility that a well-timed revolt could foment a massive uprising similar to the race war that had led to the liberation of Haiti. Even the radical abolitionist John Brown believed that it was possible to incite large-scale revolt among the slaves in the southern states. His efforts to seize the U.S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 were expressly designed to enable him to distribute guns throughout the states of the Upper South and to end the institution of slavery through force of arms.

Gone but Not Forgotten

The names of Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner continued to be remembered in the stories that were shared in the slave community. Although white society called them insurrectionists, they were held in high regard by slaves. They, along with countless other nameless slaves who resisted and who perished, formed a litany of the silent, a cadre of brave souls who perished for a cause. Gone, but not forgotten, they were cultural heroes to many who still hoped and dreamed.

The United States was a country that was born of both liberty and the lash. In the case of slave rebels, the two symbols incongruously merged. The notion of freedom was a natural quality that endured in the hearts and minds of slaves, but seemed a distant aspiration. Strategies of survival fashioned to bear the burden of slavery had worked, but the cost had been tremendous. A unique culture, increasingly sorrowful and soulful, had survived through a pain-filled existence. People of faith had fought the good fight and found a way to thrive amidst unparalleled adversity.

The culture that took shape on southern plantations and farms was one that was tested by the most difficult methods, but it endured. In spite of the injustice of slavery and all the degradation that could be foisted upon a people, the slave population grew and its culture flourished. Born of adversity and hardship, the “world within” the plantation system had not been broken by the forces that sought to control and diminish it.

The Souls of Black Folk

A rich and vibrant culture came into existence on the plantations and farms of the southern states during the antebellum era. As noted earlier, by 1860, an estimated 4 million slaves inhabited the region and maintained an alternative culture that rivaled the one that white southerners had fashioned. Held in check by a power

establishment that was armed to the teeth to suppress potential revolt, the slave community labored and endured as it had done for nearly eight generations in North America since 1619.

Although white southerners had feared that a Black Spartacus would emerge in the South, the region remained mysteriously quiet and serene during the antebellum era. Millions labored in fields of cotton, sugar, and tobacco from the Chesapeake to East Texas with freedom a distant dream. Living in a world of limits, white and black southerners had designed two worlds for themselves, existing side by side but terribly unequal. Slaves prayed to the same God as white southerners, but when each group sought redemption it likely had a different ambition in mind. Both groups prayed for a deliverance from evil, but each had a distinct image of the personification of evil and knew that it surrounded them.

Opulent mansions in the South reflected the treasure produced from the bounty of the land, and in the distance, beyond the big house, lay the cabins of the laborers. The lives of the lowly had been spent to procure great wealth, but at a terrible cost. Families formed and re-formed as fictive kin struggled to cope with the changing circumstances of market economics that knew no morality. “Aunts” and “uncles” told the stories of long ago and far-away places and reminded the young that they too must tell the stories in order to preserve tradition.

SLAVERY AND THE GROWTH OF SECTIONAL CONFLICT

The seeds of political discord over slavery in the United States were first sown during the debates held at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The Founding Fathers’ decision to create a bicameral Congress with representation in the lower house based on a state’s population led to a heated political debate as to what constitutes population. Central to this question, which no longer was an academic issue, was the place that slaves would hold in determining a state’s population for purposes of representation in the Congress. As the southern slaveholding states pushed the issue to have all slaves counted and northern states that had abolished slavery balked at this proposal, it seemed that the deadlock might end

all of the convention’s deliberations without the proposal of a new document. When the Founders settled on the compromise solution of counting three of every five slaves for purposes of representation and taxation, they imagined that they had solved a vexing problem, but they had only initiated a growing crisis.

As a result of the so-called three-fifths compromise, the southern states received a virtual windfall of representatives for their slaves, who were persons holding no real political voice in American society. When the U.S. Constitution instituted an Electoral College to select the president and based the number of votes a state received on the total size of its congressional delegation, the southern states received what some imag-

ined an inordinate amount of power and influence in choosing the nation's chief executive officer. Many would imagine in subsequent generations that the decisions enshrined in the Constitution of the United States helped to fashion a "slave power" conspiracy through which the southern slaveholding states determined much of the political direction of national life.

In the generations between the Founding and the Civil War, it appeared that southern political leaders held sway over national affairs. Presidents who hailed from southern states and owned slaves dominated the office in the years prior to the Civil War, and the occasional northern presidents who served were often sympathetic "doughfaces" who sided with pro-southern policy initiatives. Southern politicians dominated the position of speaker of the House of Representatives, and held control of most of the seats on the U.S. Supreme Court in the years prior to the Civil War. In addition, key cabinet-level posts such as attorney general and secretary of war were dominated by southern politicians. In many respects, much of the nation's political apparatus at the executive, legislative, and judicial levels was dominated by leaders who had southern roots or southern sympathies and seemingly used their posts to defend the institution of slavery.

Although there was no preconceived conspiracy to protect and defend slavery, the circumstances of American political life seemed to suggest that such was the case. The U.S. Constitution guaranteed that states would extend full faith and credit to the laws of other states, which meant that northern states that had abolished slavery would need to respect and honor the right of southern states to maintain the institution. Further still, once the Congress enacted the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 it became incumbent on the northern states to return fugitive slaves to their previous condition of slavery when they were captured and remanded to the South. In addition, the federal government's pledge to "preserve domestic tranquility" warranted the use of the power and might of national forces to quell attempts at domestic insurrection that might upset the tranquility of the nation's plantations and farms.

The Firebell in the Night

Few could have imagined the central place that slavery would take in American political life during the antebellum era. For the first few decades of the early national era, the government seemed to operate smoothly without experiencing the rancorous discord that would characterize later years. Even though the Congress regularly received antislavery petitions from

its earliest years, the first being sent by Pennsylvania Quakers in February 1790, the issue of slavery did not have the divisive power that it would attain over time. There was a civility to political life and an optimism about making the American democratic experiment work that directed national affairs. Even though Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans might vigorously debate political concerns of the day, the question of slavery had not yet reached the critical mass.

Even in 1807 when the Congress considered legislation to outlaw the transatlantic slave trade, southern legislators made no attempt to filibuster or otherwise block passage of the legislation. Although many believed that ending the slave trade was the first step toward hastening the end of slavery itself, the staunch defenders of slavery did not fight the measure as some might imagine. The legislation was encouraged by President Thomas Jefferson in his December 1806 message to the Congress, and it was enacted into law on March 2, 1807, and signed into law by Jefferson, a Virginia slaveowner.

Nearly a decade later, on December 28, 1816, many antislavery advocates and leading members of Congress gathered in the chamber of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., to found the American Colonization Society, an organization that would endeavor to return free blacks to Liberia in West Africa. Although the organization was not specifically abolitionist in its orientation, it did strive to remedy what it perceived to be a growing concern as more and more slaves were manumitted and the ranks of the nation's free black population swelled. Believing that freedom in Liberia was better than the arrested liberties that one might enjoy in the United States as a free black, political leaders like Henry Clay of Kentucky advocated the cause of the American Colonization Society.

The relative calm in American political life would be shattered in 1819 as the issue of slavery emerged in a heated congressional debate that belied what some had called the "era of good feelings." When the territory of Missouri applied for statehood, the question of whether or not slavery would be permitted in the new state became a key point of contention in congressional debate over the proposed constitution for Missouri. New York Representative James Tallmadge introduced an amendment that would have prohibited slavery from Missouri if it were allowed to enter the Union, and this effort to circumvent the wishes of the people of Missouri set off a firestorm of protest within the Congress and around the country. For the first time, the issue of slavery had become central to national political discourse, and the rhetoric of its proponents and its detractors was heated.

The debate over slavery in Missouri was so heated that Thomas Jefferson observed: “this momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror.” The aged Founder of the nation confided to a friend that he “considered it at once as the knell of the Union” and wondered if the civility of American political life could ever be restored. Noting that the debate was one that pitted justice against self-preservation, Jefferson surmised that “we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.” Indeed, it would be difficult to resolve the Missouri issue to everyone’s satisfaction.

A Delicate Balance

The Missouri debate was so contentious in part because of the delicate balance of power that existed in the U.S. Senate when the territory sought statehood in 1819. At the time there were twenty-two states in the Union, and they were equally divided between eleven southern slave states and eleven northern states that had previously abolished slavery. The admission of Missouri to the Union either as a slave state or a free state was going to shift the balance of power in the Senate one way or another, and both sides were determined that they would not let their adversaries prevail in the political struggle.

Missouri’s eventual admission to the Union as a slave state was made possible through a compromise engineered in 1820 by Kentucky Senator Henry Clay. According to the terms of the Missouri Compromise, the balance of power would be maintained in the Senate by admitting two states: Maine (until then a part of Massachusetts) entered the Union as a free state, with Missouri maintaining its status as a slave state. In addition, subsequent decisions on the status of slavery in the lands acquired through the Louisiana Purchase would be settled by drawing an arbitrary line at 36°30' north latitude, with only territory below that line permitted to have slavery. The Congress accepted the compromise, and the debate over slavery subsided for the time being.

Despite the compromise, it was difficult to return the proverbial genie to the bottle once it has been released, and the congressional debates over slavery that raged from 1819 to 1821 inspired greater public discourse on the topic of slavery. Supporters and detractors of slavery emerged and began to campaign to win the hearts and minds of the many Americans who were largely dispassionate about the slavery debate. The 1820s witnessed the rise of many antislavery societies in the northern states and even a few in the southern states, but by the end of the decade most southern abolitionists removed themselves from the region as passions about slavery hardened in the South. Two short-lived antislavery newspapers—

the *Manumission Intelligencer* and the *Emancipator*—were published, respectively, in 1819 and 1820 in Tennessee, but open advocacy of abolitionist views in the South became increasingly rare as the 1820s progressed.

The delicate balance over slavery in the United States was part of a larger phenomenon that was occurring as the nation moved from an attitude that was predominantly nationalistic toward one that was motivated by parochial sectional interests. Although the Missouri debates were one of the forces that prompted the growth of sectionalism, other factors motivated the ideological shift. The economic distress that emerged during the Panic of 1819 had increased tensions between the regional interests of the South, the West, and the Northeast as the burden of blame was placed on regional action for hurting the national economy. In addition, the political discord that occurred during the disputed presidential election of 1824 also inspired regional animosities and heightened sectional discord. When the popular southerner (or westerner) Andrew Jackson lost the presidential race to John Quincy Adams, a New Englander and son of a former president, a struggle that pitted regional and class interests followed. In a sectionally divided nation it was impossible for the potent issue of slavery not to become a central political issue in American national life.

The Birth of the North

As the nationalism of the “Era of Good Feelings” gave way to the sectional rivalry that would characterize the antebellum period, three distinct regions emerged: the South, the West, and the Northeast. Although real political divisions and economic motivations characterized sectional interests, there was much that kept the nation unified as key national values and aspirations varied only slightly across the country. Despite the persistence of a national ethos that kept America unified, regional self-interests were furthered by the emergence of sectional mythologies that magnified differences and piqued the regional antagonism of rival areas. Operating like self-fulfilling prophecies, this process of regional self-definition fashioned sectional identities that remained quite potent. Each section produced its own political leaders whose strident voices perpetuated the mythic identities that had formed.

The period of sectional self-definition that emerged in the 1820s coincided with a tremendous surge in expansion of the nation’s commercial infrastructure. A series of projects that involved canal construction, the building of early turnpikes, and river and harbor improvements were underway in much of the nation dur-

ing the 1820s, and the subsequent decades would witness the development and expansion of an early rail network. Casual perusal of the network of internal improvements that were created during this era suggests an east-west axis that took shape as markets in the Northeast were linked with an agricultural hinterland in the West. Despite the presence of a North-South artery of commerce like the Mississippi River, it became more common for farmers in Illinois to see their economic fortunes tied to merchants and traders in New York than to longshoremen in New Orleans. The artificial arteries of commerce that emerged through linkages of canals, turnpikes, and rail made the West and the Northeast part and parcel of the same business network that increasingly alienated the South as an archaic region where slave-labor prevailed.

Although it was initially unspoken, the commercial ties that bound the economic interests of the Northeast and the West eventually came to be understood as social and political links that also joined the areas. The North, as the combined regions came to be known, was a region characterized by its work ethic, its capitalistic values, and its reliance on free laborers who earned wages. The commercial arteries that linked the two regions facilitated the expansion of a network of trade and commerce and the rise of a factory-based system of production. Increasingly separated from the agricultural South, the North became “modern” and industrial, while the South languished in a world reminiscent of the feudalism and manorialism that characterized an ancient age.

Antislavery societies, which initially emerged in New England and other parts of the Northeast, began to take root in the fertile ground of the West. Abolitionists appeared in places like Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois with values that were different from those of their southern brethren, but more in tune with the values of the New Englanders whom they emulated. Political ties with the Whig Party grew in the West as the pro-business agenda of supporting the tariff and the national bank, and advocating the further expansion of internal improvements, became as vital to the region’s self-interest as it was to those of the Northeast. By comparison, southerners increasingly found themselves drawn to the Democratic Party and its defense of slavery and states’ rights.

The Age of Jackson

The era of Jacksonian Democracy, which extended roughly from 1824 to 1845, was characterized by the political coming of age of the common man in Ameri-

can society. The adoption of universal manhood suffrage, which eliminated property ownership as a qualification for voting, empowered vast numbers of United States citizens with a political voice as they became stakeholders in the American democratic experiment. Equipped with the right to vote and animated by an almost passionate support for Andrew Jackson and the frontier values that he represented, the common man fashioned a bulwark against the unbridled expansion of the northern monied interests during the age of Jackson. Indirectly, these voters also aided the expansion of slavery into the states of the Deep South.

The Jacksonians disdained most of the platform that the Whigs supported and did everything within their power to limit its advancement. The Democrats were able to destroy the national bank, and they worked to reduce national tariff rates during the 1830s after the nullification crisis threatened to foment secession earlier in the decade. Under Jackson, federal dollars to fund internal improvements were restricted as states were directed to fund their own projects. The Jacksonians therefore damaged much of the program to aid the commercial expansion of the nation.

At the same time that the Whig platform was under attack by the Jacksonians, the nation was effecting the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from the southern states and relocating them to reservation land in Oklahoma through a coordinated plan of Indian Removal. The lands in the South that were being cleared of Indian inhabitants were then opened for sale and subsequent agricultural expansion as planters and farmers entered the region to cultivate cotton. With the same intensity that they used in trying to limit the commercial development of the North, the Jacksonians were seeking to expand the agricultural, slave-based economy of the Cotton South.

Speak No Evil

The slavery debate grew increasingly intense during the 1830s as the number of antislavery societies grew and the methods of their political advocacy became more extreme. Although many of the early abolitionist groups were dominated by Quakers who opposed slavery but did not want to be “too much of this world,” many of the new abolitionist leaders who emerged advocated various forms of direct action as a means of fighting slavery on multiple fronts. The abolitionists of the 1830s, perhaps best characterized by William Lloyd Garrison, refused to be silenced or cowed by the opposition and vowed to fight unceasingly until the stain of slavery had been removed from the fabric of the nation.

Although some viewed the U.S. Constitution as a document that enshrined and protected the institution

of slavery, others recognized that the civil liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights protected the interests of those who would courageously dare to oppose slavery. Utilizing their First Amendment right to petition for a redress of grievances, hundreds of antislavery societies in the northern states sent petitions and memorials to the U.S. Congress calling for an end to slavery. Many believed that direct political action was necessary to combat slavery, and by the end of the 1830s efforts were underway to form the Liberty Party—a political party that stood on an exclusively antislavery platform. Not all antislavery advocates supported this course of action, however. Some saw the plan as nothing more than cooperation with a political system that existed to perpetuate and protect slavery. Such critics believed that moral suasion rather than political action was the most effective means to resist slavery in the United States.

The growing number of antislavery petitions that were sent to the Congress began to have an impact on the ability of federal legislators to deliberate effectively on all matters that came before the House of Representatives and the Senate. The petitions were unlikely to result in any congressional action against slavery. The legal status of slavery within the southern states was not viewed as a matter that fell under the purview of the U.S. Congress, but was instead seen as an internal matter that was left to the legislative devices of the respective states where it existed. Nevertheless, the arrival of each antislavery petition and efforts made to read it aloud in the Congress inspired countless battles as the divisive issue of slavery aroused the passions of political leaders on both sides of the question and reduced the capacity of the Congress to attend to the peoples' business. Unable thus to effect political action, but able to obstruct the legislative process, the antislavery petitions and memorials that poured into the nation's capital had a debilitating effect on the work of the Congress. Confronted by the conflicting interests of the right of petition and the necessity of conducting the business of government, the Congress had to act on the thorny question of slavery in the 1830s.

Starting on May 26, 1836, the U.S. House of Representatives began using the so-called gag resolution, a rule that prevented the reading and circulation of all antislavery petitions that were received by the Congress. As a parliamentary maneuver, the House had to renew the gag rule at the start of every year's congressional session until the rule was eventually repealed in 1844. With the adoption of this procedure, the effective means of restricting the peoples' freedom of petition was to limit the legislators' freedom of speech within the halls of the U.S. Congress.

Members of Congress who espoused antislavery

sentiments and others who viewed the matter as a free speech question fought incessantly against the gag rule for the eight years that it was in effect in the House of Representatives. One of the most vocal opponents of the policy was Massachusetts congressman, and former president, John Quincy Adams. In spite of the procedural ban on reading antislavery petitions, Adams violated the policy unsparingly. He would be ruled out of order by the speaker of the House for carrying on his campaign of civil disobedience against a rule that he considered unjust and a violation of the Constitution.

Civil liberties were not only under attack in the halls of the Congress, but they were also being challenged in cities and towns across the southern states. Several northern antislavery groups initiated a direct-mail effort that became known as the Great Postal Campaign of 1835 when they began sending abolitionist literature in the form of newspapers and pamphlets to southern communities. The abolitionists hoped that the antislavery literature would fall into the hands of sympathetic readers who might share its contents with the slaves of the South. In the eyes of southern defenders of slavery, the action of the abolitionists was an effort to foment slave insurrection in the South and was viewed as a criminal undertaking that needed to be halted.

South Carolina, like most other southern states, made an effort to keep abolitionist literature out of the hands of slaves and free blacks in 1835. In a report to the state legislature, South Carolina Governor George McDuffie commented that "the laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy." In July of that year, Alfred Huger, the local postmaster in Charleston, requested that Postmaster General Amos Kendall prohibit antislavery tracts from the U.S. mail. Huger's request was denied by Kendall, who maintained that he did not have the authority to make such a decision, but he did suggest that Huger might act on his own initiative. Kendall stated, "We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live." By late-July 1835, antislavery pamphlets and other abolitionist literature was removed from the public mail in Charleston and burned in the city's streets.

Before the Storm

Among most abolitionists in the 1830s the notion of using moral suasion to effect an end to slavery held more promise than efforts to find a legislative solution. Conventional wisdom of the times held that the federal government could do little to impact the status of slavery within the sovereign states, and its action in the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had effectively addressed the question of slavery in the federal territo-

ries, where Congress did have the authority to legislate on the matter. Essentially, only the actions taken by slaveowning southerners themselves or their respective state legislatures could do anything to affect the status of slavery in the states where it continued to exist.

Others who took the long view and looked upon slavery as a historical phenomenon believed that the institution of slavery was a function of market economics. According to this view, slavery would only continue to exist in areas where it remained profitable, and when the economic burden of slavery became greater than its potential benefit, it was assumed that the institution would wither and die. Some even held out hope that the declining margin of profitability from slaveholding might bring an end to the practice within a generation.

Corollary to both of these views was the understanding that slavery would end of its own devices if it was contained to the states where it currently existed and not permitted to expand into any additional territory. This belief was premised on several factors, including declining profitability, the lessening productivity of depleted soils, and the theoretical notion that the southern states were close to reaching the maximum carrying capacity of their agricultural lands. If these assumptions were correct, the institution of slavery would begin to decline when it could no longer expand into additional lands that would offset these economic determinants. Slavery, thus limited to the states where it currently existed, seemed destined to experience an inevitable decline that would be precipitated by market forces.

A Frontier for Slavery

The intensity of political debate over slavery also escalated in the 1830s because of events in Texas. After the Texas Revolution (1836), the former Mexican province of Texas emerged as an independent nation and began to court the possibility of annexation to the United States. Although the actual annexation would not take place until 1845, the abolitionists became concerned that slavery might be expanded if Texas joined the United States. Since Mexico had abolished slavery in 1829, some antislavery advocates believed that if Texas was annexed and if the United States permitted slavery there, the nation would be reestablishing slavery in an area that had previously been declared free.

Texas did join the Union as a slave state on December 29, 1845, becoming the fifteenth slave state in the Union of twenty-eight states. Northern abolitionists were not only dismayed by the creation of another slave state, but they soon realized that additional lands in the Southwest might also come into the possession

of the United States as potential sites of new slave states. To many it appeared that the containment of slavery had failed and the institution was moving triumphantly into a western frontier that some believed was designed for the presence of slavery.

Actions taken by President James K. Polk in 1846 helped to precipitate a war with Mexico over the issue of a disputed southern boundary for Texas. Many northerners imagined that Polk, as slaveowner from Tennessee, was motivated by sectional interests rather than by policy that best served national objectives. To many, the Mexican War (1846–1848) was a blatant land-grab of territory from a weak neighbor that was conducted to suit the purposes of proslavery southerners.

On August 8, 1846, Democratic Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed that slavery should be excluded from any territory that might be acquired from the war with Mexico. Wilmot borrowed part of the language for his proviso from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which stated that “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of” the territory that the United States might acquire from the Mexican War. Since the Mexican government had previously abolished slavery in the area, many people feared the message the United States would send if slavery were reintroduced into free territory. The U.S. Senate defeated the proviso, but the measure reappeared before the Congress many times over before the start of the Civil War. Votes on the Wilmot Proviso did not follow a party line but were instead based on a clear geographical delineation between northern and southern representatives.

By 1848 the United States defeated Mexican forces and concluded the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to end the war. According to the terms of the treaty, the United States received a clear title to Texas with the boundary line upon the Rio Grande that had been demanded. In addition, the United States received the Mexican Cession territory (roughly one-sixth of the continental United States), and the Mexican government received compensation of \$15 million. Acquisition of this new territory immediately raised the question of whether or not slavery would be permitted to enter the lands formerly held by Mexico. This issue would dominate the political scene until the time of the Civil War.

Free Soil

A new political movement emerged in 1848 as it became clear that the territorial expansion of slavery was

an issue that the United States would have to take on. Long-dormant antipathy toward slavery became evident in many as the debate essentially changed from one's opposition to slavery itself (a largely theoretical concern) to one's opposition to the expansion of slavery (a very practical concern). With the nation consisting of fifteen slave states and thirteen free states, and the looming prospect of vast new territorial acquisitions being exposed to the threat of slavery, it appeared that the history of the United States was going to be the story of slavery triumphant. In an age in which sister republics in the Western Hemisphere had enacted emancipation decrees and the transatlantic slave trade had been outlawed, the policy toward slavery in the United States was trending in the opposite direction as new lands were being opened to slavery's expansion. Some in the South were even questioning whether the African slave trade would need to be reestablished in order to fulfill the expected demand for slave labor in the Southwest.

Facing such threats, a coalition of diverse elements formed in 1848, united under their common belief in "free soil," and initiated a political party to espouse their shared values. The Free Soil Party consisted of abolitionists who opposed the expansion of slavery because of their genuine disaffection with slavery itself. Other elements within the new party were aroused not by abolitionism but by antiblack racist assumptions that the presence of slaves, or free blacks for that matter, would degrade the value of white wage laborers in the new western territories. Those who espoused these views wanted the new territories to be free of slaves and, what is more, to be an exclusive domain of white wage laborers. Defending the slogan "Free soil, free labor, free land, free men!" the new movement felt it imperative that the expansion of slavery be halted if the nation were not to be imperiled.

The potency of the free soil doctrine inspired various legislative solutions to the dilemma the nation faced after acquiring the lands of the Mexican Cession. Members of Congress bantered about political solutions ranging from permitting the expansion of slavery to prohibiting it, and some proposed that the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30' north latitude should simply be extended westward from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, thus dividing the new territory on the basis of slavery. Other solutions, as yet untried, were also under consideration, including the notion of "popular sovereignty" that Democratic presidential candidate Lewis Cass had first introduced during the 1848 presidential campaign. According to this view, the question of

slavery would be most equitably settled if the matter were left to the accords of popular democracy and permitted to be decided by the will of a territory's citizens as expressed in a referendum.

On the Precipice

By 1850 the rancorous debate over the disposition of the western territories with respect to slavery had become such a divisive political issue that the very survival of the Union seemed to be at stake. In the South the strident voices of "fire-eaters" like John Quitman, William Lowndes Yancey, and Edmund Ruffin urged disunion over compromise, and the specter of secession of the southern slaveholding states seemed real to a nation that was deeply divided over how to address the vexing problem of slavery's expansion into the western territories. Although some believed that the time for a political solution to the crisis had long passed, others turned to the Congress in the hope that a workable compromise could be crafted to avert the potential for disunion.

A series of controversial bills were pending before the Congress in 1850 and each of these measures pitted regional interests of the South against those of the North. Each of these legislative measures held the potential of shattering the fragile bonds that held the nation together, and it seemed, for the moment, that the nation was teetering dangerously on the precipice, with secession as an immediate threat. Leaders in the Congress hoped to avert a national crisis, while southern delegates met at the Nashville Convention in June 1850 to consider slaveholding's best course of action. Moderates at Nashville were able to prevail over the wishes of the "fire-eaters," and southerners decided to support congressional efforts to remedy the crisis through political compromise.

The aged Henry Clay, who had averted a national crisis thirty years earlier by effecting the Missouri Compromise, attempted to craft a legislative remedy in 1850 that could satisfy the disparate views of northerners and southerners over the potential expansion of slavery into the western territories. The Compromise of 1850 that emerged in the U.S. Congress was an imperfect solution that resulted from the give-and-take of political debate, but it was the best possible arrangement that the nation's political leaders could devise to address the growing crisis over slavery.

According to the terms of the compromise, California was allowed to enter the Union as a free state, but two new western territories were established with the understanding that popular sovereignty could decide the question of slavery's status if and

when those territories applied for statehood. In addition to these measures, the northern and western boundaries of Texas were reduced and the slave trade (but not slavery) was prohibited in the District of Columbia. Certainly the most controversial aspect of the compromise was the creation of a new and stronger Fugitive Slave Act to replace the largely ineffective 1793 measure that had been diminished through legislative action in the northern states. Faced with the difficult choices of political gamesmanship, several northern politicians who opposed slavery found themselves voting in favor of the Fugitive Slave Act because they needed to win over southern support for the admission of California as a free state. Although the compromise implied that the Congress had come up with a legislative remedy to the divisive question of slavery, the truth was that the issue remained largely unsettled and passions on both sides of the question remained strong throughout the 1850s.

Bleeding Kansas

All doubt about the relative political stability that the Compromise of 1850 had produced was shattered in 1854 when Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Act for consideration by the Congress. The measure, which was designed to create and settle new territories to the west of Missouri, shifted national attention from the newly acquired territories of the Southwest and focused instead on the yet-unsettled lands in the northern Louisiana Purchase territory. To most Americans, the disposition of the slavery question in this region was a matter of settled law that had been decided by the Missouri Compromise (1820), which prohibited slavery to the north of the line of 36°30' north latitude. Kansas and Nebraska were territories that were supposed to be free from slavery according to the terms of the Missouri Compromise, but Douglas wanted to insert the possibility that slavery might expand there by stipulating

that popular sovereignty would be used to determine the status of slavery in the new territories when they applied for statehood.

Those who imagined that a “slave power” conspiracy existed in the United States to further the influence of slaveowning interests saw in the Kansas-Nebraska Act all the evidence that they needed to confirm their worst fears. Like the phoenix rising from the flames, the question of slavery’s expansion into the territories seemed to be an issue that could not be resolved. Some abolitionists, who heretofore had advocated passive nonresistance to fight against slavery, began to consider different tactics in their strategy to halt the expansion of slavery and destroy the “peculiar institution” itself.

Proslavery and antislavery advocates alike rushed into the Kansas Territory to establish homesteads so that they could participate in the referendum that would determine the status of slavery in the region. It did not take long for the popular sovereignty campaign to turn deadly as massacres occurred on both sides of the question, with advocates resorting to violence in order to further their ideology on slavery. The fevered violence even spilled over into the halls of Congress when Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner was beaten by Congressman Preston Brooks in the Senate chamber after having given a speech that was critical of southern advocacy of slavery in Kansas.

It was becoming increasingly difficult for the United States to bridge the chasm that divided the nation on the slavery question. Although few things in history are essentially inevitable, it seemed that the nation had passed a point of no return after the episodic violence that marred the popular sovereignty campaign in Kansas. As noted earlier, to many it seemed that the time for compromise had passed and that other solutions would have to be found to settle the question of slavery and its place in American national life.

THE COMING OF THE WAR AND EMANCIPATION

Cracks in the American political landscape caused by slavery began to appear in 1846 when the Congress first considered the Wilmot Proviso and had to determine whether or not slavery would be permitted to expand into lands in the Southwest that the United States might acquire from Mexico. For the first time in American political life a key vote was based on a geographical political orientation rather than on an ideological perspective influenced by party. It was clear that northerners and southerners alike felt differently about the potential expansion of slavery and political leaders simply mirrored the interest of their respective region with their votes.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 challenged the prevailing wisdom of the two-party system that had existed since the Jacksonian era, with Democrats battling Whigs to influence national policy. The pro-business Whigs, who had increasingly become associated with northern manufacturing interests, proved incapable of defending formerly protected free territory from the possible incursion of slavery. As the Kansas Territory convulsed with internecine warfare as proslavery partisans and antislavery advocates battled for control of the future state, the political sway of the Whigs was diminished and eventually extinguished. It was unclear what group would rise to fill the political vacuum created by the demise of the Whig Party.

A coalition of disaffected political elements began to converge in the summer of 1854 after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act to form a new political organization. The central unifying tenet of this new political association was that the expansion of slavery into the western territories must be prevented. As abolitionists and the remnants of the Free Soil Party joined forces with “conscience” Whigs and disillusioned northern Democrats, a new organization that identified itself as the Republican Party came into existence. For the first time in the history of the United States a major political party adopted a stance that was antagonistic toward slavery.

Influential northern political leaders flocked to the banner of the new party. Men like William Seward and Salmon P. Chase, the governors of New York and Ohio, respectively, became prominent Republicans and began to speak critically of slavery. In Illinois, the former congressman and circuit lawyer Abraham Lincoln made his first public statement on slavery in a speech given in Peoria, Illinois, in October 1854. In the speech Lincoln stated his opposition to the expansion

of slavery into the western territories. Within a few short years, Seward, Chase, and Lincoln would find themselves bound by a conflict that would challenge them to put their ideological beliefs into action as practical policy.

Equal Justice Under Law

The United States Constitution is structured on the existence of three separate branches of government that are theoretically equal and independent of one another except for the system of checks and balances that protect and maintain the integrity of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It seemed apparent to many in the 1850s that neither the executive nor the legislative branch of government was capable of dealing effectively with the thorny question of slavery. Some now began to wonder whether the judiciary was capable of rendering an impartial judgment that could speak to the legality of slavery within American society.

The courts were given an opportunity to address one part of the slavery question when a slave named Dred Scott brought a case forward in the federal courts to try to win his freedom through a judicial decree. The decision ultimately rendered in Scott’s case would demonstrate that the courts, too, were incapable of adequately addressing the issue of slavery in American society. By the late 1850s, many in the United States believed that the constitutional system of government was broken and that the unbridled power of slaveholding interests reigned supreme in the United States.

The Missouri slave Dred Scott had seen much of the United States during his lifetime. As the slave of an army surgeon, Scott had lived for a time in Illinois and Minnesota, a free state and territory, respectively, and upon his original owner’s death, Scott believed that his time spent in the North had made him free. Scott’s case began in the district court in St. Louis in 1849, but after various appeals it finally reached the U.S. Supreme Court where a verdict was rendered in March 1857.

On March 6, 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of seven to two, decided the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* and declared that blacks were not citizens of the United States but property that had no right to sue for freedom in a court of law. In the words of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, a former slaveholder from Maryland, slaves had “no rights a white man need respect.” The court also asserted that the Congress had

no power to exclude slavery from any of the territories—in effect, declaring the Missouri Compromise (1820) to be unconstitutional.

From the time of the American Revolution until 1857 the United States had existed with the understanding that there were “free states” and “slave states,” but Taney’s decision in the *Dred Scott* case said that property could be taken anywhere, and in effect, any state could be a slave state. By enshrining the property rights of individuals and holding that slaves were merely chattel property, Taney was asserting that one was free to own slaves anywhere in the nation. Although it is universally despised today as a poorly formulated judicial decision, it was Taney’s hope that the *Dred Scott* decision would settle once and for all the vexing problem of slavery in American life. It was his hope that the courts would be able to speak where the executive and legislative branches had failed to act.

Debates on the Prairie

The impact of the *Dred Scott* decision was felt across the nation. For southerners the decision was a godsend that affirmed the legitimacy of slavery and seemingly settled any and all questions about the right of slavery to expand into other areas. For northerners, the decision was tremendously unsettling because it inferred that there were no legal means by which a community might prevent the institution of slavery from taking root. Few cases had ever excited such a level of popular interest and public debate.

Chief Justice Taney and the Court tried to interject the last word into the national dialogue on slavery, but the topic was one that was too intense to be settled by judicial fiat alone. The court could render its decision, but it had no minions at its disposal to refashion society at its behest, and neither the executive nor the legislative branch was prepared to issue a ringing endorsement of the Court’s pronouncement. Many still believed that the Congress held the power to limit the expansion of slavery into the territories, but the Court’s decision had certainly clouded the political landscape.

The nation was still deliberating the impact of the *Dred Scott* decision when the midterm elections were held in 1858 and campaigns held across the nation provided a venue for political discourse on the question of slavery. Nowhere was this discussion more pronounced than in the series of debates held in Illinois as incumbent senator Stephen A. Douglas and challenger Abraham Lincoln discussed the vital issues of the day in a series of seven debates held in the summer and fall of 1858.

As one of the leading proponents of the doctrine of

popular sovereignty, Douglas had to use the debates to defend how this concept could continue to function in light of the *Dred Scott* ruling. For Lincoln, who was a relatively unknown political figure, the newspaper coverage of the Illinois debates made him a prominent spokesman for the cause of those who wanted to prohibit the expansion of slavery into the western territories. Even though Douglas would eventually win reelection to the Senate, it was Lincoln who received the greatest boost from the debates as his views became nationally known and his name more prominent. Only two years later, the failed Senate candidate from Illinois would be a candidate for the presidency.

As Lincoln and Douglas crossed the prairies of Illinois to debate the questions of the day, their journey reflected the temper of the nation—a land that was still willing to discuss civilly the political matters that affected national life. Neither Lincoln nor Douglas used anything except the power of ideas to sway the crowds that attended the series of debates. Americans had not yet abandoned their confidence that political discourse in the public square was the best assurance that a self-governing republic could remain free.

The Avenger

In November 1837 abolitionists across the northern states were shocked to learn of the murder of the abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy who died trying to defend his press from a proslavery mob in Alton, Illinois. Antislavery advocates gathered at memorial services across the North where Lovejoy was eulogized as a martyr to the cause of abolitionism. At one such service held in Ohio, a young man stood up and affirmed that he would not rest until the righteousness of Lovejoy’s cause had been avenged and slavery was forever stricken from the land. The young abolitionist was named John Brown.

Nearly two decades later, John Brown emigrated to the Kansas Territory with several of his sons during the popular sovereignty referendum that was held to determine the status of slavery in the region. As ardent anti-slavery men, the Browns who had settled at Osawatimie were determined that proslavery forces would not prevail during the election campaign, and they vowed that any excesses by proslavery interests would be met with a formidable response. On May 21, 1856, proslavery forces attacked the abolitionist stronghold of Lawrence and killed an antislavery supporter. Three days later, Brown and his sons carried out a nighttime attack on proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie

Creek and hacked five residents to death with broadswords. John Brown had baptized his cause in blood and had begun his campaign to avenge the national sin of slavery.

Wanted for murder in Kansas, John Brown went into hiding and was protected by abolitionists around the country who sympathized with his cause and were not critical of his methods. With the Supreme Court's decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* announced while Brown was in hiding, he came to believe that nothing short of armed insurrection could bring an end to slavery in the United States. Certain of the goodness of the abolitionist cause and believing that all means employed to fight evil were virtuous, Brown began to craft a plan that would foment the revolt he believed was necessary to bring an end to slavery in the United States. His role was simply to be God's avenging angel who would help the slaves attain salvation through freedom.

Portrayed by some as a raving lunatic, Brown worked with the methodical precision of one who believed in the certainty of his cause more than life itself. He discussed his plans with some of the leading abolitionists of the day in an effort to solicit financial backing for his conspiracy. Far from being perceived as a madman, he moved freely in antislavery social circles communicating with leading figures including the philanthropist Gerrit Smith, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Frederick Douglass. Although Douglass did not support the plan, others did, for by 1859 the thought of inciting a slave rebellion appeared to be a rational means of bringing an end to the "peculiar institution."

Brown's plan was to attack the U.S. army arsenal located at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, so that arms could be acquired for distribution among the slaves of the Upper South. Brown believed that once his small force had secured the arsenal, slaves would spontaneously join his cause and revolt in a massive uprising that would destroy slavery.

Brown and his small force of eighteen associates were able to capture the town of Harpers Ferry on the evening of October 16, 1859, but news of the raid was transmitted to public authorities by the conductor of a train that was permitted to travel through the captured town. On October 17 federal forces under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived at Harpers Ferry and assaulted the firehouse where Brown and his associates had taken refuge. After the brief battle that ensued, Brown was captured and taken to Charlestown where he would be tried for treason. He was convicted and subsequently executed on December 2, 1859.

An Irrepressible Conflict

When Abraham Lincoln accepted the nomination of the Republican Party in Illinois to challenge incumbent senator Stephen A. Douglas in June 1858, he spoke these words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided." The poetry of Lincoln's prose belies the truism reflected in this thought—the United States could not continue to exist as one nation if the slavery question was not resolved one way or another. His words did not suggest how the resolution might be produced or what the eventual outcome might be, but he was certain that change was inevitable.

Speaking in Rochester, New York, on September 25, 1858, New York Senator William H. Seward stated of slavery, "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation." Although he was vehemently criticized for the radical tone of his rhetoric, Seward's words were prophetic and reflected a growing sensibility that many Americans shared at the time. Both Lincoln's careful rhetoric and Seward's more pointed observation reflect the growing awareness that America was nearing the point of reckoning over slavery and that a clear decision on the status of the "peculiar institution" would need to be reached if national unity was to survive.

After the Harpers Ferry raid, the likelihood of a civil discussion on the question of slavery seemed a quaint relic of a distant past. The intensity of passions among both proslavery and antislavery advocates was so inflamed that disunion became a viable alternative to many. If America could not resolve the divisive issue of slavery, it may well have been because indeed there were two nations, not one, that existed at the time. It was in this setting that the United States prepared to elect a new president in 1860.

Election of 1860 and Secession

Perhaps no other presidential contest in the nation's history has held more significance than that of November 1860. As the nation teetered on the possibility of disunion, four candidates vied for the presidency: Abraham Lincoln (Republican), Stephen A. Douglas (Northern Democrat), John C. Breckinridge (Southern Democrat), and John Bell (Constitutional-Union).

The contest was almost two elections in one as Lincoln and Douglas were the principal contenders in the northern states, while Breckinridge and Bell were the principal contenders in the South. Lincoln's name was not even listed on ballots in the southern states because he was perceived as being an abolitionist.

Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States by garnering only 40 percent of the popular vote but winning handily in the Electoral College. None of his electoral votes came from any of the slaveholding states. During his presidential campaign, Lincoln had remarked that slavery was "an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection necessary." Such comments infuriated southerners who believed that instead of tolerating and protecting slavery, a Lincoln administration would promote an abolitionist agenda and attempt to destroy slavery. When it became clear that Lincoln had been elected president, the "fire-eaters" and other radicals within several of the southern states began to consider the appropriate response and secession from the Union seemed imminent.

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina became the first southern state to secede from the Union by declaring itself to be an "independent commonwealth." By February 1, 1861, six other southern states had followed South Carolina out of the Union—Mississippi (January 9), Florida (January 10), Alabama (January 11), Georgia (January 19), Louisiana (January 26), and Texas (February 1). Delegates from these seven states met in Montgomery, Alabama, during February 4–9, 1861, to adopt a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of America. Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected president of the Confederacy with Alexander Stephens of Georgia as vice president.

The wave of secession that occurred during the winter of 1860–1861 came during the final months of James Buchanan's administration as president of the United States. Although Lincoln was the president-elect at the time and would not be inaugurated until March 4, 1861, there was nothing that he could do either to halt the wave of secession or to restore the Union. President Buchanan made no real effort to confront the crisis directly, choosing instead to leave the problem to his successor.

The Coming of the War

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as the nation's sixteenth president in Washington, D.C., on March 4,

1861. In his inaugural address, Lincoln stated unequivocally, "I have no purpose . . . to interfere with the institution of slavery." Nonetheless, he cautioned the southern states: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it."

Despite Lincoln's rhetoric, the southern states that had seceded prepared for what they believed would be a short war. Confederate leaders believed that the North did not have the will to fight a war to restore the Union and imagined that swift action to seize federal properties in the South was a necessary step toward establishing hegemonic power in the region. Although federal authorities had warned that properties of the United States government would be defended if attacked, southerners continued to make plans for war.

On April 12, 1861, Confederate forces under the command of General P. G. T. Beauregard began the bombardment of the federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. This event marked the beginning of the Civil War. The following day Major Robert Anderson surrendered the garrison to Confederate forces.

President Lincoln responded to the attack on Fort Sumter by issuing a national call for 75,000 volunteers on April 15, 1861. These troops were expected to serve for a period of three months. In issuing his call for troops, Lincoln did not describe the situation as one of war, but used the word "rebellion" instead. Since Lincoln did not recognize the legitimacy of secession because he believed that the Union was inviolable, he believed that the action at Fort Sumter was part of a rebellion among states that were "out of their proper, practical relationship with the Union." Still considering himself the president of the entire country, Lincoln believed that he had the power to crush the rebellion with force.

Lincoln's call for troops in response to the attack upon Fort Sumter led to the secession of four additional states from the Upper South—Virginia (April 17), Arkansas (May 6), Tennessee (May 6), and North Carolina (May 20). Four remaining slaveholding states—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware—did not leave the Union, but remained as border states and provided support to both sides during the Civil War. Much of Lincoln's strategy during the early months of the war was designed to keep the border states from seceding and further enlarging the Confederacy.

Contraband of War

The notion of civil war was new to the United States, and the rules of engagement and operating procedures by which federal forces would act had to be defined as the conflict progressed. One of the key issues that appeared early in the conflict was the question of what to do with slaves who escaped to the federal lines and sought refuge under the protection of Union forces. It was unclear whether or not the Union army was going to function as an army of liberation since that was not the charge that was given to the military, nor was it deemed logistically feasible.

The purposes of the conflict were expressed by the U.S. Senate in a July 22 resolution that declared “this war is not waged . . . for any purpose . . . of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of . . . southern States.” The resolution further stated that the specific aim of the war was “to preserve the Union,” not abolishing slavery in the southern states. Despite these assurances, it would prove extremely difficult for federal forces to march into the slaveholding South and not be perceived as liberators. How the government walked this fine line between preserving the Union but not abolishing slavery was a challenge of monumental proportions.

The Congress tried to clarify its position on slavery with respect to the aims of the war by passing the first Confiscation Act on August 6, 1861. Under the terms of this legislation, it was permissible to free those slaves who were in areas under Union army control, provided that they had been employed to aid the Confederate cause. Known as “contraband of war,” these former slaves could then be put to work as wage laborers aiding the Union cause. Although the Congress was trying to be specific and only permit certain slaves to be emancipated under the terms of this legislation, the act was open to interpretation and many argued that all slaves in the southern states were beneficial to the Confederate war effort and thus should be liberated. Despite the theoretical sway of such an argument, the Lincoln administration was not prepared to support such a liberal interpretation of the Confiscation Act.

President Lincoln’s views became clear in the summer of 1861 when he had to confront a serious challenge that had the potential of driving another state into the Confederacy. Acting on his own initiative and without the backing of officials in Washington, D.C., Major General John C. Frémont invoked martial law on August 30, 1861, and issued a proclamation that freed the slaves of all disloyal owners in Missouri. President Lincoln effectively nullified the order by asking Frémont to revise his proclamation so that it would not overstep congressional laws regarding emancipa-

tion. When the general refused to comply, Lincoln ordered him to do so and subsequently reassigned him to a different department.

An Uncertain Path

During the early months of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln pursued his goal of preserving the Union without letting the issue of emancipation of the slaves cloud his judgment. Seeing himself torn between the demands of doing what was best for the nation and what would satisfy the abolitionist elements within the Republican Party, Lincoln always opted for the nation’s best interests much to the chagrin of the abolitionists. He also realized that any decisions that he made with respect to slavery would have an impact on the Confederacy. Thus Lincoln had to view all decisions on matters relating to slavery in the strategic sense of how northerners would perceive of his action (or inaction) and how southerners would respond to his decisions.

In December 1861 Lincoln requested that Secretary of War Simon Cameron remove several controversial references to slavery from his annual report to the Congress. In the initial draft of the report, Cameron had advocated the use of emancipation as a wartime necessity that was related to the use of former slaves as military laborers and soldiers. Unwilling to contemplate either emancipation or the use of black troops as necessities in preserving the Union, Lincoln could not support the inclusion of these suggestions in the report. Shortly after this controversy, Lincoln removed Cameron from his position as secretary of war and appointed him as the U.S. minister to Russia.

Lincoln also had to respond to the efforts of General David Hunter who organized an all-black regiment without the approval of Union military authorities. The First South Carolina Volunteers, the first all-black regiment to be formed during the Civil War, had been organized in May 1862 in the South Carolina Sea Islands. In addition to putting the regiment together, Hunter also issued a proclamation that freed the slaves owned by all rebels in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. Enraged by the general’s actions, Lincoln ordered that the black regiment be disbanded, and he revoked the emancipation edict that Hunter had issued.

In spite of these instances, President Lincoln did support certain initiatives related to slavery in the early years of the Civil War. He supported congressional efforts to end slavery in the District of Columbia through a system of compensated emancipation. One

million dollars in federal support was provided to compensate owners of slaves who were thus emancipated, and \$100,000 was provided to assist those emancipated slaves who opted to settle outside of the United States in locations such as Liberia or Haiti. In addition, Lincoln encouraged the border states to adopt a program of gradual, compensated emancipation that would be followed by colonization of freed blacks to locations outside of the United States, but officials in the border states rejected the president's proposal in July 1862.

The Burden of War

All hopes for a quick and easy victory in the Civil War faded during the summer of 1861 as Union and Confederate forces engaged in the first major battle of the war at the first battle of Bull Run in northern Virginia. Disorganized federal forces were routed and retreated toward Washington, D.C., and Confederate forces might have breached the perimeter of the nation's capital if they had pursued the fleeing Union troops. The reality of war was made manifest as the illusion of easy victory quickly vanished.

President Lincoln struggled to find able commanders who could lead Union forces to victory as he appointed several generals to lead the Army of the Potomac, but he was generally dissatisfied with their efforts. The burden of directing a war effort was made more difficult by the inability of Union forces to win the crushing victory that would signal the turning of the tide in the war. In addition, the ability to motivate a nation to fight exclusively for the preservation of the Union—an arcane theoretical concept—was increasingly difficult to sustain. It quickly became clear that reliance on volunteers alone would be insufficient to man the army that was needed to suppress the rebellion, and Lincoln had to initiate an unpopular draft to draw sufficient recruits into the Union army.

Vicious attacks were heaped upon the president, who was constantly second-guessed by those who considered him to be an inept leader. Even some of his own commanders found it difficult to take orders from a president whose only military experience had been brief service along the Illinois frontier during the Black Hawk War in 1832. He was criticized by northern abolitionists for not being a passionate supporter of the antislavery cause, while southerners and some disaffected northerners viewed him as a “Black Republican” who advocated emancipation, social leveling, and miscegenation. Members of Lincoln's own cabinet, which included some of the most prominent leaders of the

Republican Party, believed themselves to be more capable of leading the country than the president.

Lincoln was constantly pressed to do more on behalf of the southern slaves. Republicans who had abolitionist leanings, like his friend Illinois congressman Owen Lovejoy, lobbied the president to consider emancipation as an act of wartime necessity that would irreparably weaken the fighting capacity of the South. The black abolitionist Frederick Douglass appealed to Lincoln to end slavery as a matter of common morality and urged the use of black troops to support the war effort. Some of the most scathing criticism of Lincoln came from *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley whose August 20, 1862, editorial “A Prayer of Twenty Millions” called for immediate emancipation of the slaves.

In a response to Greeley's editorial, Lincoln wrote: “My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or to destroy slavery. 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 do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that.”

A Wartime Necessity

When Abraham Lincoln responded to Horace Greeley in August 1862, he did not reveal his true intentions to the newspaper editor. Earlier that summer Lincoln had drafted an emancipation proclamation that he first shared with his cabinet on July 22, 1862. Although the cabinet did not respond favorably to Lincoln's proposal, he determined that he would move ahead with his plans to make the proclamation public at an appropriate time. At the cabinet's urging, he agreed to wait until a significant Union victory had been achieved on the battlefield so that it would not seem that the proclamation was being issued as an act of desperation by the government. The president agreed with the suggestion.

Later in the summer the president met in the field with General George B. McClellan, the commander of the Army of the Potomac, and urged him to engage the enemy in battle. Lincoln was hoping that McClellan could secure the Union victory that would be necessary in order for the public announcement of the emancipation proclamation to be made. On September 17, 1862, McClellan's forces engaged a Confederate army in the battle of Antietam, in Maryland. The two armies combined suffered more than 25,000 casualties in what was the bloodiest single day of the Civil War, but Confederate forces withdrew at the end of the day

and the Union army could claim a costly victory. McClellan had won the significant victory that Lincoln had requested, and the president was thus prepared to issue his preliminary emancipation proclamation.

On September 22, five days after the carnage at Antietam, President Abraham Lincoln made the preliminary emancipation proclamation public. It was stated that one hundred days hence, on January 1, 1863, the president intended to free all slaves residing in those areas that remained in rebellion against the government. It was stipulated that this power was given to the president in his official capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States since the abolition of slavery was viewed as a matter of wartime necessity. In keeping with this claim, it was necessary for the president to state that slaves in those areas that were no longer in rebellion and were effectively under Union control would not be set free by the proclamation. The September 22 reading of the proclamation was viewed as a preliminary announcement with the formal proclamation to be issued on January 1, 1863.

In addition to announcing his intention to emancipate the slaves of the South in areas that remained in rebellion, Lincoln's proclamation also called for the enlistment and training of black troops. This was one of the key points that black abolitionist Frederick Douglass had urged of the president from the earliest months of the Civil War. Many abolitionists believed that one of the most certain signs that could be used to justify the emancipation of the slaves was to permit black troops to fight and help win the freedom of their brethren who were held in bondage.

On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation became effective, and all slaves were declared free except those in states, or parts of states, that were no longer in rebellion. The proclamation did not apply in the border states, nor did it apply in those areas that were already under control of the Union army. These areas included thirteen parishes in southern Louisiana (including New Orleans), the forty-eight counties that made up West Virginia, seven counties in eastern Virginia (including Norfolk), and the entire state of Tennessee.

The Balance Sheet

The Emancipation Proclamation must be viewed in the context of being a wartime necessity because that helps to explain the logic and motivation behind Lincoln's action. Although the document is one that has profound symbolic meaning and helped to fashion the mythic image of Lincoln as the Great Emancipator, it

is also a carefully crafted message that had strategic significance in possibly bringing an end to the Civil War before the end of 1862.

Some have argued that the Emancipation Proclamation was a hollow document in that it freed no slaves. In those areas that were still in rebellion against the federal government, Abraham Lincoln did not possess real power to emancipate anyone, and in the areas that were already under Union control, the places where Lincoln *could* have freed the slaves, he opted not to free them. Such a reading of the document also calls into question the necessity of a 100-day waiting period before emancipation would be effected. If Lincoln really wanted to free the slaves, some argue, he should have done so instantly in his preliminary announcement on September 22, 1862.

It may well be possible that Lincoln was trying to give the Confederacy a way to end the war and keep slavery. Knowing that slavery stood to be abolished if southern forces continued fighting and ended up losing the war, Lincoln hoped that Confederate leaders would consider their options and accept the certain preservation of slavery that would come from their decision to end the war during the 100-day waiting period that the proclamation provided. In any event, when southern leaders failed to take the bait and end the war according to Lincoln's time line, his promise of emancipation took effect and would subsequently be realized through a Union victory.

In addition, many legal scholars questioned whether or not Lincoln was within his rights as president to abolish slavery through executive decree. Recognizing that such action is more monarchical in character than is typically found in a constitutional republic, some believed that couching Lincoln's power to emancipate the slaves in a reading of the wartime powers of the president was a tenuous legal argument that might not survive careful judicial scrutiny. Accordingly, the Congress drafted language for a thirteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would abolish slavery and submitted the matter to the states so that there would exist constitutional backing for the abolition of slavery.

Transformation

The Emancipation Proclamation's impact on the war effort was phenomenal. Rather than simply fighting a war for the theoretical preservation of the Union, the document transformed the war into a struggle that was designed to make men free. As a nation that was founded on the fundamental notion of freedom and liberty that stems from the natural rights of man, Lin-

Lincoln was able to use the rhetoric of the Founding Fathers to justify the new birth of freedom that would come from emancipation of the slaves. This rhetorical style would be most evident in the Gettysburg Address that the president delivered in November of 1863.

In addition, the Emancipation Proclamation made it exceedingly difficult for foreign governments like Great Britain or France to consider offering diplomatic recognition to the Confederate States of America. The southern states had hoped that “King Cotton” diplomacy would work in their interests as foreign governments that relied on southern exports would be forced

by economic necessity to support the southern cause. Once Lincoln turned the conflict into a war that would bring an end to slavery, it was impossible for the European powers to side with the Confederacy and work to preserve the onerous institution of slavery.

The Civil War was far from over when the Emancipation Proclamation took effect on January 1, 1863, but it became a conflict transformed by the president’s actions. The battle to achieve emancipation had been effected, but the ongoing struggle to achieve liberty and true freedom for the former slave was just beginning.

RECONSTRUCTION: ARE LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL?

If January 1, 1863, represented a new birth of freedom for the United States, it quickly became clear that the formative years of incipient liberty would pose many challenges to the nation. The Civil War was not yet concluded at the start of the new year in 1863, and the necessary Union victory on which emancipation was premised still seemed uncertain at the time. The nation had not yet learned of places like Little Round Top, Cold Harbor, and the Crater, and the lessons that would be learned in those future encounters was that liberty was a precious commodity that was purchased with the blood of thousands. The national bloodletting that was the Civil War would, in time, have a tremendous impact on how freedom and civil liberties were bestowed on the former slaves and how resistance to those efforts would materialize in the hearts and minds of those who, though vanquished, cherished the memory of the Lost Cause.

Abraham Lincoln had no illusions in 1863 that his decision to emancipate the slaves would bring a speedy end to the Civil War, but he did believe that the cause would add renewed energy to the Union war effort. In providing a very real focus to the effort by saying that it was a war about freedom, Lincoln hoped that the American people would recognize the moral nature of the calling and rally to the cause of liberating an estimated 4 million slaves who were held in bondage in the southern states. Yet even in his advocacy of emancipation, Lincoln did not harbor much confidence that the United States could exist as a multiracial society, and he privately confided that the freeing of the

slaves would likely have to be followed by a massive national effort to colonize them elsewhere so that both white Americans and freed slaves could live harmoniously apart from one another.

In mid-August 1862 President Lincoln held a meeting with prominent black leaders in which he urged them to support a colonization plan that would have relocated freed blacks either to Central America or to Africa. Although this was the first time that an American president had sought the counsel of black leaders on a matter of public policy, many free blacks remained skeptical of the president’s motives and were highly critical of his suggestions. On September 23, 1862, just one day after he announced the preliminary emancipation proclamation, Lincoln met with his cabinet to discuss the possible acquisition of new territory that the United States might use for the deportation of free blacks after the abolition of slavery.

It became clear to most Americans during the final years of the Civil War and in subsequent years that the task of ending slavery effectively was a national work in progress that lacked clearly defined goals, objectives, and strategies. Thus, lacking the resolution of a clearly defined approach, much of the burden of emancipation and incorporating freed slaves into the civic life of the nation would be influenced by the former slaves themselves. Given nothing but freedom, the former slaves would find a way to navigate the treacherous ground of proscribed liberties in a nation that was still defining the full meaning of freedom for all of its citizens.

Uniforms of Blue

By the end of the Civil War, 180,000 black troops were fighting in the Union army to win the emancipation of the slaves. The ability to participate as a soldier was an expression of manhood that had been denied to slaves and persons of color through the centuries, and the exploits of black troops made white Americans recognize their inherent humanity. It required tremendous courage and bravery for blacks to join the war effort, but the ultimate goal of destroying slavery was worth whatever sacrifices and deprivations might be required in order to secure it.

The Confederate government made clear that black troops would neither be recognized as soldiers on the battlefield nor extended the courtesies that war prisoners normally received. Believing that a black soldier was nothing more than a potential insurrectionist, Confederate policy permitted armed blacks to be summarily executed on the battlefield or enslaved—there was no such thing as a black prisoner of war in the minds of southerners. When considered in this context, the actions of black troops who donned uniforms of blue become even more extraordinary as the righteousness of their cause did not permit them to become dissuaded by the savage policies that the Confederate government had announced.

Organized into regiments in the United States Colored Troops (USCT), black soldiers continued to experience a world that was limited by racism and circumscribed opportunities. Only white officers were permitted to lead the black regiments that were created during the Civil War, and initially the pay that black troops received was less than that of their white counterparts. The training of black troops and the provisions they received were considered to be second-rate to that which white regiments received. Uncertain about their battle-readiness, Union army officials often hesitated to place black regiments in the thick of military engagements, preferring instead to use them as support troops who were perceived as having a subservient status. On certain occasions, when almost-suicidal missions were required, black troops were deployed so that they might become cannon fodder while preserving the fighting capacity of white regiments.

The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers were perhaps the best known of all the black regiments that constituted the USCT. On January 26, 1863, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton authorized the governor of Massachusetts, John A. Andrew, to organize a company of black troops. The regiment that was formed included predominantly free blacks, including the sons

of black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, and it was commanded by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, a white officer with abolitionist sympathies. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers was the first black regiment to be raised in the North. Six months after it was formed, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts led the federal assault on Fort Wagner at Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, on July 18, 1863. The heroism of the assault proved the mettle of black troops in battle as the fierce attack resulted in more than twelve hundred casualties.

Participation in the USCT also provided a training ground for leadership among the many African Americans who participated in the war effort. During the Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War, many African American political leaders emerged who had served in the military during the war years. Military service thus prepared a cadre of black leaders to assume roles in the political, civic, and commercial activities that were required to turn the new birth of freedom into a reality.

A Helping Hand

On March 3, 1865, in anticipation of the work that would have to take place after the Civil War ended, Congress authorized the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, a governmental agency that became the first public welfare program in the history of the United States. The Freedmen's Bureau, as it came to be known, was designed to assist freedmen and refugees as they made the difficult social and economic transformation from slavery to freedom after the war. The organization was placed under the leadership of General Oliver O. Howard.

The organization was instrumental in establishing a network of schools throughout the southern states that educated the children of former slaves and poor whites and even instituted adult literacy programs. The kinds of survival skills that were taught by the Freedmen's Bureau were essential to providing the helping hand that was necessary for former slaves to achieve success in their new lives in freedom. The Freedmen's Bureau also established a series of savings banks so that former slaves could establish a sense of economic security in their new status.

Considered a controversial program by those who believed that its mission and goals were contrary to the industriousness and virtuous self-help mentality that characterized American life, others opposed the Freedmen's Bureau because of blatantly racist assumptions. The program was never fully funded by the Congress, and it was short-lived.

During the Civil War years, the immediacy of present burdens occupied Abraham Lincoln as he sought wartime strategies that could most effectively conclude the war successfully for the Union cause. Still, Lincoln also pondered the momentous questions of what the United States would look like after the war and how a divided nation might be restored in a most harmonious fashion. Since the war, in Lincoln's view, had been extremely hard, it was essential that the peace not be punitive.

Lincoln's ideas about the postwar era coalesced around the idea of restoration rather than reconstruction as he envisioned a relatively easy path for the former Confederate states to rejoin the Union with as little delay as possible. In what came to be known as the "Ten Percent Plan," the president outlined a comparatively simple strategy that would require 10 percent of the registered voters of a southern state to sign an oath of allegiance to the United States government. The southern state would then need to draft a new state constitution that outlawed slavery. Once these basic requirements were met, the state would be readmitted to the Union.

Congress, too, had begun consideration of how the postwar years might be conducted most effectually and had drafted potential legislation that might outline procedures for such a strategy. Believing that the Confederate states had surrendered their statehood status through the act of secession, many within the Congress believed that the former Confederate states represented nothing more than conquered provinces, and as such, they had reverted back to territorial status. This theoretical framework was essential to the plans of the Congress since the U.S. Constitution specifically permitted the Congress to control all aspects of political life within the federal territories. If the former Confederate states remained states, then the president was free to act, but if they had reverted to territorial status, then their disposition would be an issue that fell under the purview of the Congress.

A tremendous amount of high-stakes political drama was associated with the pending battle between the Congress and the president over postwar policy. The extraordinary circumstances of fighting a civil war had permitted Abraham Lincoln, by necessity, to expand the powers of the executive branch of government, but this had been accomplished by concordantly reducing the power and influence of both the Congress and the federal courts. By 1864 it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Congress was willing to challenge the president on reconstruction policy as a means of reasserting some of its lost influence. Many believed that the president's wartime powers,

which included initiating the draft, creating an income tax, suspending habeas corpus rights, and freeing the slaves, were executive decisions that represented an unchecked power grab, and the Congress was determined to challenge the president during the postwar years.

In July 1864 both houses of Congress approved the Wade-Davis Bill that outlined congressional plans for how postwar reconstruction was to be conducted in the South, but President Lincoln pocket vetoed the measure. In an extraordinary reply to the president's action that became known as the "Wade-Davis Manifesto," members of Congress made clear their intentions to challenge the president's authority to conduct postwar reconstruction policies exclusively as the prerogative of the executive branch of government. Although it was becoming evident that the Civil War itself was winding down, it was also clear that political battles lay ahead as plans for restoration and reconstruction were debated.

April 1865

Much of the military action in the final nine months of the Civil War centered on the siege of Petersburg, located just to the south of the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. It was readily apparent to most that the Confederacy's dwindling resources, its inability to obtain diplomatic recognition from a foreign power, and the sustained impact of total war on the southern populace all indicated that a Union victory could be attained. Timing along with the prolonged loss of men and material were the only factors that characterized the conflict for both sides in its final months.

In April 1865 Confederate forces decided to abandon Richmond and make a desperate escape to the mountains of western Virginia where they hoped to regroup and continue the struggle. Many parts of the rebel capital were set ablaze as Confederate forces evacuated the city that they had unceasingly defended for nearly four years. Just days after the Confederate evacuation of Richmond, Abraham Lincoln visited the city and walked among its still-smoldering ruins. Visiting not as a conquering hero, but more as an emancipator, Lincoln was able to see firsthand the effects of emancipation as he pressed flesh with those whom he had liberated. It was an emotionally charged moment for the president.

Holy Week, as celebrated in the Christian calendar, fell during the second week of April 1865 and contained events of national importance. It was on Palm

Sunday that Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered his army to Union General Ulysses S. Grant in a private meeting held at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. Although sporadic fighting continued in other parts of the Confederacy into June 1865, Lee's surrender essentially marked the defeat of the southern cause. Five days later, on Good Friday, President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated while attending a play at Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C., and he died the following morning. The symbolism of Holy Week was readily apparent to many, but there was no comparable event to symbolize the Resurrection. America would need to struggle further to find the promise of redemption.

Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency on April 15, 1865, upon the death of Abraham Lincoln. As a southern Democrat from Tennessee, Johnson had been invited by Lincoln to run on the Union ticket of 1864 to symbolize the national unity that would be necessary to restore the Union in the postwar years. Although Johnson was always a staunch Unionist and had never supported the Confederate cause, his political rivals would characterize him as a tool of southern interests who sought to undermine all that was achieved on the battlefield by the blood and toil of Union forces.

Johnson hoped to carry out restoration policies as he believed that President Lincoln would have done by using the Ten Percent Plan. Assuming office in April 1865 with the Congress on an extended recess, Johnson immediately set in motion the plans to restore the former Confederate states to the Union according to the plan that Abraham Lincoln had drafted. Within the first eight months of his administration, Andrew Johnson had seen fit to restore seven of the former Confederate states to the Union, and he had begun the process of restoration in the four remaining southern states. It was Johnson's hope that he would soon preside over a nation restored, with the absence of slavery.

Congressional leaders were dismayed to learn of the new president's actions when they returned to the nation's capital in December 1865 to attend the next legislative session. Moreover, many northern politicians were horrified to discover that some of the states that Johnson had readmitted were sending delegations to the Congress that included high-ranking former Confederate leaders. Georgia, for example, was hoping to return former Confederate vice president Alexander Stephens to the U.S. Senate, and Louisiana voters had elected former Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard to a seat in the House of Representatives. Utilizing the constitutional provision that allows the Con-

gress to determine the fitness of its own membership, the Congress refused to seat these former Confederates and made clear that it disapproved of President Johnson's attempts to circumvent the Congress in implementing reconstruction policy.

It soon became apparent that Congress and the president were on a collision course regarding their views of what branch of government should direct reconstruction policy in the South. Believing that he was carrying out the mandate of the martyred president, Andrew Johnson continued to implement Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan, and he vetoed congressional measures that he considered a digression from that path. An emboldened Congress, sensing that Johnson was a weaker president than Lincoln had been, was determined to stymie his plans and restore power to the legislative branch that they felt had been weakened during the Civil War. Although this intense political battle was being played out in the nation's capital, more significant battles were taking place in locations large and small as multitudes of former slaves struggled to make the transition to true freedom.

A growing contingent within the Congress known as the Radical Republicans began to take control of congressional efforts to draft reconstruction policy. President Johnson tried to halt the growing influence of the Radical Republicans and campaigned against them vigorously during the midterm congressional elections of 1866, but his efforts failed to produce his desired results. The Congress that returned to the nation's capital in March 1867 contained even more Radical Republicans who held a "veto proof" majority of more than two-thirds of the seats in the Congress. For all intents and purposes, the crafting of reconstruction policy had shifted from the executive branch of government to the legislative branch.

Freedom and Nothing More

During the final months of the Civil War, some had speculated that the postwar era would be characterized by land reform in the former Confederacy as the federal government distributed confiscated plantation lands to the former slaves who had toiled there. The phrase "forty acres and a mule" had become a common description of the basic necessities that would be needed to transition former slaves to small independent farmers. In one brief experiment at Port Royal, South Carolina, former plantation lands were distributed to the ex-slaves who had worked the property, but this pattern was not replicated across the South as some had imagined. Essentially, what the former

slaves received at the end of the Civil War was freedom and nothing more.

Although freedom was a tremendous gift, freedom alone could be quite problematic. Most of the former slaves in the South were illiterate, and they did not have the skills or training necessary to attain employment beyond the type of agricultural labor that most had pursued during the days of slavery. Moreover, many of the former slaves were made homeless when they were told to leave the plantations where they had labored as slaves. A large number purposefully left their old plantations and searched throughout the South to reconnect with a spouse or with children who had been separated in order to create the family life that the days of slavery had denied them. Without homes, jobs, and an income, many former slaves wandered almost aimlessly in many parts of the South, and hastily enacted vagrancy laws resulted in many of these individuals being arrested and jailed. Large numbers of freed slaves simply “vanished” during their first winter of freedom as the combined effects of destitution, homelessness, and vigilante justice in the form of revenge killings resulted in a high mortality rate for freedmen.

Black codes were developed in communities throughout the former Confederacy as a means of regulating the opportunities that would be permitted to the former slaves. Reminiscent of the slave codes that had existed on plantations in the antebellum era, the black codes covered a variety of measures ranging from where a freedman might live, what type of labor he might perform, and whether or not he could possess a firearm. Sometimes black codes included some type of community curfew stipulating the latest hour of the day that a freedman might be permitted to walk the streets. Freedmen who violated the terms of the black codes could be jailed; the number of blacks incarcerated in southern jails increased dramatically in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War.

Freedmen often found themselves the victims of community-sanctioned violence. In some cases this violence was carried out by organized groups like the Ku Klux Klan or the Knights of the White Camellia that sought to maintain white supremacy in the South, but the attacks on the freedmen also resulted from unorganized spontaneous mobs that carried out acts of vigilante justice with impunity. This behavior ranged from lynchings that occurred in the silence of the night to urban riots, like those that occurred in New Orleans, Louisiana, and Memphis, Tennessee, in broad daylight with the tacit approval of local police authorities. In addition, schools and churches that were working to help the former slaves

make the transition to freedom were often targeted for arson.

Congressional Reconstruction

The rise of black codes and the continuing intransigence of white southerners were the principal reasons Congress felt the need to act in 1867 and implement new reconstruction policies to protect the rights of the freedmen. Congress passed the first Reconstruction Act over the veto of President Andrew Johnson. It established five military districts in ten of the former Confederate states (Tennessee was excluded), and it appointed a major general to command troops that were assigned to each district. The military was used to impose martial law in the region and provide oversight while the states in the district made their way toward carrying out the reconstruction policies that were demanded by the Congress. These policies included the drafting of new state constitutions and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment (abolishing slavery) and the Fourteenth Amendment (making blacks U.S. citizens) to the U.S. Constitution.

The success or failure of congressional reconstruction hinged on use of the military to make southerners obey federal law. Since the president of the United States was the commander-in-chief of the nation's armed forces, and Congress feared that President Johnson would do everything in his power to halt or prevent the effectiveness of congressional reconstruction, Congress passed two measures to limit the powers of the president. Shortly after it enacted the first Reconstruction Act, the Congress passed the Command of the Army Act and the Tenure of Office Act. The first of these measures required that general orders the president submitted to commanders in the field had to be cleared first through the Army chief of staff, who, at the time, was General Ulysses S. Grant. The Congress did not believe that General Grant would permit any orders that weakened federal law to be passed along to commanders in the field. The Tenure of Office Act was a measure specifically designed to protect Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, who was a friend of the Radical Republicans in Congress who had drafted the congressional reconstruction policy. Believing that Johnson might try to fire Stanton to appoint a new secretary of war who was less inclined to support congressional reconstruction policy, the Congress said that any federal officer whose position required Senate consent for hiring purposes would also require Senate consent for dismissal from office. Although both of these measures were likely unconstitutional, and both were

intended to “trap” Andrew Johnson into violating a federal law, they were viewed as necessary by the Congress if the use of military forces in the South was to be maintained as part of congressional reconstruction policy.

When President Johnson took the bait and fired Secretary of War Stanton, the Congress voted to impeach the president for violating the Tenure of Office Act. Although he was spared removal from office by a margin of only one vote, a president with greatly diminished power and influence served out the remainder of his term until March 1869.

Congress revised its reconstruction policy to meet the changing circumstances that were occurring in the South. When it became clear that the voting rights of freedmen were not being honored in many parts of the former Confederacy, the Congress passed a Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granting black men the right to vote. The amendment was eventually ratified by the states and took effect in 1870.

A Dream Deferred

The rhetoric that supported the federal government’s commitment to reconstruction policy was always greater than the reality that affected the lives of the former slaves. The United States devoted only a decade to the implementation of congressional reconstruction efforts, with federal troops being sent into the South in 1867 and the last troops being withdrawn in the spring of 1877. Since the government’s removal of troops from the South was part of a political compromise engineered so that the Republicans could retain control of the presidency after the disputed election of 1876, the decision suggested that political expediency was a much greater concern than the government’s true dedication to the success of its reconstruction efforts in the South.

Congress had implemented reconstruction policy through federal legislation, approved three new constitutional amendments to extend civil liberties to the freedmen, and enacted far-reaching Civil Rights Acts in 1867 and in 1875, but all of these measures fell short of achieving their desired goals. During the political scandals of the Grant administration, the constant stream of negative publicity emanating from the South made the federal reconstruction efforts there appear to be just another national outrage, and political leaders lost the will to continue enforcing what appeared to be bad policy. By 1877 many of the same leaders who had crafted reconstruction policy were willing to turn their backs to the freedmen and walk away from their previ-

ous pledge of support. Emboldened southern states crafted legislation that weakened the protections specified in the constitutional amendments. Slavery was abolished, but the rise of a nefarious convict-lease system that some considered worse than slavery took its place, and voting rights of black citizens were eventually restricted through the adoption of poll taxes and literacy tests. The courts also served to diminish the protections that were guaranteed to freedmen as the Civil Rights Act of 1867 was weakened by decisions in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) and *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1875), and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was later declared unconstitutional in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883).

By the late nineteenth century, a code of strict racial segregation had descended upon the states of the former Confederacy as the so-called Jim Crow laws were adopted and enforced. Designed to keep the races in separate spheres and to diminish the social, economic, and political opportunities that were available to African American citizens, these laws remained in place until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. When the U.S. Supreme Court decided the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which held that a “separate but equal” policy did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, segregation in American society became seemingly institutionalized.

Making Do

Despite a bevy of federal laws that protected their civil rights, three new amendments to the U.S. Constitution, and the presence of federal military forces in the South, the freedmen had to devise much of their means of survival alone in the place where they found themselves. Since there was not a mass exodus of former slaves out of the South in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, most of the freedmen remained where they had lived and labored in the years preceding the war. As largely illiterate agricultural laborers, many of the freedmen recognized that they faced a future of limited possibilities. Most would remain in the South as farmers.

White landowners faced a peculiar situation in the aftermath of the Civil War. Having lost their slave labor force, the planters still needed to have individuals work the agricultural lands of southern plantations and farms, but this was difficult since the region was economically depressed and cash-poor at the time. The freedmen and the planters essentially needed one another, but they had to find the means to navigate the social and economic boundaries that separated them from one another.

A system of sharecropping emerged in which freedmen along with poor white farmers found themselves making labor contracts with southern landowners who needed to find agricultural laborers. Provided with a cabin on the plantation or estate, the freedmen would farm a section of the planter's land accepting a portion of the crop as his annual income with a significant portion of the crop going directly to the landowner. In return, the landowners extended credit to the sharecroppers when they needed to purchase supplies before their crops came due at harvest. In most respects, the sharecropping system was exploitative of freedmen to the advantage of southern landowners, but it was a system in which many slaves found that they could "make do" and survive as free people.

A Better Day

One of the stellar accomplishments of the Reconstruction era was that African American leaders emerged who proved that a previously enslaved group of people could rise to great heights in the United States. A number of elected officials in states across the South demonstrated the capability of African Americans. Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce both served in the U.S. Senate representing the state of Mississippi, and several African American congressmen were elected to the House of Representatives during the Reconstruction era. In Louisiana, P. B. S. Pinchback served that state as its acting-governor after political scandals had caused the removal of the elected governor.

A number of schools were established in the South to educate the children of former slaves, with some of the first such institutions being established under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. In addition, a large number of northern educators, many of whom became branded by the epithet "carpetbagger," came to the South during the Reconstruction era to help the blacks move from the backwardness of slavery to a better day through the promise of education. Charitable organizations like the American Missionary Association and philanthropic groups like the Peabody Trust invested heavily in supporting the creation of schools in the former Confederacy that would help to create opportunities for African Americans. Within a few years historically black colleges and universities began to take shape as Fisk University, Atlanta University, and the Tuskegee Institute.

Black soldiers who had been given an opportunity to prove themselves during the final years of the Civil War continued to serve the nation in uniform. Regiments of black cavalry and infantry, who became

known as the "Buffalo Soldiers," participated in the settlement of the western frontier during the late nineteenth century and distinguished themselves. Even though black soldiers remained confined to segregated units and had to serve under white officers, service in the military continued to be an avenue for African Americans to prove their abilities and to demonstrate their commitment to the ideals and values of American society.

In the years following the Civil War, the African American church played a fundamental role in the social and cultural survival of the freedmen. Living in a world of uncertainty where the terror of slavery transitioned into the new terror of community-sanctioned violence, a people who were rootless in so many respects found stability and permanence in the African American church. Through prayer and through song the church community found a common bond in the stories of the Hebrew people who stood up to the Pharaoh and made their way to freedom in a promised land. The spirituals they sang were grounded in the real experiences of a long-suffering people who held out hope for a better world and a better tomorrow.

Slavery: A Postmortem

The United States of America is the only nation in the history of the world that ever fought a civil war to end slavery. Did it have to happen that way? Societies have used slavery throughout human history, and the practice has appeared and disappeared generally on the basis of market forces in most of its settings. Some, including Abraham Lincoln, had believed that economic forces would lead to the end of slavery in the United States, but the onset of the Civil War and Lincoln's eventual decision to emancipate the slaves made the earlier prediction purely academic.

It is true that the Civil War was caused by a variety of reasons, of which slavery was just one, but as the war progressed the disposition of the slavery question increasingly became a central issue. Union forces quickly learned that it was impossible to enter a slaveholding region without causing hundreds of slaves to flee to the federal lines seeking freedom, and the awkward characterization of "contraband of war" did not suffice. Slaves were people and not property.

The United States ended slavery in a unique fashion. Neither the Emancipation Proclamation nor the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution incorporated any element of gradualism into the method that was used to abolish the institution of slavery. Slavery was abolished immediately. In spite of peculiar

oddities, like the slaves in Galveston, Texas, not learning of emancipation until June 19, 1865, a date celebrated as “Juneteenth” since that time, emancipation came quickly once it was the established policy of the nation. No efforts to institute a transition period or a form of apprenticeship were even considered.

In addition, the emancipation that was effected in the United States was a form of uncompensated emancipation. Those southerners who owned the more than 4 million slaves who were set free earned no financial remuneration at the time of emancipation. Freedom for the slaves represented a financial loss of immense proportions for slaveholding southerners. Although one can question the morality of slaveownership itself and argue that no one who owned a fellow human being was entitled to any form of compensation, the financial loss to the slaveholders still remains. Having participated in what was until then a lawful enterprise, many southerners who had most of their wealth invested in slaves found themselves practically destitute because of emancipation.

Compensation was denied to both the slaveowner and the slave. In giving no financial assistance to the freed slaves, the United States was granting freedom but not opportunity for success. The idea of providing “forty acres and a mule” was much too socialistic a policy for lawmakers to advocate at the time, but even Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania could not convince his fellow Radical Republicans to endorse a reparations bill that he introduced in the Con-

gress in March 1867. If the United States was sincere about helping the former slaves to transition toward freedom, it seems extremely short-sighted that they were not given greater financial assistance in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War.

The path of slavery’s demise was not well crafted in the United States, and much of the ill will created during the Reconstruction era served to create a racial divide in American society that has persisted into the modern era. Although the abolition of slavery was a noble achievement, the formation of a segregated society based on Jim Crow justice and institutional racism was an unfortunate consequence of emancipation and its aftermath. Only a renewed commitment by the Courts and by Congress during the civil rights movement of the twentieth century would begin to remedy the lingering influence that slavery and segregation held upon American society.

We cannot undo decisions today that were made in the 1860s, nor can we change the spiteful history that has taken place from the time of the Civil War to the present. It is all too easy to revert to the passive mantra “mistakes were made” to condemn historical forebears who did not have the vision or the capacity to see that their decisions might have long-term ramifications that would adversely affect the nation for subsequent generations. Slavery was and remains one of the central elements in our conflicted national history. We are all products of that history and we must all reckon with our past.

Entries



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ABLEMAN V. BOOTH (1859)

Sherman M. Booth, the editor of a small antislavery newspaper, became the subject of several related legal cases resulting from the recapture (and subsequent escape) of a fugitive slave named Joshua Glover. The Supreme Court case (62 U.S. 506), decided in March 1859, followed in the wake of multiple cases flowing out of the conflict between the Wisconsin state courts and the federal courts, including *In re Booth*, 3 Wis. 1 (1854); *U.S. v. Rycraft*, 27 F. Cas. 918 (1854); *U.S. ex rel. Garland v. Morris*, 26 F. Cas. 1318 (1854); and *In re Booth and Rycraft*, 3 Wis 157 (1855).

Joshua Glover had fled his Missouri owner and resettled in Racine, Wisconsin. His owner, Benjamin Garland, found him in 1854 and tried to recapture him. Garland utilized the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 to have a federal commissioner issue a warrant for Glover's arrest. When Glover was imprisoned, abolitionist forces surrounded the Milwaukee jail and clamored for his release. Racine's mayor issued a warrant for Garland's arrest for having kidnapped Glover. Meanwhile, a mob attacked the Milwaukee jail and freed Glover, who promptly fled to Canada. The supposed leaders of the mob, Booth and John Rycraft, were arrested and charged for their role in allegedly rescuing Glover.

As a result of differing attitudes toward runaway slaves, conflict between the Wisconsin state and U.S. federal courts was almost inevitable. Booth and Rycraft were convicted in federal trials for assisting a fugitive

slave but appealed to the state court for relief. The Wisconsin Supreme Court decided, in *In re Booth and Rycraft*, that the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional, and ordered the release of Booth and Rycraft from jail. The state court's decision was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which decided in *Ableman v. Booth* that federal courts could not be overruled by state courts: to do so "would subvert the very foundations of this Government." The case also upheld the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which had been a portion of the Compromise of 1850, saying that, in Chief Justice Taney's words, "in all its provisions" the law was "fully authorized by the Constitution."

The Wisconsin court decision was part of a broader trend in which northern state courts obstructed the recapture of runaway slaves. Earlier cases, like *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), had relied on state-sponsored personal liberty laws, which placed stringent requirements on any person attempting to claim a fugitive slave. Combat between state and federal courts mirrored the increasing sectional tension felt in the late antebellum period. During the conflict, the Wisconsin Supreme Court went so far as to instruct its clerk not to send a copy of the *Ableman v. Booth* case to the U.S. Supreme Court, as had been requested after it pronounced the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional. Acts like this did much to damage relations between the North and the South in the period immediately preceding the Civil War. Only the Civil War resolved the differing interpretations between state and federal courts over the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

— Sally E. Hadden

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Compromise of 1850; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *Jones v. Van Zandt*; *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*; Taney, Roger B.; United States Constitution.

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ABOLITIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The seeds of nineteenth-century abolitionism were planted in the eighteenth century, when the American Enlightenment intersected in time with the First Great Awakening (1720–1770). The first American Anti-Slavery Society was established in Pennsylvania in 1775, about the time that Lockean ideas were causing Englishmen in North America to identify their own status as one of "slavery." But if an ideological "window of opportunity" for abolishing slavery characterized the revolutionary era, it was never open very far or very long. By 1800, only New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and a few other northern states had ended slavery, some gradually and via court opinions. State emancipation was unthinkable in the South, which rewarded black participation in the American Revolutionary War with promises of manumission (usually granted).

The problem with eighteenth-century abolitionism in the United States was less economic than ideological. A few patriots, such as Patrick Henry (who called plantation labor "inconvenient" without slavery) and Thomas Jefferson (who complained that debt prevented him from freeing his slaves), linked slavery's survival to financial factors. But even Jefferson expressed the kind of philosophical objections to the concept of an interracial nation that were widely shared in the North and South before the Civil War and that led to the most popular form of antislavery activity between 1800 and 1830: colonization. Jefferson wrote that blacks were equal in their capacity for moral sense but unequal in intelligence, creativity, courage, or imagination, and prone to insurrection with their justified (but dangerous) resentment.

Whether "north of slavery" or south, Americans believed that free blacks would have to be prepared for years before enjoying equality (if ever), and that segregation and disenfranchisement would have to be their lot for the foreseeable future. Colonization offered a way out of both slavery and inequality, and some of the nation's most renowned leaders (Henry Clay, John Marshall, James Madison, and Francis Scott Key) considered it to be the necessary precursor and handmaiden to abolition.

Historians have differed over the wellsprings of the militant, uncompromising, and urgent form of abolitionism that arose in America after 1830, associated with William Lloyd Garrison, editor of *The Liberator*. There is little doubt that Garrison's 1831 call for an immediate end to slavery (if necessary through violence and northern secession) reflected the confidence in human perfectibility redolent of nineteenth-century romanticism and the instrumentalist features of the Second Great Awakening (1790s–1830s). It is also possible that slavery offended northern Victorian feelings about hearth and home, especially after the most famous and popular antislavery polemic, Harriet B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), cast slavery as an assault on the integrity of the family.

But other candidates for the catalyst to militant anti-slavery have been proposed. According to David Donald in the 1950s, the abolitionists were financially strapped economic outsiders seeking material success from the launching pad of abolition. A generation later, Leonard Richards suggested that the abolitionists were upward bound in status and threatening to the best and the brightest of the local elites who led antiabolition mobs in opposition. More recently (2001), the argument has returned to religiosity and psychology as the motive. John Stauffer argues that abolition allowed some to construct a "performative self" as millennial outsider that belied their material success, a role that they wanted to fill as they waited for the Second Coming that they believed was at hand. Identifying with the outsider, white abolitionists argued that whites must adopt "black hearts" to gain the understanding that was a prerequisite for an interracial society.

The impact of the abolitionists on the coming of the Civil War can easily be exaggerated. Once *Uncle Tom's Cabin* moved the slavery issue to the center of the nation's political agenda, abolitionism began to recede as a potent political force. The antislavery movement was plagued by both a deep division within its ranks and an ugly racism, which kept surfacing as a divisive issue. In addition to Richards's antiabolition mobs, many northerners simply felt that the abolitionists' position was incompatible with the continuation

of the Union and inconsistent with the Constitution. Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans certainly occupied this category.

In 1859 abolitionist John Brown attacked the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, vowing to “purge” the nation’s slavery “sins” in blood. Tied to the attack in leadership and financing, the abolitionists symbolically shared Brown’s actual fate: they destroyed themselves as a force capable of accomplishing emancipation. The events at Harpers Ferry accelerated the slide toward war, but toward a war to destroy, or save, the Union—not to destroy slavery. The abolition movement contributed mightily to a sense of crisis that brought slavery to the forefront of the American people’s attention. But when slavery was finally abolished, it was through the agency of the Civil War and the Thirteenth Amendment, not the abolitionist pen, press, or sword. Abolitionism could not write the coda to the Civil War era because it was too much a part of the painful story itself.

— Richard A. Reiman

See also: American Colonization Society; Brown, John; Garrison, William Lloyd; Harpers Ferry Raid.

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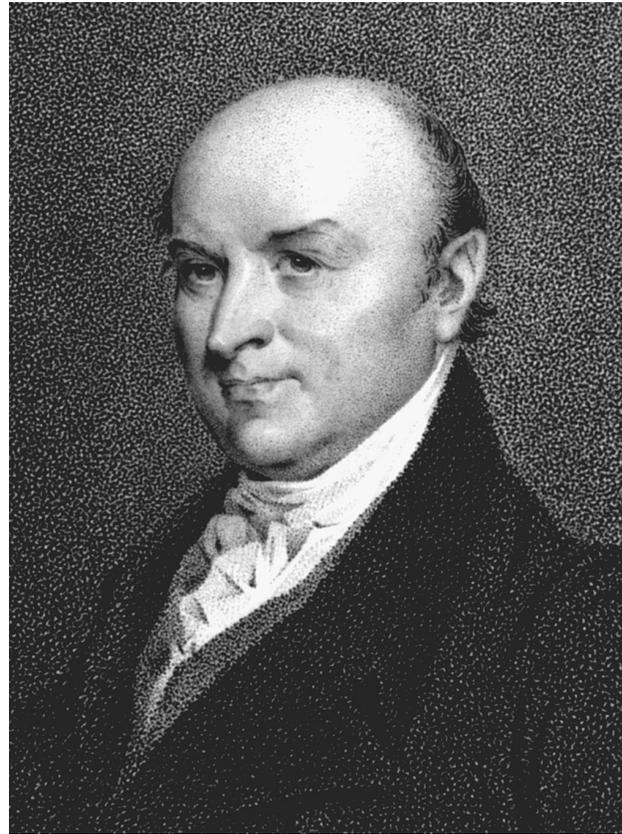
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JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767–1848)

The sixth president, son of the second president, and a statesman with a long and varied public service record, John Quincy Adams spent much of his postpresidential career opposing the institution of American slavery in numerous ways. As a congressman, he took a strong stance against the proslavery “gag rule,” and as an attorney he argued for Africans’ rights in the *Amistad* case before the Supreme Court.

Adams was president from 1825 to 1829, but the real beginning of his public antislavery efforts came after he lost his bid for reelection in 1828. All his life, Adams had



Ardently opposed to the institution of slavery, former president John Quincy Adams defended the *Amistad* captives by arguing their cause before the U.S. Supreme Court. (Library of Congress)

personally objected to slavery as immoral and repugnant to the republican tradition of America’s founding, but he also realized that the issue was explosive enough to splinter the Union. In 1820, while serving as secretary of state, Adams watched apprehensively as Congress resolved the controversy surrounding Missouri’s admission to the Union by dividing the United States into free and slaveholding territory. Privately, Adams remarked that “if the Union must be dissolved, Slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break” (Richards, 1986). Since he hoped to be president and knew that no candidate voicing such opinions could win election, Adams kept his convictions to himself until after his presidency. At that time, Adams did not retire quietly to his Massachusetts farm. Instead, he did what no other ex-president has done: he went to Congress in 1831 and represented the Plymouth, Massachusetts, district in the House of Representatives for the last seventeen years of his life. There Adams battled the notorious gag rule.

The gag rule was an attempt to silence one means of antislavery sentiment. It forbade the presentation of

antislavery petitions, or written pleas for the demise of slavery signed by private citizens, to Congress. The antislavery petitioners were often women, free blacks, or even slaves, none of whom could vote; instead, they used petitions to participate in political life. Therefore, the gag rule not only stifled debate, but it barred segments of the American population from access to the political process and violated the First Amendment right to petition. On these grounds, Adams used his fabled eloquence and obstructionist tactics to attack the gag rule in the House of Representatives. Every week, he arrived at his desk with piles of antislavery petitions and rose to read them in spite of the insults, accusations, and censure to which other congressmen subjected him. Adams prevailed, and in 1844 the gag rule was revoked.

Adams further supported the antislavery cause by serving as counsel for the defense in the *Amistad* case (1841), a critical antebellum Supreme Court case. On June 28, 1839, the Spanish ship, the *Amistad*, sailed from Havana, Cuba, with a cargo of fifty-three Africans to be sold as slaves in Puerto Principe. Four nights later, the Africans freed themselves from their irons, mutinied, killed the ship's captain and cook, sent two crewmen overboard, and instructed two surviving crewmen to sail for Africa. The crewmen had other ideas, and the *Amistad* landed at Long Island, New York, on August 26. The Africans were jailed and charged with mutiny and murder. Meanwhile, the Spanish government claimed them as property and demanded their return. The case moved from district court to circuit court, arriving before the Supreme Court in late 1840. Antislavery advocates took an interest in the case and convinced Adams to defend the *Amistad* Africans. Adams hesitated, partly because he had not practiced law in years and partly because he was afraid his own heated emotions about the case would prevent him from carrying out the defense in a cool, rational manner. In his diary, Adams worried about how to "defeat and expose the abominable conspiracy" against the *Amistad* Africans, while simultaneously managing to "escape the imminent danger of . . . overheated zeal . . . and losing my self-possession" (Adams, 1874). Adams addressed the Court for over four hours on February 24, 1841, and again on March 1, presenting arguments that ranged from the minute wording of shipping laws to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. On March 9, 1841, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney not only found the Africans innocent of murder and piracy, but he also ruled that they were free and should be allowed to

return to Africa. The Africans sailed for Sierra Leone in November 1841, to serve as missionaries.

With the *Amistad* case won, Adams devoted his efforts to his congressional duties, which he continued for the rest of his life. Adams was at his desk in the House of Representatives on February 21, 1848, when he suffered a stroke. He died two days later.

— Chandra M. Manning

See also: *Amistad* Case; Gag Resolution; Missouri Compromise; Taney, Roger B.

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AFRICAN BURIAL GROUND

The African Burial Ground, historically known as the Negro Burial Ground, is located in the Manhattan borough of New York City, New York. The burial ground was used primarily by the African population of colonial New York as a cemetery from approximately 1712 until 1795. It is estimated that some ten thousand to twenty thousand people were buried in this six-acre plot of land.

The African presence in New York was initiated in 1626 when the Dutch West Indies Company imported its first shipment of slaves, eleven men from today's Congo-Angola region of Africa, to New Amsterdam. By 1644, 40 percent of the colony's population consisted of enslaved Africans. In the mid-1770s New York had the second-highest number of enslaved Africans of any English colonial settlement and the highest ratio of slaves to Europeans of any northern settlement. Africans played a critical role in the foundation, building, and functioning of colonial New York.

New York City adopted a policy of mortuary segregation in November 1697, and thus blacks were forced

to look for an alternative place rather than Lower Manhattan churchyards to bury their dead. An area of common land outside the city limits was chosen. The first known historical reference to Africans burying their dead in the common land is in a letter written by Chaplain John Sharpe in 1712. Soon after, the Negro Burial Ground began to appear on local maps and is referred to in contemporary land surveys.

In 1798 the African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded by Peter Williams, a black tobacconist and former sexton. African New York residents and their descendants now had a place to bury their dead on sacred soil. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the city's population growth led to a northward expansion, and the blocks overlying the burial ground were divided into lots for commercial and residential development. By the end of the nineteenth century, the burial ground was entirely paved or built over and all but forgotten, with the exception of notation in a few historical maps and documents.

In December 1990, the federal government purchased land from the city of New York to construct a thirty-four-story office tower. The environmental impact statement for the site identified the area as a section of the Negro Burial Ground. It was initially predicted that any archaeological remnants were destroyed by nineteenth- and twentieth-century construction. Archaeological testing began in May 1991 to determine if there were any remaining human burials. From September 1991 through July 1992, the remains of 419 individuals, approximately 93 percent African and 7 percent European and Native American, were excavated from a small section of the burial ground. This assemblage constitutes the earliest and largest collection of African American remains discovered during archaeological research to date.

Excavation of the site created an intersection of clashing philosophical, political, and ethical perspectives. A struggle ensued to determine whether the spiritual, historical, scientific, or business value of the property would be prioritized and who would control the destiny of the excavated remains and artifacts. An African-descendant community joined with politicians and other concerned citizens to gain control of the fate of the burial ground. Representatives teamed with scientists to create a research design. Four goals were outlined: origins of the population; physical quality of life; biological and cultural transition from African to African American identities, and modes of resistance (LaRoche and Blakey, 1997). Howard University scholars, directed by Dr. Michael Blakey, analyzed the physical remains.

Analysis of the physical remains revealed how socioeconomic conditions affected the health of the enslaved Africans and provided insight into their ethnic identities. Approximately 40 percent of the individuals excavated were children, many under two years old. Child and adult skeletons exhibited signs of malnutrition, disease, and hard labor. Arthritis, rickets, and anemia were common. Skull and spinal fractures and abnormalities from carrying heavy loads were also found. The children exhibited an abnormally high rate of birth defects (Mack and Hill, 1995). Dental problems, resulting from poor nutrition and a limited diet, were common. One female was found with a musket ball in her ribs, her death caused by the gunshot. One individual was recovered with an autopsied skull and may have been reinterred after an autopsy by local medical students who exhumed bodies from the burial ground for research in the late eighteenth century. As a whole, the physical remains point to physically demanding lives, poor nutrition, and premature deaths.

Many of the individuals were buried facing east, the direction of Africa and Mecca. Artifacts recovered from the burials were relatively few, probably reflecting the minimal economic standing of those who made use of the cemetery. Approximately five hundred sixty artifacts were found, consisting mostly of shroud pins. Artifacts consistent with traditional West African cultural practices, such as coins placed on eyelids, seashells to return the dead symbolically back across the seas, and glass beads were found in some burials. Some skeletons have filed teeth, which follows a contemporary coming-of-age ritual practiced in some West African cultures. In total, 155 beads were recovered at the burial ground. One adult female with glass and cowry waistbeads and a bracelet was found; dental modification suggests that she was probably born in Africa. A fired glass bead was found at another burial site; its discovery was highly significant because fired glass bead-making is an African tradition and the bead is one of very few artifacts excavated at a diasporal site that can be directly tied to Africa.

The African Burial Ground received National Historic Landmark status on April 19, 1993. The skeletons were reinterred on October 4, 2003. A memorial is located at the site.

— *Lori Lee*

See also: Arts and Crafts.

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AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC) is the oldest black religious denomination in the United States. It includes more than eight thousand churches in twenty-nine countries, and its membership exceeds 3.5 million people. The AMEC dates from 1787 and grew out of the Free African Society, an altruistic self-help organization founded by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. The history of the AMEC is testimony to the efforts of slaves in the United States to establish places of worship for themselves.

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church became one of the most important social and cultural institutions within the free-black community in the United States, but its history also speaks of the virulent racism that often prevented white Christians from living their creed. In 1787 a small group of black Christians walked out of St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, because newly imposed segregated practices forced blacks to sit in the balcony, away from white Christians. One November Sunday in 1787, Richard Allen and other black members of the congregation were being led to their segregated seats when the minister began praying. The group of blacks knelt to pray, but the usher tried to remove them from the area because it was reserved for whites. The indignant black people—Allen, Absalom Jones, Dorus Ginnings, William White, as well as Jane Ann Murray and Sarah Dougherty—walked out of the unwelcoming church.

After leaving the sanctuary of St. George Methodist Episcopal Church, Richard Allen and his associates

formed the Free African Society, “a mutual-aid association with a participatory decision-making process [where] voting was the mechanism for making decisions” (Dodson, 2002). The society served as a catalyst for, but not as an example of, the church that would follow because the society was egalitarian, with women as voting and dues-paying members. Meetings were held at Dougherty’s home. However, the men adopted the European American Methodist polity for the church, and this structure disempowered women.

In 1787 Allen purchased a plot of land from Mark Wilcox, a transaction that marks the oldest parcel of real estate owned continuously by black people in the United States. Future church buildings would be erected on this location at Sixth Street and Lombard. Allen also purchased an abandoned blacksmith shop for \$35 from a man named Sims and hauled it with a team of six horses to the newly acquired lot. By 1794, the former slave Richard Allen had founded his own church, Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia. Born a slave in 1760 in that same city, he was owned by Benjamin Chews, chief justice of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, a Quaker lawyer who later sold Allen to a man named Stokley Sturgis in Dover, Delaware. Richard Allen purchased his own freedom in 1780 for two-thousand dollars, became a traveling preacher, returned to Philadelphia, and joined St. George’s, where he was often permitted to preach an early morning service.

Paternalistic meddling in Bethel Church’s affairs by the leaders of St. George, who apparently saw their church as the mother church, soon ended when Richard Allen solicited the help of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Robert Ralston, and attorney David Brown to secure a charter for him and his congregation. The request required a special act of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania’s legislature to obtain such a charter, but in 1796 Bethel became an independent organization and adopted the name African Methodist Episcopal Church. The congregation used the small church renovated from the blacksmith shop for eleven years until 1805 when a second church was erected. This new church was the site of the first AME convention held in April 1816. During this meeting, on April 11, 1816, Allen was ordained a bishop by his old friend Absalom Jones, now a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Bethel AME Church was the only institution for black Methodists in America until 1816. The example set by Allen and his congregation encouraged other black people who were insulted and rejected by white Christians, and in 1816 these groups began to withdraw from other Methodist Episcopal churches. The

question of a separate independent church was the topic at the April 1816 convention, and those attending resolved that black people wanting to unite with the African Methodists could do so regardless of their location. They would become one body known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The AME Church's constitution and bylaws have not always reflected the egalitarian principles on which it was founded. In 1809 the first woman to request a license to preach, Mrs. Jarena Lee, brought her petition to the mother church in Philadelphia. She was denied a license but returned in 1817, and received approval to carry on her activities but without formal recognition. She was free to hold prayer meetings. Women did not stop petitioning for equity. The question of licensing women to preach came before the 1844 Conference and again in 1848, 1852, 1864, 1868, 1874, 1888, 1893, 1896, and 1900. Each petition was denied; however, the churchmen recognized the power women, who constituted the majority of the congregations and provided invaluable services, represented. Thus they created stewardess positions in 1868 and posts for female evangelists in 1888, and authorized the Women's Missionary Mite Society in 1874. The male hierarchy refused to relinquish its power for as long as possible without losing the women's support. The tenacity of the women members forced amendments to the church structure. On March 5, 1953, the official name of the first church became Mother Bethel, and women were permitted to participate in the business of the corporation. On April 8, 1957, Mrs. Willie V. Simpkins was elected to the board of trustees, and on July 11, 2000, the election of the first woman, Vashti Murphy McKenzie, as AME bishop took place.

From its beginnings, the AMEC and its congregations worked for the freedom of African American slaves. During slavery in the United States, the AMEC was a voice for abolition, and Bethel became a waystation on the Underground Railroad, a covert network that helped slaves escape from the South. Bethel AME Church's basement sheltered many runaway slaves, and the congregation collected large sums of money to feed and clothe those seeking freedom. Prominent abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass and Lucretia Mott, denounced slavery from the church's pulpit.

Today the AMEC thrives, employing ninety people at its national headquarters in Washington, D.C., and managing a budget in excess of \$5.8 million. A large portion of the budget goes toward education. The AMEC stood at the forefront of providing education to former slaves, establishing Wilberforce University, the first black private college in the United States in 1856, in Ohio; Edward Waters College (1866) in Jack-

sonville, Florida; Allen University (1870) in Columbia, South Carolina; Paul-Quinn College (1872) in Waco, Texas; Morris Brown College (1881) in Atlanta, Georgia; Shorter College (1886) in North Little Rock, Arkansas; Western University (1881–1948) in Quindaro, Kansas; and Payne Theological Seminary (1884) in Wilberforce, Ohio. The AME Church's role in the fight against slavery and in the effort to educate and raise the status of former slaves is perhaps surpassed only by the American Missionary Association, a group with which AMEC worked closely.

— *Nagueyalti Warren*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Allen, Richard; American Missionary Association; Underground Railroad.

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ALABAMA PLATFORM

The Alabama Platform, an important statement of the southern perspective on slavery in the territories, was first presented to the Alabama Democratic Party Convention in 1848. Facing attacks on the institution of slavery in the form of the Wilmot Proviso and the idea of popular sovereignty, Alabama Democrats set forth the southern view of the sanctity of slave property under the U.S. Constitution.

In an impassioned speech to the assembled delegates, Williams Lowndes Yancey outlined the principles of the Alabama Platform, in which he argued that no territory that outlawed slavery could prevent citizens from the slave states from settling with property, including slaves (Potter, 1976). Furthermore, Yancey believed that Congress had a constitutional responsibility to protect the property of slaveowners

nationwide. Therefore, “territory acquired by common suffering, blood, and toil” could not be restricted by either Congress or territorial legislatures (Potter, 1976). If the national Democratic Party Convention did not support these principles, Yancey called for Alabama delegates to leave the convention. The platform gained wide support across the South, was officially supported by the Democratic conventions of Florida and Virginia, and was sanctioned by the Georgia and Alabama legislatures.

Sectional tensions were high at the Democratic Convention in Baltimore, and the party adopted a platform that did not directly address slavery. Yancey interpreted this silence to mean that party leaders were not concerned about southern interests. The convention also nominated Michigan Senator Lewis Cass, one of the foremost advocates of popular sovereignty, for the presidency. When that occurred, Yancey left the convention, but the remainder of the Alabama delegation remained, in defiance of its instructions.

At the 1860 Democratic Convention in Charleston, South Carolina, the Alabama Platform again contributed to internal party debates on the future of slavery. Again, Alabama Democrats, as well as those from the other Lower South states, had been instructed to leave the convention if a plank safeguarding slavery and slave property were not adopted in the platform. When the convention adopted a platform without such a provision, delegates from Alabama, Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia, and South Carolina left in protest. In a subsequent convention, the southern wing of the party united behind John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Adherence to the Alabama Platform in 1860 split the Democratic Party and served as a warning to the nation that secession over the issue of slavery was imminent.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Popular Sovereignty; Wilmot Proviso; Yancey, William Lowndes.

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RICHARD ALLEN (1760–1831)

Born a slave in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Richard Allen grew up during the American Revolutionary War era. This period was directly influenced by philosophies promoting citizen’s rights, religious freedom, and a bur-

geoning antislavery movement. After purchasing his freedom, Allen worked as a preacher, in addition to being a business and community leader. Ultimately he became founder, minister, and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Allen dedicated his life to the support of civil rights, racial equality, and the economic freedom of black people.

Richard Allen was born on February 14, 1760. His mother, father, and three siblings were owned by a Philadelphia lawyer named Benjamin Chew. In 1768 Chew sold the family to Stokely Sturgis, a plantation owner and farmer in Delaware. At the age of seventeen Allen and his brother, with the permission of Sturgis, began to attend Methodist meetings, leading Allen to join the Methodist Society and formally convert to Methodism in 1777.

At the society, Allen learned to read and write. He also began to preach at the society meetings. Other slaveowners feared that these assemblies where slaves embraced religion would make them less willing servants. Therefore Allen and his brother worked to ensure that their work in the fields was completed without interruption. Although Sturgis sold and divided his family at this time, he soon allowed Allen to hold Methodist meetings at his home. Influenced by these meetings, Sturgis also converted to Methodism in 1780, and he soon declared a moral opposition to owning slaves. He then offered Allen and his brother the chance to purchase their freedom for \$2,000. They worked approximately five years as bricklayers, woodcutters, and wagon drivers to raise the money.

As he worked to pay for his freedom, Allen began a spiritual sojourn as an itinerant preacher, and he addressed black and white congregations at Methodist churches in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Although he lacked a formal education, he worked diligently to acquire and refine the social skills that would help him to solidify his leadership attributes.

In 1786, at the request of the white Methodist ministry, Allen accepted an invitation to preach at St. George’s Church to a mixed-race congregation in Philadelphia. He quickly increased the church’s black membership, resulting in the church elders agreeing to erect a balcony in the sanctuary. They also chose to limit the number of services that blacks could attend, and insisted that they be segregated to the balcony seating area. When Allen approached the elders about establishing a separate church for the black congregants, they opposed the idea.

On April 12, 1787, Allen and the Reverend Absalom Jones founded the Free African Society, a nondenominational association dedicated to the abolition of slavery and racial hatred. Allen’s commitment to the prin-



Richard Allen with other early leaders of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. (Library of Congress)

principles of Methodism led him to eventually leave the society. During a service at St. George's, Reverend Jones decided to challenge the segregated seating plan by occupying the front of the church. In the middle of prayer the elders asked Jones to return to the balcony. Allen and the other members who were already seated in the balcony then left St. George's in unison.

The movement for a separate and independent black church was gaining momentum. In 1794 the Free African Society founded the African Church of Philadelphia. As a result of the treatment of blacks at the Methodist church, this group became part of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On July 29, 1794, a blacksmith shop owned by Allen in Philadelphia was officially dedicated as Bethel African Church (also called Mother Bethel). It is the oldest piece of land in the United States continuously owned by blacks.

Allen was soon named Bethel's deacon, and he began a fight with white Methodist leaders who tried to take control of the church. In 1807 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that since the congregation owned the land on which they worshiped, they had

the authority to decide who preached there. This ruling led to the formation of many African Methodist churches in the northeastern United States. The court granted Bethel independent status on January 1, 1816. At the convention of sixteen independent congregations later that year in Philadelphia, these churches united under the name African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. They now gained autonomy from white Methodist doctrines and jurisdiction. Allen was ordained an elder and became the first bishop of the new denomination on April 11, 1816.

Allen and the AME Church have played a crucial role in black history. The first members were poor people, and many were not able to read or write. Allen started night school classes in order to educate the local membership. The fundamentals of the African Society for the Education of Youth program that he founded and created still resonate today with the AME Church's operation of several colleges and universities throughout this country.

Frederick Douglass spoke against slavery from Bethel's pulpit. It also served as a stop on the Under-

ground Railroad, providing comfort and shelter to fugitive slaves. Allen used his position to publish articles and deliver sermons against slavery, racism, and oppression. Other religious groups have historical origins related to ideological or theological ideals, but the AME Church was founded on the principles of nondiscrimination, social justice, and economic development for blacks in the United States.

The AME Church migrated to Haiti and Canada by 1830. Today membership is estimated at 1.2 million persons, with thousands of congregations in twenty-nine countries worldwide. Richard Allen remained pastor and bishop of Bethel AME Church until his death on March 26, 1831.

— Anthony Todman

See also: Absalom; African Methodist Episcopal Church; Underground Railroad.

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ALTON (ILLINOIS) OBSERVER

The Alton *Observer* was one of the most famous antislavery newspapers published in the Midwest, and its association with martyred publisher Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1802–1837) made the publication symbolic of freedom of the press in American life. Lovejoy published the *Observer* in Alton, a river town in Madison County, Illinois, from July 1836 until his death at the hands of an antiabolition mob in November 1837.

Before he moved his press to Alton, Lovejoy published the *Observer* in St. Louis, Missouri. The first edition appeared on November 21, 1833, to mixed reviews. As a Presbyterian minister turned editor, Lovejoy focused largely on religious themes in his newspaper, and the early issues of his weekly paper displayed a decidedly anti-Catholic bias. The focus of the *Observer*

shifted as did the editor's interests, and by 1835 it was clear that Lovejoy's publication had taken a strong antislavery stance.

The Midwest was certainly not a bastion of abolition sympathy in the 1830s, and operating an antislavery press in Missouri, a slave state, was a risky venture. Even though the mercantile and urbane interests of St. Louis proper did not rely solely on slavery, there were critics within the city who found Lovejoy's publications to be at odds with the community's standards. When Lovejoy took a two-week break from his duties to attend to business outside of St. Louis, the assistant editor of the *Observer* noted in the October 8, 1835, issue that the publication would not publish antislavery materials while Lovejoy was away.

Lovejoy was not unaware of the antipathy the *Observer* faced in St. Louis, but he believed that the larger principle of freedom of the press stood in the balance if he allowed himself to be silenced by the antiabolition mobs. In an editorial published on November 5, 1835, he wrote, "The truth is, my fellow-citizens, if we give ground a single inch, there is no stopping place. I deem it, therefore, my duty to stand upon the Constitution."

Lovejoy used the pages of the *Observer* to respond to his critics in St. Louis, but the growing litany of antiabolition sentiment convinced the editor that neither his publication nor his family was safe in Missouri. On July 21, 1836, Lovejoy announced his intention to move the *Observer* to Alton, Illinois, where he would continue the publication of the antislavery newspaper from the safe confines of a free state. Although Illinois was a free state, the southern portion of the state did contain a substantial number of proslavery sympathizers.

Despite the critics, the *Observer* did boast a significant number of subscribers in both Missouri and Illinois. By September 1837, Lovejoy claimed that more than twenty-one hundred subscribers received his weekly newspaper. Lovejoy believed that the community of Alton, which contained many pioneer settlers who had New England roots, would be a more supportive community from which one might openly espouse antislavery sympathies.

The move from St. Louis to Alton did not completely alleviate the problems that Lovejoy had faced from antiabolition critics. Essentially he had moved his press across the Mississippi River, but only about 30 miles upstream from St. Louis. The enemies that Lovejoy had accumulated during his time in St. Louis were still close enough to harass his press once it relocated to Alton, Illinois.

Lovejoy's press was destroyed on three occasions by antiabolition mobs that wanted to silence any criticism of slavery, but with the help of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, Lovejoy was able to replace each destroyed press with a new one. He vowed that he would not be silenced. In addition, Lovejoy's views as an abolitionist grew bolder. On July 6, 1837, he wrote an editorial calling for a statewide meeting to form the Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society, and by October 26 such an organization had been formed at a meeting held in Alton. This action proved to be too much for Lovejoy's critics.

Elijah Parish Lovejoy was murdered in Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837, as he defended the arrival of his fourth press. An armed mob stormed the warehouse where Lovejoy and about twenty supporters had gathered to defend the new press from the enemies who had vowed to destroy it.

After Lovejoy's death, the *Alton Observer* was published from December 28, 1837, to April 19, 1838, in Cincinnati, Ohio. The newspaper was edited by E. W. Chester, who also published the *Cincinnati Journal*.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Antiabolition Riots; Lovejoy, Elijah P.

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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

The American Anti-Slavery Society became the single largest and most influential organization against slavery up to the end of the Civil War. Arguing that slavery was a sin of national proportions, not just a southern one, the society drew support from a range of racial, social, and economic backgrounds and produced millions of newspapers, pamphlets, and books as part of its effort to abolish slavery. In addition to drawing heavily from interdenominational developments within the evangelical movement, the society published *The Emancipator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. It also had former slaves such as

Frederick Douglass give speeches in an attempt to expose the wrongs of slavery.

Begun in Philadelphia on December 4, 1833, at a three-day organizational meeting, the American Anti-Slavery Society was a diverse, national organization that brought together sixty-three delegates from ten states and was exclusively devoted to promoting immediate emancipation. Led by William Lloyd Garrison, the meeting joined New Englanders such as John Greenleaf Whittier with financially successful, conservative abolitionists such as Arthur and Lewis Tappan and William Jay, men who were not necessarily in complete agreement with Garrison's notion of "immediatism" but who nevertheless joined its ranks. The society also included twenty-one Quakers, four women, and three black participants—James G. Barbadoes of Boston, Robert Purvis, and James McCrummell of Philadelphia. Although these three participants were involved in the proceedings and later signed various documents relating to the society's purpose and organization, they were not considered delegates.

The delegates to the Philadelphia conference opposed the colonization movement, which aimed at relocating blacks to Liberia, and denounced gradual anti-slavery movements as false or ineffective. As stated in the Constitution it drafted in Philadelphia, the primary object of the society was "the entire abolition of slavery in the United States" (AASS, 1833). Although the society recognized state's rights to legislate in regard to abolition, it nevertheless sought to effect the "immediate abandonment" of the practice and to influence Congress in constitutionally appropriate ways. In its "Declaration of Sentiments," delivered to the public on December 6, 1833, members of the society outlined the principles that informed the group's efforts to emancipate "one-sixth part of our countrymen" (AASS, 1833). As part of its moral and political imperatives, the society proposed organizing antislavery groups, sending forth individuals to raise the voice of "warning and rebuke," circulating "anti-slavery tracts and periodicals," and enlisting "the pulpit and the press in the cause of suffering and the dumb" (AASS, 1833). Although the document did not call for complete social equality, it declared that "all persons of color" should have the same "privileges" as whites (AASS, 1833). It also revealed the depths of Garrison's pacifism and his dislike for political abolitionism. The following year, at the society's annual convention in New York, Robert Purvis and eight fellow black abolitionists were elected to the Board of Managers, making up about 10 percent of its membership. Even though similar participation occurred in 1835, fewer blacks were appointed to leadership positions after 1837 because of efforts to streamline

the society. During the rest of the decade, black attendance at the society's annual meetings was minimal.

Despite repeated acts of violence against supporters like Lewis Tappan, whose house in New York was vandalized, an indication that antislavery agitation had become more acceptable in American society was the decision by Reverend William Ellery Channing, a leader in the Unitarian Church, to publish *Slavery* (1835). His willingness to denounce the evils of slavery legitimized, especially for northerners, antislavery arguments and appeals. Indeed, such was the acceptance of antislavery sentiment that by 1838, the American Anti-Slavery Society had 1,350 affiliated societies throughout the states and a membership of about two-hundred-fifty-thousand. This was a clear signal that the antislavery movement in America had become more mainstream. Yet despite this increase in its ranks, there was also growing disagreement. Ideological controversy heated up between Garrison and his followers and less radical abolitionists like the Tappans and the Reverend William Goodell, who could not support the Garrisonians' statements that the clergy were proslavery.

The growing rift between Garrison and more conservative members of the society such as the Tappans became particularly evident at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, which met in May 1838. Here, the "woman question" divided the abolitionist movement. Garrison's backing of Angelina and Sarah Moore Grimké, southern women who testified against the institution of slavery, reached a turning point at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York in 1840, when those aligned with Garrison nominated Abby Kelley for a position on the executive committee. Upset by the manner in which Garrison allowed his sympathies for women's rights to influence his politics and policymaking concerning abolition, a large contingent of the society (approximately three hundred people), led by Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Henry B. Stanton, and others, walked out of the convention and set up the short-lived American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. They later threw their support to the Liberty Party, which many consider the first political party based on antislavery.

Continued debate over the antislavery nature of the U.S. Constitution and dissent during the late 1840s and 1850s between Gerrit Smith, Lysander Spooner, and the Tappans, in one camp, and Garrison, in the other, prevented unity even as the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) was considered. Financial problems and dwindling numbers also hurt the society's cause. Black abolitionists criticized the actions of white abolitionists, who wrangled over nonresistance and other esoteric antislavery theories. Also, because black leaders continued to be marginal-

ized in regard to leadership positions, many moved to rival societies, joined black-sponsored associations, or simply worked on their own. Douglass, for example, eventually went his own way, founding the *North Star* and, much to Garrison's dissatisfaction, embracing the political ideas of abolitionists from western New York. In a 1851 meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Douglass shared his new views, which later prompted Garrison to denounce Douglass as "destitute of every principle of honor, ungrateful to the last degree and malevolent in spirit" (Garrison, 1851).

The American Anti-Slavery Society lasted through the Civil War, but even after the enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment, when Garrison's supporters attempted to discontinue the society, Wendell Phillips and others argued for keeping it so as to preserve black rights and freedom. In 1869, after Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment and submitted it to states for ratification, the society resolved at its annual meeting in May that in giving blacks the vote, the amendment represented "the capstone and completion of our movement; the fulfillment of our pledge to the Negro race" (AASS, 1870). The ratification process was completed in March 1870, and in April that same year the American Anti-Slavery Society held its last meeting, a move that other smaller societies quickly followed.

— Mark L. Kamrath

See also: Douglass, Frederick; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Garrison, William Lloyd; Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore.

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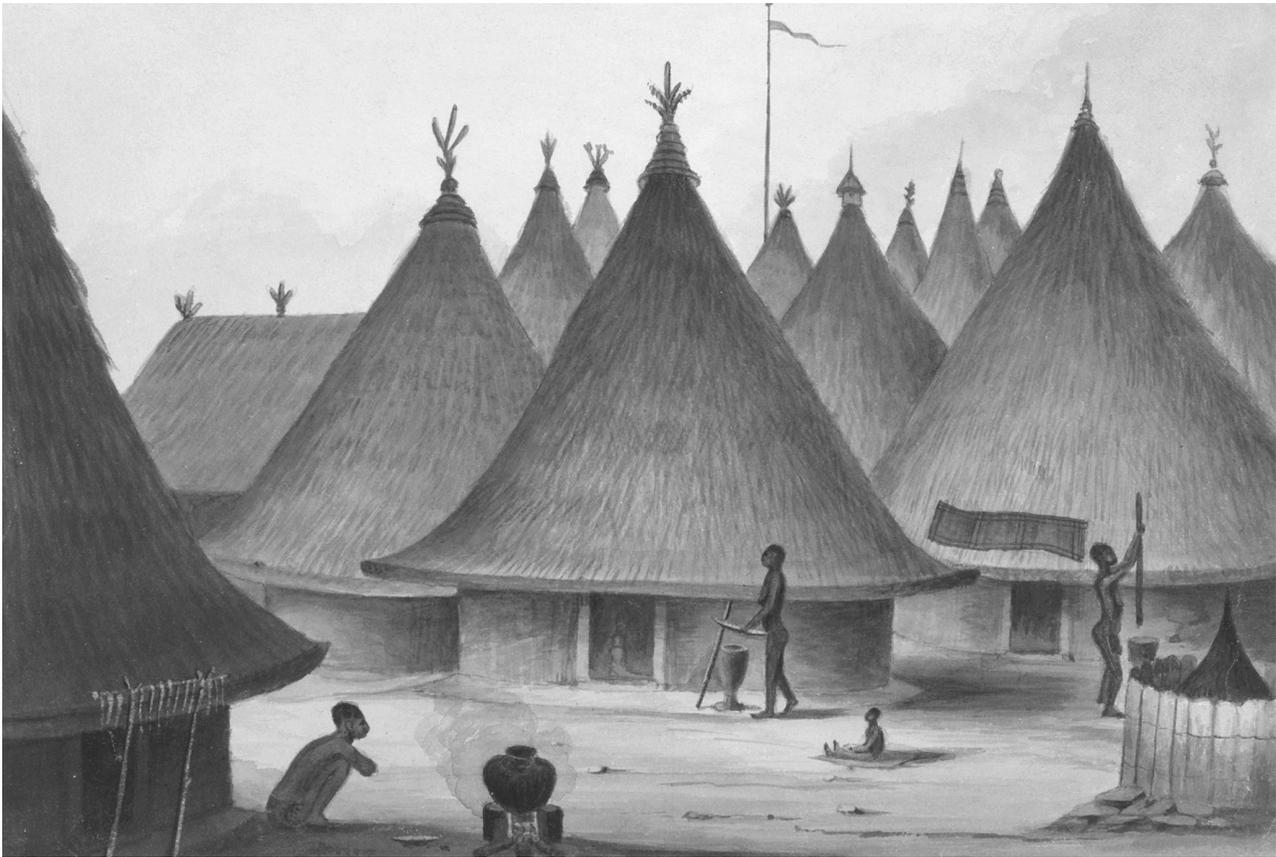
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Indigenous village in Liberia established by the American Colonization Society, c. 1822. (Library of Congress)

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

During the nineteenth century, the American Colonization Society (ACS) was the principal institution promoting the resettlement of black Americans to Africa as a solution to problems associated with slavery and race in the United States. The idea of colonization dated from the late eighteenth-century work of Virginians like Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe. The British provided an early model for the ACS by establishing a refuge in Sierra Leone for poor blacks from London's slums in the 1780s. In the United States, Robert Finley, Ralph R. Gurley, Francis Scott Key, and Charles Fenton Mercer were especially important in promoting colonization.

The ACS was founded in 1816, and in 1822 the organization established the West African settlement of Liberia to receive colonists. By 1899 the ACS had settled 15,386 colonists in Liberia, a tiny portion of the African American population in the United States. Life initially was precarious in the colony, and before 1842, 41.3 percent of the colonists died within six years of settling there. Those who survived domi-

nated the surrounding Africans, and Liberia experienced long-standing class tensions between the descendants of the colonists and the original inhabitants of Liberia. The ACS played a significant role in governing the colony until 1847, when Liberia became an independent nation.

The society drew support from groups with remarkably diverse motives, and to prevent controversy among potential supporters, the ACS avoided the issue of slavery. The ACS officially endorsed only the idea of resettling free blacks, not slaves, in Africa. Despite the caution of the society's program, some opponents of slavery hoped the ACS would encourage the emancipation of slaves.

Several abolitionist leaders, including Arthur and Lewis Tappan, James G. Birney, and Gerrit Smith, were initially prominent colonizationists. They believed that slaveholders would gladly emancipate their slaves if offered a plan for freeing their slaves without increasing the number of free blacks in America. Indeed, just over half of the African Americans colonized by the ACS before the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 were slaves freed specifically for the purpose of

colonization. The remainder of the colonists were free people. Ironically, many Southern colonizationists saw the ACS as a means for making slavery more secure, and they believed the colonization of free blacks would remove people who allegedly corrupted the morals of slaves and encouraged them to escape.

Many of the colonizationists, regardless of their views on slavery, believed that removing free blacks would promote national progress and safety. Because free blacks were denied equality with whites, it was claimed that free blacks lacked ambition, a work ethic, and other inducements to good behavior. They seethed with anger regarding their oppressed condition and posed an internal threat to the United States. Some colonizationists argued that removing free blacks to Africa would remove them from the ill effects of white prejudice. Blacks would be placed in an environment where they could exercise their talents and abilities, and some colonizationists hoped that blacks from the United States would plant Christianity in Africa.

Given the large diversity of motives for supporting colonization, it was a popular solution to racial problems in the United States. The ACS was endorsed by the U.S. Congress and a dozen state legislatures, several of which joined Congress in funding the ACS. Even bitter political enemies like Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay united to support the ACS.

So great was the popularity of colonization during the 1810s–1820s that the ACS faced competition from rival colonization plans. Charging that the great distance to Africa made Liberian colonization expensive and impractical, critics sought a closer location for black resettlement—perhaps Central America, the island of Haiti, or even the western territories of the United States. The leadership of the ACS, however, insisted that African Americans should be resettled in Africa, where their American education, democratic ideals, and Christian religion would transform the continent, thereby repairing some of the damage done to Africa by the slave trade.

Ironically, the Americans who most strongly objected to colonization were African Americans themselves. Even slaves who were offered freedom in exchange for colonization sometimes refused the offer. Seeing through the prejudice that undergirded the ACS, blacks were skeptical of the claims that colonization would improve their condition and were reluctant to leave their families and homes. The ACS typically had more funds available to send out colonists than they had persons willing to be colonized.

Some African Americans did believe that colonization provided a means of escaping prejudice and white domination. Shortly before the founding of the

ACS, a black merchant and sea captain, Paul Cuffee, took a group of blacks to Africa. Alexander Crummell, Daniel Coker, Lott Cary, and Colin Teague were prominent blacks who migrated to Liberia as missionaries. Martin R. Delany, Henry Highland Garnet, and Lewis Woodson promoted emigration as a way for African Americans to assert control over their lives. Black colonizationists often had ambivalent attitudes toward the ACS. They were wary of its motives and suspicious of its control but jealous of its resources.

Support for the ACS peaked about 1832, when the society sent 796 emigrants to Liberia and there were 302 local and state branches of the ACS. After that year, the ACS faced serious defections. Repelled by racial prejudice and proslavery attitudes within the ACS, many former supporters of the society became abolitionists, favoring immediate emancipation without colonization. Their actions were galvanized by the pamphlet *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832) written by the former colonizationist William Lloyd Garrison. In response, many proslavery colonizationists withdrew their support from the ACS as they became suspicious of a society that was the breeding ground for abolitionism.

During the financial panic of 1837, contributions to the ACS dried up and Americans took a critical look at the society's record. The ACS's plan seemed overly complex, expensive, and impractical, since comparatively few blacks had been settled in Liberia. The ACS subsequently experienced two brief periods of revival. Amid the increasingly virulent racism of the 1850s and the growing movement in both northern and southern states to expel free blacks from their boundaries, some white Americans took a renewed interest in colonization as a method of black removal. Following the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, some white Americans likewise hoped colonization might relieve the nation of the difficult transition from slave to free labor. The ACS experienced its greatest success in sending out emigrants during the years 1848–1857 and 1865–1872—more than half of the colonists sponsored by the ACS emigrated during these seventeen years—but the ACS never recovered the high levels of popularity and political influence it had enjoyed in the 1810s–1820s.

The ACS continued to function until 1963, but lacking public support, it worked mostly to promote Liberian and African American educational causes. When the society disbanded, its remaining funds went to the Phelps-Stokes Fund to help support African and African American education.

— *Harold D. Tallant*

See also: Delany, Martin R.; Garrison, William Lloyd; Liberia.

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AMERICAN FREEDMEN'S INQUIRY COMMISSION

The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission was one of the first federal investigations of its kind. Reports and recommendations generated by this commission led to the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, the first federal agency entrusted with a social responsibility, granting citizenship to 4 million ex-slaves in the South.

Created by the War Department in 1863, the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission was charged with assessing the condition of slaves in the South. Three abolitionists, Samuel Gridley Howe, James McKaye, and Robert Owens, were chosen. They spent several months listening to testimony from blacks and whites, traveling through the South, and investigating the conditions of slaves before issuing several findings.

Commission members wrote two lengthy reports, and Owens and McKaye published findings on the condition of ex-slaves who had migrated to Canada. Through their investigations, commission members found blacks in desperate if not destitute condition. Slaves often told of harsh treatment, separation from family and kin, and a lack of food, clothing, and shelter as well as medical care.

These and other details by commission members reflected their strong desire for federal intervention. They were, however, challenged by those who did not

see a need for federal assistance to slaves and later ex-slaves. Proponents and opponents of federal aid to blacks debated throughout the period between 1863 and 1864. Commission members suggested that without help, thousands of slaves would likely die. Federal guardianship, they argued, would ensure that blacks might survive the coming winter. In addition to social and political equality, McKaye, perhaps the most radical commission member, pressed for the redistribution of land to blacks. Commission members also supported limited federal aid.

In its final report, the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission recommended to Congress that it create a Bureau of Emancipation to take control of helpless blacks in the South. Between 1863 and 1865, Congress argued their findings. Generally, Republicans in Congress supported the agency, while southern Democrats were strongly opposed to any such assistance, especially from the federal government. On March 3, 1865, Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau. This agency, in existence for nearly twelve years, did much to integrate ex-slaves into American society.

The tireless work of Howe, Owens, and McKaye finally gained fruition when Congress split over not only the very existence of the Freedmen's Bureau but also the severity of conditions indicated by commission members. Upon reading these reports, many congressmen and others could not imagine the degree of misery and deprivation experienced by some 4 million blacks in the South. Some even questioned the veracity of the findings, doubting that such conditions could exist in the United States.

Perhaps the first of its kind, the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission left an indelible mark on the history of the period. Their recommendations and the subsequent creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, led to the uplift of 4 million ex-slaves in the South and demonstrated a federal commitment to assisting ex-slaves, even if brief and tenuous.

— Jackie R. Booker

See also: Freedmen's Bureau.

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AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

The American Missionary Association (AMA), which formed on September 3, 1846, was preceded by four other missionary organizations that merged to become one. The Holmes Missionary Society formed in 1839 when abolitionist members created a committee to provide legal assistance to fifty-four Africans charged with mutiny on the *Amistad*, a Spanish schooner that had been seized in American waters. The Africans were freed and returned to their own country accompanied by three missionaries. The other groups to merge into the AMA were the Union Missionary Society, the Committee for West India Missions, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society. The AMA consisted of two sections, the Foreign Field and the Home Department. Its stated purpose was to protest the inactivity of northern churches against slavery. It became the first organization to begin efforts in the South for the education and religious instruction of the slaves.

The AMA, a predominantly white abolitionist society led by Arthur Tappan and later by his brother Lewis, was unique in its time. It included African Americans as voting members and as members of the executive board. The first African American members were Theodore S. Wright, Samuel Ringgold Ward, James Pennington, and Charles Bennett Ray. Not only were the officers of the AMA an integrated group, but also they were ministers or lay members of racially mixed congregations. The schools and colleges established by the AMA were not designated for African Americans only but were open to all without regard to race, gender, religion, or class. Berea College in Kentucky, founded in 1855, is one example. It enrolled its first African Americans in 1866, and maintained an integrated student body in the then-segregated South.

The abolitionist movement, often characterized as a political reform movement and secular in nature, was, in fact, a movement of “liberal Protestantism” and is part of religious history. Clara DeBoer argues convincingly that William Lloyd Garrison was a “Christian abolitionist” (DeBoer, 1994). Nonetheless, there were significant differences between Garrison’s American Anti-Slavery Society and the AMA. In 1865, Garrison called for the dismantling of the American Anti-Slavery Society because he felt that with the end of the Civil War its mission had been accomplished. At the same time, the work of the AMA shifted into establishing schools and colleges in the South and providing teachers to educate the newly freed. Garrison’s more limited goal was to eliminate slavery. The AMA and its group of evangelical abolitionists intended to eradicate

racism, hatred, classism, greed, and all the sins that had produced slavery in the first place.

The AMA professed to stand on the tenets of pure Christianity in that it saw slavery as a fundamental sin against God and humanity that endangered the mortal souls of both slaveowners and slaves and poisoned all southern institutions, including the home, church, and school. Thus the AMA members advocated a religious revival. Their goal was to reform American Protestant Christianity and to eliminate caste based on race, class, or color. They believed that southern Christianity affirmed a “diluted message that denied African Americans humanity” (DeBoer, 1994) and that this perverted message was necessary in order to maintain the institution of slavery. To tolerate slavery, the North also had to depart from the basic tenets of Christianity. The AMA, though political, recognized the limits of political action in changing the hearts and minds of people. Therefore, instead of using the speaker’s podium and lecture circuit in their effort to abolish slavery and injustice, the AMA, under the direction of Lewis Tappan and George Whipple, organized churchmen in the fight against prejudice and ignorance.

The Reverend John G. Fee was a pioneer in the religiopolitical movement. Born in Kentucky the son of a slaveowner, Fee was so outspoken in his objection to slavery that his father disinherited him. Fee organized a group of nonslaveholding men and formed a church. He applied to the American Missionary Association for a commission, and the AMA commissioned him on October 10, 1848. Reverend Fee established Sunday schools and started what is now Berea College in Kentucky.

The AMA was nonsectarian and ecumenical. Primary among its leadership were Lewis Tappan who helped to form the *Amistad* Committee, George Whipple, D.D., the first corresponding secretary of the AMA, and General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who became the first president of Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute (now Hampton University). The AMA assisted Japanese and Chinese immigrants on the West Coast of the United States, worked for and with Native Americans and poor whites in Appalachia, and established schools for Eskimos in Alaska. It sent teachers to Puerto Rico and maintained education there until public education was established, and it also opened schools for Mexican Americans in New Mexico. In 1861 the AMA was the first organization to send agents into the South. Many of the teachers and missionaries were women. Appeals were made to the Christian women of the North to work among the newly freed. By 1877 the church women had organized a women’s meeting, and in 1883 the Bureau of

Woman's Work was formed. The Women's Bureau was an effective agency for producing teachers and raising funds for mission schools.

By 1864 there were 250 AMA missionaries in the southern and border states, and by 1868, there were 532. These missionaries helped the newly freed African Americans acquire land, demand their political rights, establish schools and churches, and lobby for a system of public education. The AMA worked assiduously during the years of Reconstruction to establish educational institutions for freed slaves. Between 1866 and 1869, it opened Fisk University (1866) in Nashville, Tennessee; Atlanta University (1865) in Georgia; Talladega College (1867) in Talladega, Alabama; Straight (now Dillard University, 1869) in New Orleans, Louisiana; Tillotson (now Houston-Tillotson College, 1877) in Austin, Texas; LeMoyné (now LeMoyné-Owen College, 1870) in Memphis, Tennessee; Hampton Institute (1868) in Hampton, Virginia; and Tougaloo College (1869) in Tougaloo, Mississippi. The AMA also assisted in the founding of Howard University in Washington, D.C., in 1867. The southern schools for blacks started by the AMA, once scoffed at and called unrealistic, are now eminent institutions.

In 1868, the terror of the Ku Klux Klan, which the AMA labeled "the Thugs of America" (Whipple, 1876), spread throughout the South. African Americans were denied employment, assaulted by mobs, shot down in the streets, prevented from attending political meetings, and dragged from their homes in the night to be murdered in cold blood. The AMA, under these increasingly dangerous conditions, sent more missionaries than in any other year. The number reached 532.

As Joe Richardson (1986) stated, the AMA had its shortcomings. Even as it gave valuable assistance to African Americans with respect to health, education, and welfare, it suffered from blatant paternalism, cultural imperialism, and perhaps an unrealistic belief that education could eradicate prejudice and racism. In light of its high and noble ideals and the contribution it made in the training of African American teachers, ministers, lawyers, and other leaders, its flaws seem but minor. The AMA disbanded in 1890, after institutional "Jim Crow" legislation made it increasingly difficult for the association to achieve its objectives.

— *Nagueyalti Warren*

See also: Pennington, James.

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AMERICAN PARTY (KNOW-NOTHING PARTY)

A political party in the United States during the 1850s, the American Party, generally nicknamed the Know-Nothing Party, focused on the perceived threat that Roman Catholics and recent immigrants posed to American political and cultural values. The American Party was the political manifestation of a nativist movement that included numerous secret organizations such as the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner and the Order of United Americans.

In the late 1840s and early 1850s, unprecedented numbers of European immigrants, primarily from Ireland and Germany, flooded the United States, bringing new cultural traditions and greatly increasing the nation's Roman Catholic population. As these immigrants became eligible to vote, many older-stock Americans, particularly in the northeastern states where immigration had its greatest impact, were concerned about their loss of cultural and political power. Urban laborers in particular felt threatened by increased economic competition posed by low-paid, unskilled immigrants. Secret nativist organizations were organized to combat this "menace" through tougher immigration laws, longer residency requirements for citizenship, and a proscription on foreign-born citizens holding political office. Since most immigrants voted for the Democratic Party and the Whig Party was collapsing under the weight of sectional disputes over slavery, these nativist, anti-Democrats created a new political organization called the American Party and ran candidates successfully in several northern states in the early 1850s.

The American Party also had political support in southern states where former Whigs saw it as a natural political platform to continue opposing the Democratic Party. Many southern Know-Nothings also hoped that anti-immigration could be used to divert political attention from the sectional issue of slavery. As long as the American Party was active only at the



Nativists of the Know-Nothing Party tried to move the nation away from the divisive issue of slavery by focusing on other controversial issues such as the rapid influx of new immigrants. (Library of Congress)

state and local level, slavery posed few problems; southern Know-Nothings could be proslavery and anti-Democratic, while northern Know-Nothings could be antislavery and anti-Democratic. Attempts at national political activity proved to be problematic. Just as the Whig Party had discovered, national parties had to reconcile conflicting sectional stances on slavery, especially after the controversial Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854).

In the American Party's national convention in 1855, southern delegates controlled the meeting and pushed for the adoption of a report endorsing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (1820) and passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, which opened western territories to the expansion of slavery. When the report was endorsed over staunch northern opposition, the entire delegations of all the northern states except New York bolted the convention and denounced this attempt to validate slavery's expansion. In 1856 southerners again dominated the national meeting, which endorsed the Kansas–Nebraska Act and nominated former president Millard Fillmore for president. Angered by this support of slavery, the bulk of northern Know-Nothings

bolted the party and supported the Republican candidate, John C. Frémont. Although Fillmore and the Americans ran well throughout the country, garnering over 21 percent of the popular vote, they only managed to win Maryland's electoral votes. Following this disaster, most northern Know-Nothings rapidly abandoned the party for the Republicans. In the South, the American Party continued to run state and local candidates in some areas, but it too collapsed within five years. Like the Whig Party that it tried to replace, the American Party found sectional differences over slavery to be impossible to reconcile.

— James L. Sledge, III

See also: Cobb, Howell.

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION. See Black Loyalists; Crispus Attucks.

AMISTAD CASE (1841)

In July 1839, a slave mutiny occurred aboard the Spanish slaver *Amistad* off the Cuban coast. On June 28, 1839, the *Amistad*, commanded and owned by Ramón Ferrer, had departed Havana for Puerto Principé in east-central Cuba with six crew members and fifty-four illegally imported African slaves belonging to José Ruiz and Pedro Montez. On the fourth night at sea, one of

the slaves, Joseph Cinqué, led a mutiny in which the ship's captain and cook were killed. For fifty-seven days, the *Amistad* skirted the eastern coast of the United States until August 26, when a U.S. Coast Guard brig commanded by Lt. Thomas Gedney seized it.

Gedney's seizure of the *Amistad* raised questions. First, did the *Amistad's* cargo and slaves still belong to Ruiz and Montez? Second, what crimes had the slaves committed in mutinying, and by what means and where would they be punished for those crimes? Third, would the U.S. government return the *Amistad* and the "*Amistad* captives" to Spanish authorities under Pinckney's Treaty (1795), which had outlined terms of trade relations between the United States and Spain, or would it free them according to Anglo-American agreements outlawing the slave trade?

The U.S. State Department recommended that the Spanish minister take custody of the *Amistad* and its cargo, but when the mutineers were indicted for piracy, Lewis Tappan and other abolitionists established the *Amistad* Committee to raise money for their defense. Committee attorneys prepared arguments that Ruiz and Montez had violated international law by purchasing slaves that had been smuggled illegally into Cuba.

On January 8, 1840, a U.S. district court ruled that all the slaves except one, Antonio, Ferrer's Creole cabin boy, who was deemed a legally-held slave, were entitled to their freedom and that the United States should transport them to Africa. When the U.S. district attorney appealed the lower court's decision, former president John Quincy Adams agreed to serve as the slaves' counsel before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Adams presented the Africans' case in February 1841. On March 9, 1841, Justice Joseph Story affirmed the lower court's decision and granted the captives their freedom. In November 1841, the *Amistad* Committee, aided by Yale University's Divinity School, returned the thirty-five *Amistad* survivors (excluding the cabin boy) to Africa. The committee naively expected the captives to proselytize Christianity and serve as positive examples for the American Colonization Society.

The *Amistad* case remained a contentious point in antebellum U.S.–Spanish relations. From 1844 until 1860, when Spain abandoned its claims in the *Amistad* case, every president suggested that the U.S. government should indemnify Spain and mentioned the *Amistad* case in state-of-the-union addresses. Ironically, two years after the Supreme Court had ruled on the *Amistad* case, the *Creole* case presented the U.S. State Department with a quandary similar to the one Spain had faced in the *Amistad* case.

— John Grenier

See also: Adams, John Quincy; American Colonization Society; Cinqué, Joseph; Illegal Slave Trade.

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SUSAN BROWNELL ANTHONY (1820–1906)

Although Susan B. Anthony is best remembered for her leadership in the female suffrage movement, she was also an ardent, active Garrisonian abolitionist and radical egalitarian, rigorously committed to universal equality. Anthony grew up in a climate steeped in anti-slavery sentiment. Her father Daniel Anthony, a Hicksite Quaker, espoused the liberal antislavery beliefs integral to that sect. After relocating to Rochester, New York, in 1846, the Anthony family became closely associated with a group of Hicksite Quakers involved in temperance, antislavery, and woman's rights reforms. Through the late 1840s and early 1850s the Anthonys hosted gatherings that included abolitionist notables such as Frederick Douglass, William Ellery Channing, Samuel J. May, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips.

Despite Anthony's regular attendance at antislavery meetings, her efforts to educate herself on abolitionist issues, and her longing to be a Garrisonian, she began her reform career working in the temperance movement in 1848. Even a week of antislavery lecturing with Abby Kelley Foster and Stephen Foster in upstate New York in 1851 did not dispel her notion that she lacked the knowledge and the oratorical skills required of Garrisonians.

In 1856, following many successes as a temperance and women's rights organizer and lecturer, Anthony eagerly accepted a post as New York agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. From this point on, she worked indefatigably for the abolitionist cause. For ten dollars a week plus expenses, she organized antislavery meetings throughout New York State and directed a large, constantly changing group of speakers. Antiabolitionist sentiment increased steadily throughout the late 1850s, changing typically antagonistic



Susan B. Anthony, one of the most significant leaders of the woman's suffrage movement, also lent her support to the antislavery cause. (Library of Congress)

crowds into violent, egg-throwing, knives-flashing mobs in 1860 and early 1861. Frequently abandoned by overstressed speakers, Anthony was often left alone to confront audiences with her vituperative rhetoric. Referring to the South as “the Hydra monster,” she declared in one of her few surviving speeches from this period, “He sucks his lifeblood from the unpaid and unpitied toil of the slaves and can only die when those bleeding backs and breaking hearts are wrested from his gory lips” (Anthony, 1954).

In 1863 Anthony and her fellow activist and friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton, both impatient with women's nonparticipatory role in the Civil War, formed the Women's National Loyal League out of the conviction that a Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was essential to guarantee the freedom of African Americans. Anthony, with Stanton's support, directed the project that collected and presented to Congress 400,000 signatures supporting a Thirteenth Amendment.

In the final months of the Civil War and after, Anthony recognized the urgent need to continue the struggle to secure civil and political rights for African

American men and all women. In fact, she was one of the first abolitionists to insist that African Americans be given the franchise. Following the suggestion of abolitionist and independent editor Theodore Tilton, both Anthony and Stanton were instrumental in leading the battle for universal suffrage by helping to form the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) in 1866. Both women remained key players in the AERA until 1869, when it became clear that their male abolitionist colleagues, in their scrambling to secure the franchise for African American males through the Fifteenth Amendment, could not be persuaded to reconsider their decision to withdraw their decades-long commitment to woman suffrage. Because of this failure, Anthony and Stanton left the AERA to form the National Woman Suffrage Association.

—Judith E. Harper

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Foster, Abigail Kelley; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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ANTIABOLITION RIOTS

Antiabolition mobs and riots became an important feature of the social landscape of Jacksonian America. Such mobs represented the most violent reaction to abolitionism, a movement that gained strength throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and most of the behavior occurred in the North because the abolitionist movement never took firm root in the South. There were episodes in the South, however, when opponents of slavery found themselves dunked in water, ridden out of town on a rail, or tarred and feathered. Such crowd actions shared the ritualized violence of the charivari (raucous European peasant celebrations) with their northern counterparts, but there was less destruction of property than there was in the North, such as in the New York City riot of 1834. In the South, such actions represented punishment for those people who

transgressed lines of family honor and questioned the institution of slavery. Southerners thus responded with the creation of “lynch law” and vigilance committees that controlled the expression of dissent by antislavery southerners and ejected northern abolitionists. There was little physical violence; rather, the ritualized violence served to maintain racial solidarity among whites, protect slavery from criticism, and prevent servile rebellion.

Antiabolition riots occurred in the North between 1833 and 1845, especially in New England, New York, and Ohio, which were areas of sustained abolitionist activity. Opposition to the antislavery movement in the North occurred for several different reasons. Antiabolitionists from the propertied classes feared that antislavery activities might disrupt the Union because of the anger that the abolitionist movement created in the South. Those opposed to the abolitionist movement, especially merchants and factories, also feared the loss of profitable southern business, such as exporting southern agricultural products or acting as middlemen or agents for such products. Finally, antiabolitionists from the working classes often disliked blacks and feared they would take jobs from whites; such fears became acute during hard economic times, such as the depression that followed the Panic of 1837. Whites also feared that interaction with blacks would lead to miscegenation and the amalgamation of the races. These racist fears suffused the antiabolition movement and were especially prominent among the working classes, who lived nearest to the free black communities in the North.

The most common form of antiabolition mob action in the North was rioting. Paul Gilje defines a riot as “any group of twelve or more people attempting to assert their will immediately through the use of force outside the normal bounds of law” (Gilje, 1996). Mobs sought to enforce their will through “coercion or compulsion based upon violence, or based on the threat of violence” (Gilje, 1996). They blocked entrances to halls used by abolitionists, threw eggs, paint, and ink at abolitionists, and played drums and horns to drown out abolitionist speakers. Greater destruction of property took place when mobs attacked the presses of abolitionist newspapers and destroyed machines, threw away type, and burned buildings. Occasionally, mobs stoned or clubbed abolitionists, but such physical violence was rare. An example of this brutal, but rare, sort of attack was the killing of Elijah P. Lovejoy, an outspoken abolitionist editor, by an enraged mob in Alton, Illinois in 1837. The mob attacked Lovejoy’s printing press, the fourth such attack, and when he attempted to defend it, with a firearm, the mob set fire

to the building that housed his press and shot him. The worst violence usually occurred in race riots such as that in New York City during July 4–12, 1834, when white mobs attacked black sections of the city and destroyed homes, churches, and a school.

There is still much debate about who composed the antiabolition mobs. Leonard Richards asserts that most mobs consisted of “gentlemen of property and standing” (Richards, 1970), that is, merchants, lawyers, doctors, bankers, and politicians. In his study, Richards demonstrates that over 70 percent of each mob came from the commercial and professional ranks, whereas fewer than 20 percent came from the ranks of tradesmen and manufacturers. The mobs tended to be native-born and attracted sizable percentages of Episcopalians. Their members differed greatly from the abolitionists (who attracted far fewer numbers of high-ranking professional or commercial men and Episcopalians) and were more often made up of foreign-born men from the ranks of tradesmen and manufacturers. Thus antiabolitionists often perceived the abolitionists as threats to their elite status, moral leadership, and values and traditions. Antiabolitionists also feared miscegenation and amalgamation should southern slaves be freed and head north. Paul Gilje, in contrast, sees antiabolition mobs as tradesmen expressing opposition to black encroachment into their professions and to the de-skilling of labor, which was a side effect of the industrialization of the North. David Grimsted’s study of antiabolition mobs revealed a pattern where the mobs often included men from slightly less prominent socioeconomic standing than the abolitionists and an affiliation with the Democratic Party.

Antiabolition rioting began to decrease dramatically after 1845 as northern newspapers began to decry the destruction of property and lawless behavior of the mobs. Abolitionists pointed to southern vigilance committees as the first step toward the loss of free speech for northern white men, and mob action against northern antislavery efforts led more people into the antislavery movement because of the perceived threat to northern civil liberties. There was also a growing concern that the mobbing of abolitionists only served to gain them sympathy for their cause and led to the creation of more abolitionists.

—James C. Foley

See also: Democratic Party; Episcopal Church; Lovejoy, Elijah P.

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ANTILITERACY LAWS

Slaveowners in the South thought they had ample reason to curtail the spread of literacy among slaves. Literate slaves might forge passes, read newspapers, or communicate conspiratorial plans. Thus, in 1740, after the Stono Rebellion of 1739, the colonial government of South Carolina enacted a ban on educating slaves, and Georgia soon followed suit.

The nineteenth century brought new black antiliteracy laws. Immediately after David Walker published his revolutionary *Appeal* in 1829, Georgia applied the slave antiliteracy law to free black residents, and Savannah, Georgia's largest city, had a similar law. By 1834, after a series of published attacks on slavery, other states also enacted antiliteracy laws. Antiliteracy laws never became universal across the slave South, however; Tennessee and Kentucky, for example, never enacted them. Of the four states that maintained such laws from the 1830s through the Civil War, three—North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—banned anyone from teaching any African American, whether slave or free, to read or write. Virginia banned schools for blacks but not private tutoring.

In Norfolk, Virginia, Margaret Douglass, a white seamstress, spent a month in jail in 1854 for violating Virginia's antiliteracy law by running a school for free black children. Across the South, teaching an occasional slave or free black to read or write took place in the private sphere, whatever the law. But so did the punishment of slaves' efforts to learn to read or write. Antiliteracy laws would have been unnecessary had there been no efforts to teach slaves or free blacks reading and writing, but opposition to slave literacy did not require the force of law to be quite effective.

In pre-Civil War America, literacy was a badge of liberty, a symbol of citizenship, and a tool for achievement. While various states, northern and southern

alike, were launching new efforts to establish common schools, some southern states enacted new restrictions on black residents' access to literacy. The fact that those restrictions targeted free blacks as well as slaves displayed an effort to narrow the meaning of black freedom. In the antebellum North, the pattern was ragged, yet most communities permitted black schools, many jurisdictions invested public funds in black schools, and by the 1850s Boston's public schools had been racially integrated.

The South's antiliteracy laws died when slavery did. In summer 1865—after the surrender at Appomattox but before ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment—Freedmen's Bureau and American Missionary Association schools sprouted across the southern landscape. No legislature had yet repealed an antiliteracy law, but every such law had become a dead letter. When the Black Codes of 1865–1866 mentioned literacy, they specified that the masters of apprentices should see that their charges learned to read and write. Hosts of black southerners, of all ages albeit especially young people, sought literacy as a badge of emancipation.

In the 1870s, every southern state created a system of public schools that, on a segregated basis, might provide all children access to literacy. Moreover, new institutions of higher education for African Americans—including Hampton Institute, Howard University, Fisk University, and Atlanta University—emerged soon after emancipation. Not only were such institutions now legal, but some received public funds, either state or federal, and each trained black teachers for the new black elementary schools.

Most former slaves entered freedom illiterate, and the impediments of illiteracy—a legacy of slavery—long undermined full freedom, whether because contracts might be misleading, veterans' pension applications might be disregarded, or literacy could be required of voters. Many members of the postwar generations of black children, however, had a strikingly different experience. A rapid rise in literacy among young people brought a substantial decline in overall black illiteracy.

— Peter Wallenstein

See also: Stono Rebellion; Walker, David.

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"APPEAL OF THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS"

The "Appeal of the Independent Democrats," issued in January 1854 by northern antislavery Democrats, was a protest against the terms of the Kansas–Nebraska bill. In late 1853, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois introduced a seemingly innocuous bill to organize the Nebraska Territory, which lay along the proposed route for a transcontinental railroad to be built from Chicago to San Francisco. According to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Purchase above 36°30', Nebraska was to be free territory. A junta of proslavery southern politicians, however, coerced Douglas into amending his bill so as to create two territories—Kansas and Nebraska—and to provide for the repeal of the 36°30' restriction. The new bill organized the territories according to the principle of popular sovereignty, meaning that the territorial residents would decide the status of slavery for themselves, without interference from the national government. The issue erupted into a bitter conflict over slavery expansion. Southern Democrats and Whigs alike backed the bill, while northern Whigs and Free Soil Party members fought the measure. Northern Democrats, meanwhile, including President Franklin Pierce, generally bowed to pressure from leading southerners and supported the bill.

A few free soil Democrats, however, broke party ranks and opposed lifting the 36°30' ban on slavery. Calling themselves Independent Democrats, these anti-Nebraska dissenters counted among their leaders Senators Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts as well as Representatives Gerrit Smith of New York and Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio. In January 1854 these congressmen and two colleagues published the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" protesting the Kansas–Nebraska proposition. Mostly Chase's work, the appeal warned the nation of a great

"slave power" conspiracy bent upon grafting slavery into territories previously consigned to freedom. It assailed the Nebraska bill as "a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot" to convert Nebraska into "a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves" (Foner, 1970). The Independent Democrats attributed this plot not only to a cabal of sinister southern slavemongers but to their northern "doughface" accomplices as well. The appeal singled out Douglas for especially harsh treatment, accusing him of pandering to the southern slavocracy to advance his own political fortunes.

The "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" failed to prevent the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, which became law in May 1854. Nevertheless, the protest deserves a prominent place among the list of speeches, tracts, and events that galvanized northern public opinion against the proliferation of slaveholding territory. Equally important, the appeal prefigured the coalescence of "Conscience" Whigs (northern Whigs who opposed slavery), Free Soilers, and anti-Nebraska Democrats into a single antislavery party—the Republican Party, which took shape in the wake of the Kansas–Nebraska controversy.

— Eric Tscheschlok

See also: Douglas, Stephen A.; Free Soil Party; Giddings, Joshua; Kansas–Nebraska Act; Missouri Compromise.

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AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF THE SOUTH (1836)

Angelina Grimké wrote the abolitionist pamphlet *An Appeal to Christian Women of the South*, and it was published by the American Anti-Slavery Society of New York in 1836. The work aroused such intense disfavor in the South that southern postmasters intercepted and destroyed copies of it to prevent its distribution. In the North, the pamphlet sparked interest in abolitionism and quickly increased Grimké's standing in the abolitionist movement.

In the pamphlet, Grimké addressed southern women

as a woman born and raised in the South herself. As such, she thought she could reach and influence the thinking of other southern women. The women, in turn, could persuade their brothers, fathers, and husbands to change the laws. She called upon women as sisters, wives, and mothers and urged them to try to understand that slavery violated natural law, Christianity, and human law. God, she argued, created all human beings in His image; therefore, no one could be treated as a “thing” the way southerners treated slaves. Using the Bible, she showed that slavery in the South was not at all like biblical slavery, for southern slaves lost all of their rights as human beings. Pointing to the Declaration of Independence, she appealed to southern women to recognize the equality of slaves as human beings with a natural right to freedom.

As Grimké saw it, southern women could do more than just understand the injustice of slavery; they could pray over it, speak about it, and act against it by freeing any slaves they owned, educating them, and paying them wages. She also asked women to send petitions to their state legislatures demanding an end to slavery. She argued, “Speak to your relatives, friends, acquaintances, be not afraid . . . to let your sentiments be known. . . . Try to persuade your husband, father, brothers and sons that slavery is a crime against God and man.” She even advised southern women to stand firm against “wicked laws” that dehumanized people. She wrote, “slavery must be abolished . . . 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 of these you prefer.”

Grimké’s *Appeal* was not unique in its content; many abolitionists used similar arguments when writing against slavery. Her *Appeal* was unique, however, because it was the first and only abolitionist tract written by a southern woman to southern women. Grimké’s family name was well known in Charleston, South Carolina, where she was born and raised, and that fact made her *Appeal* even more controversial among southern women. When copies of her pamphlet reached Charleston as part of a mass mailing of abolitionist literature (“the great postal campaign” of 1835–1837), the postmaster publicly burned them. Charleston police even advised Grimké that she would not be permitted to visit the city ever again, and she never did.

— *Mary Jo Miles*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore.

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HERBERT APTHEKER (1915–2003)

Herbert Aptheker, the author of the definitive *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1943), was born in Brooklyn, New York, on July 31, 1915. After receiving his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1943, Aptheker began a scholar-activist sojourn that would help shape and change how the field of African American history is understood. Aptheker’s career achievements include the editing and/or writing of over eighty books, of which over forty volumes consist of the personal letters and scholarly works of the American educator and writer W. E. B. DuBois. His wife Fay, whom he married in 1942, ably assisted him in these scholarly efforts.

Although Aptheker was born of affluent Russian immigrants, he said that a black woman and nursemaid, Angelina Corbin, helped elevate his racial horizons as a young man. Aptheker reflected that “Annie raised me as much as mother. I loved her and mother loved her” (Aptheker Interview, 1995). He fondly remembers seeing his mother and Angelina, appearing almost like sisters, sitting and talking, in long stretches, at the kitchen room table. His intellectual curiosity was challenged by Ulysses S. Grant’s biography, which asserted that American slaves were accurately portrayed by the stereotyped sambo image. Reflecting on the strength of character of Annie, Aptheker said of this historical interpretation, “It can’t be true. It was impossible that her people were like that.” His social consciousness was further pricked, in 1932, after traveling in the Depression-era South and seeing how the “barbarism” of peonage and Jim Crow degraded the black populace. In his words, “white people were starving and black people were starving to death” (Interview).

Aptheker recalled an incident that would be seared in his mind for the rest of his life. His father’s car had mechanical problems, and while his father attended to the problem, young Herbert walked up to a nearby shanty and offered a comparable youngster of his age a cookie. The young black kid literally “reached for the cookie, like a dog would, and bit a piece as I held it in my hand.” Years later, when Aptheker, recalled this story, tears would well up in his eyes as he mumbled “incredulous” (Interview).

Returning to New York City, young Herbert began

to write scholastic stories in the school paper entitled “The Dark Side of the South” exposing the racial injustices he witnessed. This was his first venture into the muddy waters of political activism.

Aptheker believed that these early experiences led to his interest in African American resistance to oppression. Searching for historical truth, Aptheker wrote a master’s thesis that analyzed Nat Turner’s rebellion and was eventually published in 1966. His dissertation was a comprehensive interpretation of American Negro slave revolts. He also published two essays with the same title as his dissertation in successive issues of *Science and Society* in 1937. Two years later, he published “Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States” in the *Journal of Negro History*. International publishers continued publishing his work on slave resistance with *The Negro in the Civil War* (1939) and *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526–1860* (1939). When his dissertation was published in 1943, it became a watershed in the historiography of slavery.

In that work, Aptheker tried to address and refute the racist assumptions of Ulrich B. Phillips and others, who stated that “slave revolts and plots very seldom occurred in the United States” and that the slaves themselves were mentally defective, docile, and submissive. In *American Negro Slave Revolts*, Aptheker challenged “the racism of the dominant historical profession and of the society it mirrored and served . . . [but also] further substantiated its thesis, that the African-American people, in slavery forged a record of discontent and of resistance comparable to that marking the history of any other oppressed people.” Aptheker defined a revolt as “a minimum of ten slaves involved; freedom as the apparent aim of the disaffected slaves; contemporary references labeling the event as an uprising, plot, insurrection” (Aptheker, 1943).

The impact of the book on the historical profession was a polar one, with white historians generally rejecting its thesis while black historians praised the author and his scholarship. A favorable review in 1944 noted that the book was scholarly, penetrating, and scientific, whereas a negative critique in 1951 argued that the research was so subjective that it did not deserve to be defined as history. The polarity of these two reviews reflected Aptheker’s leftist politics and the onslaught of the Cold War, which further divided the historical profession on clear ideological grounds. One historian who had pro-civil rights sympathies recalled that this work “was the single most effective antidote to the poisonous ideas that Blacks had not a history of struggle” (Bracey, 1993). By the 1970s, most historians accepted Aptheker’s thesis either by incorporating or modifying its assumptions in their work. George Rawick would agree that

slaves “fought back in constant struggle,” and Eugene Genovese accepted the “slaves’ rebellious spirit.” John Blassingame and Mary Berry argued that “slaves engaged almost continuously . . . in . . . conspiracies, rebellions”; Leslie H. Owen thought that “again and again bondsmen attacked slavery”; Peter Wood’s and Gerald Mullin’s book affirmed Aptheker’s premise; and Vincent Harding’s book presented a wide pattern of multilayered resistance within slave culture (Shapiro, 1984). Aptheker’s book forced historians to see rebellion as an essential characteristic of those held in bondage and illuminated a tradition of which all Americans can be proud.

The activism of scholarship did not take a back seat to the activism of struggle. Dr. Aptheker always lived his life according to the motto “study and struggle.” In 1939 he joined the American Communist Party, which then was in the vanguard of the struggle against racism and class oppression. Aptheker began to work with many blacks who also were on the left or members of the party. One interesting and brave instance of activism, took Aptheker to Olgethorpe, Kentucky, during the 1930s to help black exploited workers escape the “debtor prison” of southern peonage. The Peonage Abolition Act of 1867 made it illegal to coerce labor from a person because of debt. By the third decade of the twentieth century, approximately 4 million black sharecroppers had been reduced to a state of peonage. On the advice and direction of the black communist William Patterson, Aptheker traveled to Olgethorpe County, Kentucky, posing as an insurance salesman with the name of H. Beal. His goal was to help these workers to escape, via a neo-Underground Railroad, to the North. Dr. Aptheker, in relating this story in the late 1990s was still animated about the danger so many years later, stating that if he had been discovered by the Kentucky authorities, he would have surely been murdered by “persons unknown” (Interview).

Another proud highlight of his activism was his involvement as a major and commander of an all-black artillery regiment during World War II. He deliberately requested this command because blacks were not allowed the status of commanding officers. Aptheker and his troops were stationed in Louisiana near the town of Pollock, whose city sign proclaimed, “Nigger, don’t let the sun set on you in Pollock,” Aptheker devised a plan to challenge this image of white supremacy. He took his men on a long march that went through the town and at an agreed-upon moment, his men sang “John Brown’s Body” (Interview). Laughingly, Dr. Aptheker said he was sure the whites thought they were being invaded.

After the war was over and Cold War tensions

developed between the Soviet Union and the United States, Aptheker continued his involvement in struggles on the left. He testified for the defense of fellow communist members being prosecuted under the Smith Act in the early 1950s, and he became a widely requested speaker on campuses in the 1960s. His public activism continued until the 1970s when, as a senatorial candidate in New York, he was attacked and severely beaten. Aptheker remembers that his attacker did not take his wallet but only a letter addressed to him to prove to his co-conspirators that this reactionary deed was accomplished. His commitment to the Soviet Union ended in 1992 when he left the Communist Party in disagreement with Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* policies. Much of the antagonism toward him faded in the later years of his life.

Aptheker's most cherished memories are of his shared office with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who became a lifetime friend. As a fellow traveler, DuBois became a muse for Aptheker's continued research in African American history. It was during this period that Aptheker began his singular voluminous *Documentary History of the Negro People*. His friendship with DuBois was so deep and abiding that DuBois asked Aptheker to become the literary executor of his letters and scholarship. As late as 1996, Aptheker and his wife Fay recalled how they barely saved volumes of DuBois's work from a rain-soaked cellar in their home.

Aptheker's work in African American history was rediscovered during the Black Power movement of the 1960s. His *American Negro Slave Revolts* provided a sense of continuity with those who had resisted racial oppression in the past.

— *Malik Simba*

See also: DuBois, W. E. B.; Sambo Thesis.

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ARTISANS

Slave artisans represented a major component of the colonial and early American skilled labor force. Typi-

cally male, American-born, and English-speaking, slave artisans worked in countless occupations throughout the colonies and much of the United States. Although there were slave artisans of Native American descent during the colonial period, the overwhelming majority of enslaved skilled labor was of African descent. This steady pool of skilled slave labor helped give a young American economy plagued by chronic labor shortages the necessary ingredient for it to grow, diversify, and ultimately industrialize.

Slave artisans served two primary functions within the American economy. First, they provided urban centers with a captive and capable labor supply that their fledgling industries desperately needed and could readily exploit. Second, slave artisans enabled rural plantation managers to improve and diversify the productive capacity of their operations by increasing the range of money-saving or cash-producing activities that took place on site. Thus the labor of slave artisans helped transform plantations into increasingly efficient, self-sufficient units of production. Because of their productivity, slave artisans were highly valued and commanded top prices. For example, in 1780, joiners in New Orleans were valued between 750 and 800 pesos, while unskilled slaves commonly sold for 400 pesos. Similarly, by 1840, the owner of a Louisiana mechanic and carpenter named Sandy appraised his slave's value at \$3,000, a sum far exceeding the value of fieldhands.

An abbreviated list of slave artisan occupations helps to illustrate the importance of this diverse labor source for both urban and rural localities. Slave artisans worked as barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cooks, coopers, draftsmen, hatters, joiners, potters, printers, seamstresses, shipbuilders, shoemakers, silversmiths, weavers, and wood carvers. Historians believe that the tradition of skilled artisan in Africa augmented this wide range of occupations both quantitatively and qualitatively as African knowledge meshed well with the demands of familiar tasks in the New World. The fine ironwork of slave-built antebellum homes in Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans, Louisiana, attests to this historic transfer of talent.

The slave artisans' value to master and community often allowed these skilled individuals greater autonomy and privileges than were allowed average slaves. Many slave artisans worked without daily supervision or the constant threat of physical coercion, and the demands of skilled occupations such as printing gave them greater access to the empowering tool of literacy. For example, an Edgefield, South Carolina, slave, "Dave the Potter," boldly demonstrated his literacy by inscribing his stoneware storage jars with poetry, biblical verses, and whimsical sayings. Masters of valued slave artisans like

Dave often permitted them to hire out their own time within the community on condition that the master receive a designated percentage or specified amount of the money earned. Particularly industrious slaves could receive material incentives to find extra work. For example, masters might permit slave artisans to retain the surplus portion of money earned in excess of an agreed amount. In addition to using these earnings to improve their material conditions, many such artisans set aside this money to buy their own or a family member's freedom. Appreciation for a slave artisan's skill could also, in rare cases, earn them their freedom as in the case of carpenter and master mason Emperor Williams who was freed when he successfully orchestrated the placement of a cornice on a New Orleans building.

The ability to negotiate and improve the conditions of their bondage elevated many artisans to positions of leadership within the slave community. Occasionally, slave artisans like Gabriel Prosser used their leader status to organize and incite rebellion against the institution of slavery. Frederick Douglass used the autonomy and literacy he gained as a caulker in Baltimore to escape from bondage forever. For these reasons as well as their success in competing against free artisans, the white community often viewed slave artisans with suspicion and resentment. Accordingly, cities like Philadelphia and Charleston sought to limit the number and activities of slave artisans through restrictive legislation.

— Daniel L. Fountain

See also: Arts and Crafts; Douglass, Frederick; Prosser, Gabriel.

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ARTS AND CRAFTS

The institution of slavery robbed African Americans of their freedom, but it did not strip them of their creativity and artistic abilities. From the beginning of

their forced migration from Africa until emancipation, African American slaves made significant contributions to the American tradition of arts and crafts. Indeed, a select cohort of slave artists left a memorable legacy within the fine and decorative arts, while even greater numbers of their enslaved brethren created functional yet equally beautiful pieces of art within the craft tradition. Much of the artwork produced by slaves exhibits both African and European characteristics and thus reflects the cultural diversity and synthetic nature that defines African American culture.

Slave contributions to the fine and decorative arts mostly reflect the significant role played by slave artisans within colonial America and the early United States economy. Slave artisans produced a wide range of luxury items that required the delicate blend of the craftsman's skillful hand and the artist's eye. The slaves' refined artistic abilities appear in the gold and silver work, furniture, wood carvings, and ironwork produced by their hands. The wrought iron fences and balconies of Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans, Louisiana, are an excellent example of the slaves' considerable talent for high art. However, slave contributions to the fine and decorative arts were not limited to the work of artisans. Small numbers of slaves also demonstrated their artistic abilities through portraiture. In fact, the notable American painter Gilbert Stuart drew early inspiration from watching Neptune Thurston, a slave, sketch faces on barrels. Similarly, the work of the slave painter Scipio Morehead inspired African American poet Phillis Wheatley to dedicate a poem to his ability as an artist.

Although some slaves exhibited their artistic talents through high art, a far greater percentage of them revealed similar skills through handicrafts. Unlike the luxury items created by slave artisans, the artistic items produced by the typical slave were not purchased primarily by white consumers but remained within the creator's community where they served day-to-day needs. The most common handicrafts produced by slaves were woodcarvings, baskets, quilts, musical instruments, and pottery. Each of these slave craft forms reveals the persistence of African culture within the slave community as age-old skills combined with New World circumstances to create articles of utility and beauty.

Slaves used their carving skills to create useful items such as bowls, spoons, forks, drums, fifes, and walking sticks out of wood and bamboo. These items often featured anthropomorphic images that resembled decorative forms used in Africa; African cultural continuity also appears through the variety of split wood, palmetto, and grass baskets made by slaves. Used in fanning rice,

picking cotton, and storing food, the baskets strongly resembled forms found throughout the continent of Africa. In addition to keeping people warm inside the drafty slave quarters, slave-made quilts maintained African decorative and textile traditions through their creators' use of similar colors, patterns, and iconography. Finally, slave-made pottery forms such as face jugs and Colono Ware (low-fired handmade pottery) resemble West African ceramic styles and may demonstrate the continuation of African religious beliefs in America. More specifically, X-shaped designs carved into Colono Ware bowls may reflect cosmograms, depictions of the universe, based on Bakongo religious beliefs. Similarly, some scholars argue that face jugs could have also served a spiritual function in relation to conjure practices.

— Daniel L. Fountain

See also: Artisans.

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ATLANTIC ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

By the 1770s Western cultural developments converged with transatlantic imperial crises to provide society with the language and opportunity for collective opposition to slavery and the slave trade. Natural rights philosophy, the Enlightenment critique of traditional authority, British Protestantism's emerging faith in the individual's capacity for virtue, and new economic theories suggesting that free labor and free trade best promoted economic progress all undermined older justifications for slavery. American Quakers revitalized their moral opposition to warfare during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), extended their critique

of violence to include slavery itself, and dedicated themselves to eliminating slaveholding within their own ranks. The American and French Revolutions, fought for liberty and equality, encouraged others to join the abolitionist movement.

Fearing that radical experimentation might undermine the social order, early Anglo-American and French abolitionists supported modest measures for eliminating slavery. They generally favored ending the slave trade, emancipating slaves gradually, and compensating slaveholders for their losses. In the newly independent United States, Quakers, evangelicals, and several revolutionary leaders established the first state abolition societies to promote these aims. Between 1780 and 1808, abolitionists secured legislation preventing slavery's expansion into the Northwest Territory, freeing the children of slaves in the northern states after apprenticeships of approximately twenty years, and prohibiting U.S. participation in the transatlantic slave trade.

Inspired by antislavery advocates in the United States, Quaker and evangelical abolitionists in England campaigned against British participation in the transatlantic slave trade, hoping that a diminished slave supply would encourage West Indian planters to treat their slaves more humanely and ease the transition to free labor. Operating through the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1787), they won the patronage of influential figures in Parliament. But despite a massive public campaign far surpassing that of their U.S. counterparts, they failed to overcome powerful slave-trading interests until 1807. This year marked the beginning of their efforts against foreign participation in the transatlantic slave trade as well, but justifiable international suspicion of British motives limited their success.

In 1788, following the example of Anglo-American abolitionists, the French reformer Brissot de Warville organized a group of enlightened nobles and *philosophes* into the *Société des Amis des Noirs*. During the 1789 meeting of the Estates General in Paris, the *Société* condemned slavery but limited their immediate goals to supporting colonial mulatto representation and abolishing the slave trade. Planter and merchant representatives easily suppressed the initiatives of the sanguine and poorly organized group.

Insurrectionary slaves, rising in rebellion when Spanish and English troops invaded the French colony of St. Domingue (modern Haiti), eclipsed the *Amis's* moderate efforts. Desperate to secure the loyalty of insurrectionists, French commissioners issued a decree freeing loyal slaves in 1793, and the Convention in Paris abolished slavery in 1794. Napoleon forcibly rein-

stituted slavery in the colonies but failed to subdue the revolutionaries in St. Domingue, who represented 80 percent of France's former colonial slave population. The resulting relative marginality of French colonial slavery opened the way for its eventual abolition in 1848.

Anticolonial nationalism, not abolitionism, led to the emancipation of most Latin American slaves. Revolutionaries like Simon Bolívar granted freedom to slaves willing to join the military campaigns for independence. But most nationalist leaders, many of whom owned large landholdings and numerous slaves, supported such measures only reluctantly. Though willing to endorse freedom for slaves who would assist them in the war effort, they balked at full-scale, immediate emancipation. The newly independent mainland Latin American republics along the Atlantic seaboard eventually passed legislative gradual emancipation acts, beginning with Argentina in 1813 and ending with Venezuela in 1854. Spanish Cuba and independent Brazil, however, resisted this trend toward emancipation.

Following legislative prohibition of both British and U.S. participation in the transatlantic slave trade, antislavery advocates explored new moderate measures to promote emancipation. British abolitionists proposed registering all West Indian slaves to ensure their protection from flagrantly exploitative abuses and to set a legal precedent for more substantial parliamentary intervention. In the United States, the American Colonization Society (1816) popularized the idea of emancipating southern slaves and colonizing them in Africa, thereby eliminating the potential threat of a much reviled free African American population. But planter intransigence and the expansion of slavery into new U.S. territories led Anglo-American abolitionists in the 1820s to reject gradualism and demand more radical, immediate action. Religious developments reinforced this tactical shift. Evangelicals seeking to hasten the millennium, became less willing to tolerate compromise with slaveholding sinners. This later generation of abolitionists also benefited from the more active participation of middle-class white women who increasingly viewed slavery as an affront to new domestic family ideals.

British abolitionists, armed with new conviction and organizational strength, and pointing to the recent slave revolts in Barbados, Demerara, and Jamaica, convinced Parliament to pass the Emancipation Act (1833). Not entirely pleased with the statutory provisions to compensate slaveholders and the apprenticeships required of slave children, abolitionists successfully supported legislation to eliminate lengthy work

requirements in 1838. Having promoted the emancipation of seven hundred fifty thousand British West Indian slaves, abolitionists turned their attention toward slavery and the slave trade elsewhere. They organized the World Anti-Slavery Conventions of 1840 and 1843 to encourage emancipation in the southern United States, they scored significant successes in curtailing the slave trade by advocating mutual search of European vessels, and later helped secure British diplomatic support for the Union during the Civil War.

Parliamentary supremacy over its distant colonies simplified the task of British abolitionists, but a decentralized federalist political system granting great autonomy to slaveholding states hampered U.S. antislavery advocates. In 1833 William Lloyd Garrison established the American Anti-Slavery Society, a group that condemned the racial prejudice implicit in the colonization movement and called for immediate, uncompensated emancipation. Members of the society grew to consider the U.S. Constitution a proslavery document and preferred dissolution of the Union over compromise with slaveholders.

Garrison's strict stance, and his support for other controversial issues like women's suffrage, alienated some of his followers. In 1840, these critics formed the Foreign and American Anti-Slavery Society, most of whom viewed the Constitution as an antislavery blueprint giving the federal government a right to dismantle slavery. Black abolitionists—particularly fugitives from the slave South like Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown—played an important role in healing some of the rifts, eloquently reminding contending factions in both Britain and the United States to combat dogmatism and tackle the immediate problem of slavery. Despite the conflicts between various abolitionist groups, they managed to convey to southerners that their ideas were widely held by the northern public. In this sense, they helped fuel the sectional animosity that resulted in both Civil War and the eventual emancipation of 4 million southern slaves.

Independent Brazil and Spanish Cuba remained the last major bastions of slavery in the Americas. In both areas, the dramatic recent example of U.S. abolition, British successes at effectively ending the transatlantic slave trade, the efforts to attract European immigrants, and the rebellious activities of slaves facilitated emancipation. Only in Brazil did there exist an organized abolitionist movement. The lawyer and parliamentarian Joaquim Nabuco led a small group of secular-minded abolitionists from northeastern Brazil where slave-based sugar production was in serious decline. In 1871, despite the opposition of new coffee planters in southwestern Brazil, the government passed a gradual

abolition law requiring lengthy indentures for former slaves. An emancipation law offering current slaves immediate freedom passed in 1888, but by this time slaves had already begun to take matters into their own hands by fleeing their masters in large numbers. In Cuba a gradual abolition law was passed in 1880, and full emancipation came in 1886.

After slavery was abolished in the West Indies, British antislavery advocates directed their attention to emancipation in Africa. To reinforce their goal, they supported a naval squadron along the African coast to enforce abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, promoted the “legitimate trade” in tropical staples, and encouraged missionary activity to spread Christianity. But this campaign also served to legitimate Britain’s growing imperial ambitions in the region.

British naval power effectively prohibited the transatlantic trade in the late nineteenth century, but it also challenged the sovereignty of African nations. Although New World markets for tropical staples offered Africans an alternative to the international traffic in slaves, the growing labor employed in the production of such commodities was often indistinguishable from domestic slavery. Missionary explorers, discovering the great extent to which Africans utilized slaves, became key proponents of greater colonial authority. International antislavery agreements, like those contained in the Brussels Act (1890), authorized direct intervention to end domestic slavery and the slave trade. But the fine line distinguishing domestic slavery from other profitable forms of labor exploitation was drawn with an eye toward promoting economic benefits. Such ventures met only minimal success, though they did much to expand European colonial power in Africa.

Various forms of human bondage—though often difficult to classify definitively as slavery—continue to this day. The United Nations, the Working Group of Experts on Slavery, the London-based Anti-Slavery International (ASI), and other organizations have challenged exploitative labor contracts, forced relocation, pawning of individuals for debt, betrothal of children, convict labor, and prostitution.

— *Anthony A. Iaccarino*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; American Colonization Society; Brown, William Wells; Child, Lydia M.; Compensated Emancipation; Douglass, Frederick; Emancipation Proclamation; Free African Society; Garrison, William Lloyd; Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore; Immediatism; Quakers; Truth, Sojourner; Weld, Theodore Dwight.

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ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE, CLOSING OF

Efforts to end the Atlantic slave trade began in the late eighteenth century, but the trade continued well into the late nineteenth century. The main goal of antislavery trade policies was the suppression of the West African slave trade, which involved the transportation of slaves to the major slave nations of the Western Hemisphere such as the United States or Brazil. Great Britain undertook a concerted effort to end the trade, but only after the United States adopted stringent antislavery trade legislation was the trade suppressed.

In 1792 Denmark became the first major European state to abolish the slave trade. Nonetheless, from the abolition of the slave trade within the British Empire in 1807 until the essential end of the international trade in African slaves at the close of the nineteenth century, Great Britain was the primary force behind the suppression of the African slave trade. Prior to abolition of the trade, Great Britain was the trade’s largest actor. British slave traders shipped Africans to the British colonies in the West Indies, the various states of South and Central America, and the southern United States. Although efforts to abolish the trade began in Parliament in the 1780s, the British slave traders and the West Indian plantation owners who depended on slave labor presented a powerful, economic block that was able repeatedly to defeat abolitionist legislation. It was not until 1807 that Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce were able to convince Parliament to pass legislation to abolish the slave trade within the empire. In 1811, Parliament followed its abolition act with another law that made involvement in the slave trade a felony for British citizens.

As part of the legislation, the British government offered to pay a bounty for captured slave ships and for

each slave that was captured while being transported. The captured slaves were to be freed and transported to the colony of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone, in fact, became the center of Britain's efforts to end the West African trade. Its capital, Freetown, became the major base for the British naval units involved in suppressing the trade and the home for the courts that would try slavers.

In 1808 two British naval ships were sent to Africa with orders to intercept slave vessels. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 freed up more naval resources and the British steadily increased the size of the anti-slave squadron. The British also carried out a diplomatic offensive to end the trade by negotiating with other nations to end their involvement and, more importantly, to allow the British navy to stop, search, and, if necessary, arrest non-British citizens engaged in the slave trade. For instance, in 1815 Portugal agreed to end its involvement in the slave trade north of the equator and to allow the British to stop suspected slave ships. In 1817 British courts decided in the *Le Louis* case that foreign ships suspected of being slave traders could only be stopped and searched with the permission of their national government. The British government then embarked on a broad diplomatic campaign to secure agreements with the major European powers and the United States. By the 1820s, most nations, with the notable exception of the United States, had granted the British the right to search and capture vessels involved in the trade.

The British were able to insert "equipment clauses" in most of these treaties, which allowed the British to seize empty slave ships if those ships were rigged to transport slaves. Some nations, including France and eventually the United States, also stationed antislavery squadrons along the West African coast. By the 1830s these naval squadrons were capturing, on average, approximately thirty slave ships and freeing approximately five thousand slaves per year. Nonetheless, the eighty thousand to ninety thousand slaves who continued to be transported to the Americas dwarfed these numbers.

The United States was the major impediment to attempts by the major European powers to suppress the trade. Although the U.S. government had passed numerous laws to curtail the slave trade, these regulations were only sporadically enforced. For instance, in 1794 Congress had enacted legislation that banned the building or equipping of ships for the slave trade, and in 1800 a law was passed that prohibited U.S. citizens from engaging in the slave trade between two foreign countries. However, neither piece of legislation was vigorously enforced. The United States itself banned the slave trade in 1807; nonetheless, the trade between

West Africa or the Caribbean and the southern states continued.

The United States refused to grant other nations the right to stop and search U.S. ships. As a result, slavers from other nations would sail under the U.S. flag to escape from the antislavery squadrons. Under pressure from southern politicians, successive administrations in Washington pressed the British to provide restitution for Americans involved in the trade whose slaves were set free by the Royal Navy patrols.

The Americans also provided the bulk of the slave ships. By the 1850s, two out of every three slave ships captured had been outfitted in U.S. ports. Nonetheless, substantial progress in curtailing the trade was accomplished. By the 1830s all of the major European powers backed British efforts to end the trade, even including the "equipment clause" in the Quintuple Treaty (1841). When Texas became an independent country, its national government also agreed to grant the British permission to stop and search suspected slavers sailing under the Texan flag. Often, mixed-prize courts (special naval tribunals) were established with both British and officials from other nations to adjudicate cases. For instance, mixed courts were established in Sierra Leone and Havana to try cases involving suspected Spanish slave traders.

In 1819 the United States enacted laws that equated participation in the slave trade with piracy and made such engagement punishable by death. The following year, the United States dispatched a small four-ship flotilla to Africa to help suppress the slave trade. The squadron was recalled after four years when negotiations between Great Britain and the United States on a treaty to suppress the trade failed after the U.S. Senate weakened the proposed treaty through amendments. In 1837 the British invited France and the United States to form a tripartite naval antislavery squadron, but the United States refused. The French did cooperate, however, and joint patrols between the two countries were established.

Beginning in the 1840s, the British also began efforts to cut off the supply of slaves by either offering subsidies to native rulers to end their involvement in the trade or taking direct military action against those who refused to cooperate. For instance, the British military conquered the territory of Lagos when its king refused to end the kingdom's prolific slave trade. The British instituted a tight naval blockade of Dahomey for the same reasons. The British also purchased the former slave colonies of Denmark in 1850.

Diplomatic efforts to involve the United States in the suppression of the trade proved successful when a portion of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842)

pledged that the United States would dispatch a small naval squadron to patrol with the British so that suspected slave ships flying the U.S. flag could be stopped without incidence. Known as joint cruising, this effort proved to be more symbolic than effective. U.S. officials refused to act upon British intelligence information about suspected slave ships, and even as late as 1860, some twenty slave ships were outfitted in the port of New York alone, without any interference from U.S. customs officials.

The United States further insisted on a clause in the treaty to provide restitution for freed slaves. The British initially balked, but then compromised and agreed to compensate owners for slaves freed when a slave ship was wrecked on British territory. In return, the United States accepted a provision in the treaty for extradition.

The Civil War and the subsequent Union blockade of southern ports effectively ended the large-scale transport of West African slaves. From 1860 to 1864, the number of slaves transported to the Western Hemisphere dropped from approximately twenty-five thousand to seven thousand. The Washington Treaty (1862) further strengthened abolition efforts between the United States and Great Britain by finally allowing the British to seize suspected slave ships, sailing under the U.S. flag. The treaty also established mixed courts in New York, Capetown, and Sierra Leone to try cases of suspected trafficking in slaves. Significantly, there was no right of appeal for the courts. Throughout the Civil War, Union warships also vigorously sought out slave ships or other vessels suspected of bringing supplies to the Confederacy.

Despite the fact that slavery continued in Cuba until 1886 and in Brazil until 1888, the expanded ability of the British antislavery squadron to stop and search suspected slave ships convincingly ended the Atlantic slave trade by the 1870s. The imposition of European prohibitions on the slave trade as the European powers carved Africa into colonies during the period known as the Scramble for Africa more or less ended the external African slave trade by the early 1900s, although as late as 1920 a slave ship was discovered in the Persian Gulf and the internal slave trade in Africa would continue. In the end, only the formal abolition of slavery as an accepted institution throughout Africa effectively ended the slave trade.

— *Tom Lansford*

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CRISPUS ATTUCKS (C. 1723–1770)

Crispus Attucks, a mulatto and former slave of African and Native American descent, is noted as the first person killed in the Boston Massacre, but little else about him is certain. Apparently, Attucks was once the slave of Deacon William Browne of Framingham, Massachusetts, until November 1750, when he escaped at the age of twenty-seven. As a free black in colonial America, Attucks worked on a whaling ship where he met other American colonists who disapproved of Britain's colonial policies. His life ended on March 5, 1770, when he became the first person to fall at the hands of the British soldiers stationed in Boston.

Although his background remains obscure, Attucks played an important role in the event that caused his death. Court records and the testimonies of several other participants in the melee indicate that Attucks led a mob of fifty to sixty men to the Boston Custom House on King Street. The jeering crowd pressed forward and began to throw snow and ice at the British soldiers stationed at the Custom House, and according to one eyewitness, Andrew, a slave of Oliver Wendell, Attucks struck at a soldier. Colonial essayist Samuel Adams later told the court a different story claiming that Attucks was not the person who started the riot.

Whatever Attucks did that night, a violent episode ensued between the mob and the British soldiers under Captain Thomas Preston's command. Several shots were fired, and five civilians were killed, including Attucks, and his conduct during the event played a prominent role in the trial that followed. The documents used to indict the British soldiers for the massacre identified Attucks as the first individual upon whom the soldiers fired. The same documents accused the soldiers of participating in an unprovoked altercation with uncontrollable force and malice. Responding to the plaintiffs tactics, John Adams, the British soldiers' defense attorney, focused on Attucks's actions. Adams argued that Attucks was the person who formed the mob and led the attack on the soldiers.



Crispus Attucks, a former slave who became the first victim of the Boston Massacre, was an inspiring symbol of freedom during the American struggle for independence. (Library of Congress)

Eventually, the court found two British soldiers guilty of manslaughter, and they were branded and given clemency.

After his death and the end of the War of Independence, Attucks's name continued to receive much attention. Throughout the antebellum period, several African American military regiments named themselves the Attucks Guard. Between 1858 and 1870, many of Boston's African Americans held annual Crispus Attucks Day celebrations. In 1888 an Attucks memorial was constructed on the Boston Common. His name became a symbol of courage for all Americans, particularly African Americans.

— Eric R. Jackson

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AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Autobiographies by slaves in the United States served as a principal means by which the victims of the peculiar institution and abolitionists could offer an alternative perspective on slavery. For abolitionist groups like the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, they provided eyewitness accounts that contradicted owners' claims of a paternalistic and even beneficent institution. They offered a vision of a nightmare society, filled with violence, torture, and promiscuity, where all members both black and white were degraded through the uncontrolled exercise of power. Because of this potential, abolitionist societies published dozens of narratives between 1760 and 1865. They were one of the most popular early nineteenth-century literary forms, especially among northern white female readers.

For the writers, these autobiographies presented an opportunity to tell their experiences in their own words. In doing so, they were able to claim an identity and selfhood that slavery had denied them. But this privilege came at a price. The authors could not assume that the audience would accept the story's veracity or even the narrator's humanity. Various devices had to be employed to validate both the writers and their experiences. One such device was the authentication letter, a statement from one or more prominent whites that they knew the author, that he or she was a trustworthy person, and that they had good reason to believe that the story was true. The author was put in a position of dependence on whites, much as he or she had been in slavery; the writer's word alone counted for little.

Another technique for engaging the reader was to indicate the inhumanity and even sadism of the treatment experienced under slavery; the slave narratives went into great detail about the cruelties inflicted on innocent victims. Whippings were shown not merely as straightforward punishment, but as arbitrary acts resulting from the immoral character of masters. Such people enjoyed drawing blood and eliciting screams. Drawings were often included of torture devices, with explicit directions on how they were used. Such detail substantiated the writers' claims.

One convention of the genre was to show the lengths to which slaves would go to gain their freedom. Henry “Box” Brown nailed himself in a shipping crate and was sent to the North as goods. Much of his narrative relates to the suffering he endured during the transportation. William and Ellen Craft were able to escape because she was light enough to pass for white. They dressed her as a master, with William as her servant. They managed to travel overland to freedom by making her appear to have a broken arm (because she could not write) and a toothache (because her speech would give them away). Despite a number of close calls, they reached the North. Interestingly, the narratives that are now considered the most important give relatively little attention to the important role that the fugitives played in effecting their own freedom.

The most important means by which narrators made themselves and their stories convincing was through their self-presentation as people very similar to their readers. In one of the earliest and most important narratives, Olaudah Equiano presents himself as an English gentleman. The engraved image of Equiano from the 1789 edition of his *Narrative* shows a figure indistinguishable in dress and manner from his intended audience; the difference comes in skin color and hair texture. This identification is reinforced in the text as he depicts the culture and people of his African childhood. His Africans display close parallels in family structure, moral probity, diligence in work, and spirituality to the British. Equiano himself is the model of the hard-working entrepreneur who deals honestly with everyone. The flawed characters in his autobiography are those whites whose association with slavery and the slave trade have made them greedy, cruel, and generally uncivilized. He directs his narrative specifically to members of the British Parliament and clearly seeks to present himself as a worthy subject. He called on them, out of common humanity, to end slavery.

Equiano’s work is international in its frame of reference, but two major U.S. texts focus on national and local issues. Frederick Douglass became famous as a result of his 1845 *Narrative*. He had managed to escape seven years earlier and by 1841 had become a successful lecturer on the abolitionist circuit. The *Narrative* was written to counter charges that one so articulate could not have been a slave. In his story Douglass gives particular attention to what Robert Stepto (1979) has asserted is the principal theme of the narratives: the link between literacy and freedom. Douglass’s story of how he came to be able to read and write, though it was against the law and against his master’s explicit orders, is connected to his sense of self and desire for freedom.

The escape from a slave mentality is for him more important than the physical escape, about which he says nothing in this first version of his autobiography.

Harriet Jacobs, in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), provides a distinct perspective as she describes what it means to be a young woman in a social order in which white men have no limits on the exercise of their power. Her master constantly tries to seduce her, and, because of this, Jacobs is subject to his wife’s jealous rage. Her appeal is to the understanding of virtuous white women who have not had to face the kinds of pressures imposed on slave women. Both she and Douglass, more than other narrators, demand recognition of their equality with the audience.

The slave narrative tradition did not end with the Civil War. Some sixty-five narratives were published by ex-slaves from 1870 to 1930. During the Depression, the collection of oral histories was a project of the Federal Writers Project. Over twenty-five hundred narratives were collected in seventeen states. About six thousand narratives exist in one form or another, offering the voices of one group of victims of history. The tradition has been continued in literature with fictional versions, such as Ernest Gaines’s *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1971) and Toni Morrison’s *Beloved* (1987).

— Keith Byerman

See also: Brown, Henry “Box”; Craft, William and Ellen; Douglass, Frederick; Jacobs, Harriet Ann; Works Progress Administration Interviews.

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GAMALIEL BAILEY (1807–1859)

Gamaliel Bailey was an important American antislavery journalist during the antebellum period. After receiving his M.D. in 1827, he spent the next three years as a ship's doctor on a vessel employed in the China trade. In 1830 he went to work for a Methodist newspaper in Baltimore, Maryland, but he returned to medicine the following year to help fight a cholera epidemic in Cincinnati, Ohio. He remained in Cincinnati after the epidemic to lecture on physiology at Lane Theological Seminary.

In 1832 Bailey became involved in Lane's famous debate over slavery, which convinced him that voluntary emancipation was the best way to end slavery. In 1835 he cofounded and became secretary of the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society. The following year he became corresponding secretary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society and assistant editor of the *Philanthropist*, the first abolitionist newspaper in Ohio. In 1837 he became the paper's coeditor. In this capacity he continued to espouse voluntary emancipation via moral suasion, but he also began promoting political action against slavery by calling on abolitionists to vote only for antislavery candidates. He further demanded that the federal government outlaw slavery in the District of Columbia and federal territories and stop enforcing the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. On three separate occasions, his office was attacked by proslavery mobs, and once the entire establishment, including the printing press, was destroyed.

In 1838 Bailey joined the ranks of the immediate abolitionists. He began to formulate the "slave power" theory by arguing that proslavery forces controlled both major political parties and the federal government; consequently, they threatened the liberties of nonslaveholders as well as slaves and must be opposed through both political and moral means. He insisted that the best way to end slavery was to eliminate the slave power influence in the federal government, after which he believed the people of the South would repeal slavery once they discovered how inefficient it was. To this end, he called for the creation of a third party devoted to immediate abolition. His call was partly responsible for the creation of the Liberty Party, which ran a candidate for president in the elections of 1840 and 1844.

In 1847 Bailey moved to Washington, D.C., to be-

come editor-in-chief of the weekly *National Era* the official organ of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He appealed to a wide readership by printing national and international news items as well as literary pieces, articles on religion, and cogent abolitionist editorials. The general tone of the editorials was that abolitionism was a class struggle, not a sectional one, and he appealed repeatedly to nonslaveholding southerners to throw off the oppression of slave power.

The paper's moderate tone, necessitated in large part by its being the only abolitionist paper published in slave territory, drew constant criticism from radical abolitionist editors safely ensconced in the North. However, it also made the *National Era* one of the country's most influential antislavery papers. By 1850 the paper had gained enough of a national readership that the proslavery *Southern Press* was started in Washington that same year to counter the *National Era's* influence. Undaunted by criticism or competition, Bailey continued to publish the *National Era* until his death in 1859.

Of all the items that Bailey published, the most influential was Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was originally scheduled to appear in serial form in ten issues in 1851, but its immediate popularity caused Stowe to lengthen it significantly so that it ran well into 1852. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* greatly enhanced the *National Era's* reputation and helped increase circulation to its mid-1853 peak of twenty-eight thousand. However, Bailey's main purpose for running Stowe's serial was to teach nonslaveholders in the South in a nonthreatening way that slavery was evil.

— Charles W. Carey

See also: Stowe, Harriet Beecher; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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CHARLES BALL (B. 1780)

Charles Ball was the author of *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles*

Ball (1837), which was first released anonymously as *The Life and Adventures of a Fugitive Slave* (1836). This antebellum slave narrative, viewed by some literary scholars as an archetype of African American literature, was used by abolitionists to dramatize the immorality of southern slavery because of its sometimes symbolic presentation of the plight of individual slaves. Like Charles Ball, most successful slave runaways were adult males; thus male slaves wrote most of the slave narratives. It is clear that traditional antebellum gender roles, although they did not altogether trump racial biases, nevertheless sometimes permitted black male slaves certain benefits that black female slaves were more frequently denied because of their gender. For example, Charles Ball and numerous other black male slaves were allowed to hire themselves out and work for other owners much more often than female slaves, sometimes traveling from one farm to another on their own using a pass. This freedom to gather “intelligence” about the lay of the land as well as the habits of whites on other farms doubtless aided slaves like Ball, who were able to use such information later to escape slavery successfully.

For abolitionists, the critical component of all slave narratives was their firsthand recitation of the evils of slavery per se. However, the narratives universally point to the importance of “literacy, identity, and freedom” for antebellum slaves; indeed, the inclusion of these three points in most narratives is a convention of the slave narrative form.

For slaves, attaining literacy was linked to both personal identity and freedom, and obviously, without it, no narrative would have been possible. Various criticisms were directed at the slave narratives: abolitionists were accused of appropriating slaves’ lives in ways similar to those used by slaveowners themselves, and skeptical readers considered some of the narrative prose too polished or sophisticated to have been written by slaves. Nevertheless, most were proved to be authentic. Ball’s own narrative has been compared with other contemporary accounts of events, agriculture, landmarks, and local types in South Carolina.

Ball’s narrative addressed several questions concerning the slave’s life, including how black slaves felt about white owners. He distinguished among his several owners as a slave in South Carolina, Georgia, and Maryland, criticizing one for being arbitrary in dispensing punishment although he also conceded that he had loved that particular master very much. Thus both the “intimacy” and ambivalence produced by slavery were shown. Ball also recalled that he noticed a clear difference between African-born and native-born American slaves—Africans resisted slavery more, he reported.

Apparently, Ball was familiar with African ideas because his own grandfather was a pure African who taught him certain African religious perspectives and especially cautioned him about the hypocrisy of white Christians, whose version of Christianity, he said, was “false” and really “no religion at all.” Ball’s relationship with his grandfather may have prepared him for the environment in which he found himself when he was sold to an owner from South Carolina: there, he had the experience of living among Africans who practiced both African folk religions and Islam. Historians have noted that the retention of African mores was facilitated when large numbers of Africans were able to live together in close proximity; and Ball recounted the practice of African rituals and mores in the slave quarters, such as burial practices based on certain West African beliefs that the deceased returned to the African homeland after death, or, at the very least, to a Christian heaven that would allow for retribution by slaves. Slave Christians, according to Ball, believed fervently in the idea that they would change places with whites in the world to come and that the last would become first.

— Dale Edwyna Smith

See also: Autobiographies; Narratives; South Carolina.

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BENJAMIN BANNEKER (1731–1806)

Benjamin Banneker was an eighteenth-century rationalist who was also a self-taught mathematician, astronomer, author, surveyor, humanitarian, and inventor. Born the free son of a mulatto mother and a black father, Banneker learned some skills from his grandmother, Molly Welsh, a Quaker schoolteacher who taught him the rudiments of an elementary education, and another Quaker, George Ellicott, loaned him as-



Benjamin Banneker, born a free African American in Maryland, became a self-taught mathematician, scientist, astronomer, and almanac maker. (North Wind Picture Archives)

tronomy books. Banneker combined his limited education with an unusual mathematical ability and earned a reputation for remarkable innovation.

Because clocks and clock makers were rare, Banneker as a young man had seen only two timepieces—a sundial and a pocket watch—but at the age of twenty-two he constructed a wooden clock, using the pocket watch as a model. First he drew a diagram of the watch’s internal mechanism, and then he converted the diagram into three-dimensional parts. Built almost entirely of hand-carved, hard-grained wood wherever possible, the clock not only kept the time but also struck the hour.

In the late 1750s Banneker began studying astronomy. After mastering astronomical concepts through books loaned by Ellicott, Banneker predicted eclipses and calculated the cycle of the seventeen-year locust. Later dubbed “the black Poor Richard,” Banneker published more than ten annual farmers’ almanacs for the Mid-Atlantic states beginning in 1792. Finding that no publisher would take on an unknown black man’s almanac, he wrote a twelve-page letter on August 19, 1791, and sent a copy of his 1792 almanac to Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state under Presi-

dent George Washington, refuting the pervasive belief that “blacks were inferior to whites.” Jefferson responded by sending a copy of the almanac to the French Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris and Britain’s House of Commons, and Banneker’s 1792 almanac became the first scientific book published by a black American.

Banneker later participated in a historical survey of the future District of Columbia. He brought to the project a knowledge of astronomy and related instruments as well as a familiarity with surveying. As the first black presidential appointee in U.S. history, he assisted Major Andrew Ellicott during the preliminary survey from February to April 1791 and helped establish lines for some of the major points in the city. Accounts of Banneker’s contributions include the legend that he played a pivotal role in saving the city, but Silvio A. Bedini’s exhaustive search of surviving documents challenged the legend that Ellicott was able to reconstruct master city planner L’Enfant’s proposals for the city from Banneker’s memory.

Banneker was dedicated to exploring and applying natural law for the betterment of the human race. He proposed a federal government office entitled “Secretary of the Peace” and wrote *Plea of Peace* (1793). He supported public education, the prohibition of capital punishment, and the abolition of the militia. Antislavery organizations highlighted his achievements in science as an example of what African Americans can achieve.

— Yolande Wood

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EDWARD BEECHER (1803–1895)

A noted preacher, abolitionist, and educator, Edward Beecher was the third child, and second son, of Lyman and Roxanna Beecher. He was born on Long Island in East Hampton, New York, and when Edward was seven, his family moved from East Hampton to Litchfield, Connecticut. In his early years, Edward received religious instruction in orthodox Protestant Christianity, taught to him by his father Lyman, and these early lessons greatly influenced the future direction of Edward’s life.

In 1818 Edward Beecher began his education at Yale College. Four years later in 1822, he graduated from Yale as valedictorian. For Beecher, 1822 was a year filled with momentous occasions, of which his conversion may have been the most significant. It was also in 1822 that Beecher became the headmaster of the Hartford Grammar School, a position he held for two years. After tiring of his efforts to impart knowledge to unwilling young boys at the Hartford Grammar School, Beecher decided he was ready to become a minister and enrolled in Andover Theological Seminary in 1824. Discontented with the Andover curriculum, he stayed there only a short time, but he soon accepted a tutorship at Yale.

In 1826 Beecher accepted the pastorate at the Park Street Church in Boston, which was widely recognized for its strict adherence to orthodoxy. Beecher spent four years at Park Street before he was dismissed from his post by parishioners who were not satisfied with his preaching. Beecher then accepted an invitation to become president of Illinois College, in Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1830.

The 1830s saw Beecher thrust into the abolition movement. He was an advocate of abolition but supported gradual emancipation or African colonization. Events witnessed by Beecher in the mid-1830s, however, convinced him that gradual emancipation was not the answer to slavery. Rioting mobs comprised of leading citizens often violently attacked vocal supporters of abolition. Beecher established a close relationship with the militant abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy and eventually became a staunch supporter of those who advocated immediate emancipation. In spite of his eventual support of immediate emancipation, Beecher continued to view William Lloyd Garrison and his supporters as extremists.

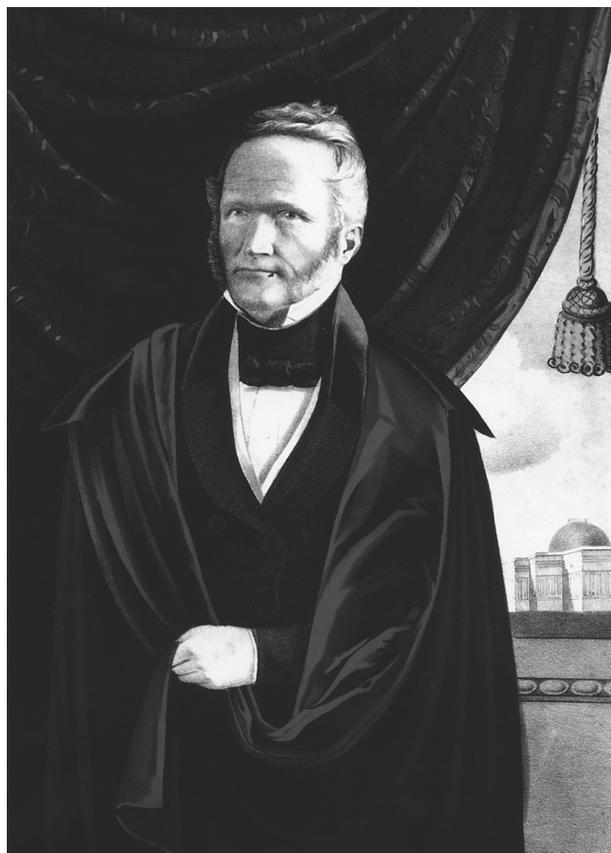
Over the next few years Beecher worked closely with Lovejoy in his efforts to spread the abolitionist message. In November 1837, Lovejoy was murdered by rioters protesting his outspoken stance on slavery. Several years later in 1844, worn out from his antislavery efforts and having neglected his theological work, Beecher returned to Boston, this time as the pastor of the Salem Street Church. Beecher spent the next several decades of life engaged in both theological work and antislavery activities.

— Beverly Bunch-Lyons

See also: Antiabolition Riots; Immediatism; Lovejoy, Elijah P.

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In 1840 and 1844, the Liberty Party—the first antislavery party to form in the United States—nominated James G. Birney as its presidential candidate. (Library of Congress)

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JAMES G. BIRNEY (1792–1857)

An abolitionist and third-party presidential candidate in 1840 and 1844, James G. Birney won pivotal votes that had the unintended effect of helping to elect proslavery candidate James K. Polk in the 1844 election. Born into a Kentucky slaveholding family, Birney became a slaveholder when he was six, yet he never advocated the institution, both because of his family and because of his education. He studied at Transylvania University and later at Princeton, and after studying law in Philadelphia, he returned to Danville, Kentucky, to practice law. His father favored emancipation despite being a slaveholder himself, and

in Philadelphia, Birney was further introduced to antislavery sentiment. Despite these factors, Birney gained ownership of even more slaves through his marriage in 1816.

In 1818 he moved to northern Alabama's Madison County, where he entered state politics, ignored his plantation, and increased his visibility as an attorney. As a member of the Alabama Constitutional Convention (1819), Birney was largely responsible for a constitutional provision prohibiting the introduction of slaves to the state for sale. Compensated emancipation was also provided upon an owner's consent. Elected to the state legislature in 1819, Birney was a founder of the University of Alabama. Birney was noted for his antislavery views, and after he opposed the state's support of Andrew Jackson's presidential candidacy, he was not reelected. By 1823 he had a lucrative law practice in Huntsville, Alabama. One of his more prominent clients was the Cherokee Nation, and he increasingly became an advocate for the Cherokee and an opponent of slavery. Raised an Episcopalian, he converted to Presbyterianism in 1826 and started supporting gradual emancipation.

During the next decade, Birney gained notoriety as an opponent of slavery but was not yet an abolitionist. In August 1832, he became an American Colonization Society agent, traveling across the South lecturing on the society's objective—to encourage black Americans to emigrate. Birney believed that Kentucky was an ideal state in which to advocate his antislavery sentiments, and he promoted his views in lectures and letters to newspapers and friends. Gradually recognizing that colonization was not the answer to slavery, in 1834 he wrote his "Letter on Colonization," first published in the Lexington, Kentucky, *Western Luminary* and reprinted in other newspapers and as a pamphlet. He attempted to justify his resignation from the Kentucky Colonization Society, and this added to his standing among antislavery forces.

Living in Danville, Birney helped found a state antislavery society and planned to publish a newspaper advocating his views. After being personally threatened and having his mail interrupted, Birney moved across the Ohio River to New Richmond, Ohio (near Cincinnati), and published his paper. Birney had become an abolitionist, and his pamphlet, *The American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery* (1835), was an established abolitionist tract. In 1839 he emancipated his twenty-one slaves at an estimated cost to him of twenty thousand dollars.

In January 1836 Birney's inaugural issue of the *Philanthropist* attacked slavery, Democrats, and Whigs, and advocated political action for abolition-

ists. The publication added to the distrust of and opposition to Birney's ideas and his public appearances were frequently threatened with violence. He remained in Ohio until September 1837, when he moved to New York to become executive director of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In his belief in abolishing slavery by constitutional or legal means, Birney differed from the followers of William Lloyd Garrison, the best-known abolitionist in the country. Birney's philosophy, which was based on using political action to end the peculiar institution, increased his national visibility.

In 1840 an Albany, New York, antislavery convention nominated Birney as the newly formed Liberty Party's candidate for president. He garnered 7,100 popular votes. Four years later he had a determining impact on the presidential election. Running once again as the Liberty Party's nominee, Birney won 62,300 votes nationally, but more significant were his 15,812 votes in New York. Without Birney on the ballot, these votes would probably have gone to Whig candidate Henry Clay; instead, Democrat Polk won New York's electoral votes and the election. Polk and his party defended slavery and, if anything was learned politically from the election of 1844, it was the power of the vote in the attempt to end slavery.

In 1845 Birney suffered a crippling fall from a horse and remained partially paralyzed for the rest of his life. He continued writing in opposition to slavery through pamphlets, letters, and other antislavery tracts, but late in life he became a bitter recluse. Birney died in New Jersey on November 25, 1857, a unique figure in the antislavery movement who proved difficult to label or characterize—a slaveowner who opposed slavery. As strident as other abolitionists in his antislavery views, Birney advocated a constitutional end to bondage. Through his writing, public speaking, and presidential candidacy, Birney was an important figure in the American antislavery movement.

— Boyd Childress

See also: Compensated Emancipation; Gradualism.

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BLACK BELT

A geographical region spreading across much of the cotton-growing area of the southern United States, the Black Belt was a stronghold of the South's agricultural heartland and slavery. At first glance, the region seems to defy an accurate description. Two lines of thought define the Black Belt: one defines it as a distinct southern geographic region, and the other, used by sociologists, describes the same region's demographic characteristics.

Geographically, the Black Belt is the crescent-shaped 300-mile area stretching from central Alabama to northeastern Mississippi and even into Tennessee. It is an unusually flat region about twenty to twenty-five miles wide and is situated between 200 and 300 feet below the upland areas lying north and south. The region includes 5,000 square miles, 75 percent of which is in Alabama. The region drains primarily into the Alabama and Tombigbee river systems. Long considered one of the most desirable southern agricultural regions, the Black Belt takes its name from the rich black soil—calcareous soil formed from large deposits of Selma chalk. With its fertile soils, the region was ideal for cultivating cotton.

The presence of a large slave population to tend cotton planting and production led sociologists and historians to use the term *Black Belt* to describe the plantation society that emerged. This social science definition stems from the large black population that tilled the rich soil, as at the zenith of "King Cotton" in the South, blacks constituted over two-thirds of the region's population. Some historians concluded that many white planters and farmers even avoided the region.

Throughout history, the Black Belt has been generally identified with Alabama. A Creek cession of land in 1816 opened Alabama's Black Belt for settlement, and by the 1820s, cotton and corn were the major crops farmed in the region. Only the Mississippi River Valley produced more cotton than the Black Belt. More extensive settlements had developed by the 1830s, and the region remained a dominant cotton area until the end of the century when the boll weevil invaded the South and caused agricultural diversification and an emphasis on livestock production. Between 1830 and 1860, Alabama's Black Belt was easily the state's most productive region—it was home to the greatest number of slaves and was the stronghold of the state's Whigs. The region claimed three of the state's five capitals, including the current capital of Montgomery, and a significant number of plantations. With water travel available on a number of rivers, including the Alabama and Tombigbee, there was not much rail development. That fact helped preserve the region during the Civil War, as

Union armies made few invasions into the area. Even by 1880, cotton production was still the major occupation of Black Belt residents.

Tenancy became a way of life in the region after cotton declined; thus the area became nearly synonymous with poverty. In *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1936), James Agee and Walker Evans depicted this poverty through text and vivid photography. Although little attention is paid to the Black Belt today, in history the region is still as distinct and recognizable as the Carolina Piedmont and the Virginia Tidewater.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Short-Staple Cotton.

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BLACK LOYALISTS

Black loyalists were African Americans who served the British forces in various capacities during the American Revolution. Lured by proclamations promising manumission in return for service to the Crown (and by the republican ideology of liberty, equality, and fraternity), many blacks (some free, some indentured, most enslaved) declared their independence from slavery, joined the British, and toiled as victualers, laborers, and aides-de-camp. They served as auxiliaries to British, Hessian, and Loyalist militia, and they organized into formal military units like the Black Pioneers and the Ethiopian Regiment. Scholars estimate that perhaps one hundred thousand black Loyalists (and perhaps an equally large number of enslaved blacks) were evacuated, along with white counterparts, when peace was declared.

Loyalist communities began forming soon after the Revolution began. The British shifted and moved these Loyalists from one location to another as military activities unfolded in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York and later in Georgia, South Carolina, and the West Indies. Populations in Savannah, Georgia; Charles-Town, South Carolina; and New York swelled as refugees, both black and white, migrated to British-controlled areas. The single largest black community formed in and around New York City. The city's population began increasing soon after the

British occupation, and it expanded to over twenty-five thousand by 1783. Black folk lived in “Negro quarters,” barrack-like domiciles converted from housing seized, confiscated, and leased from Americans.

Some indication of the black community’s size and viability is evidenced by evacuation returns and by firsthand accounts of black festivities. *The Book of Negroes*, a listing by name, age, gender, place of origin, and so on, of black people transported on British ships, shows an aggregate total of just over three thousand. Besides providing services to the Crown, blacks formed free communities. Eyewitness accounts of “Ethiopian balls,” black festivities attended by whites, attest to the importance of such events in both the black and the white communities.

Despite proclamations assuring their liberty, the black Loyalist’s plight was insecure and negotiations concerning their disposition assumed top priority as the Revolution ended. Sir Guy Carleton, hoping to honor British proclamations, interpreted Article Seven of the Treaty of Versailles (1783) to mean that blacks within British-controlled areas as of a given date were free. Despite this effort, military correspondence is replete with accounts of former slaveowners entering British-controlled areas to reclaim what they considered their property—slaves. Both sides confiscated slaves and the British or British-affiliated agents engaged in illicit trade to the West Indies throughout the Revolution.

The transport and relocation of black Loyalists constituted one of the largest Diasporas in the Atlantic region. Between July 1782 and November 1783, the British evacuated Wilmington, Delaware; Savannah, Georgia; Charles-Town, South Carolina; and New York City. Britain had estimated that 50,000 tons of shipping would be necessary to remove the military, the Loyalists, and their baggage, so with less than 30,000 available at any one time, Carleton opted for a series of mini-evacuations. Four separate convoys left Savannah in July 1782: the largest went to New York, the second to Charles-Town, the third to St. Augustine, and the fourth to Jamaica. Three convoys sailed in December 1782 from Charles-Town: the first and largest went to New York, the second to Jamaica, and the third went to England. New York was the last and largest port evacuated. A small number of blacks left in June 1783 for Jamaica, a larger convoy departed for the Bahamas in August and October, while another group went to Canada in November 1783.

Organizing convoys resolved transportation issues but not relocation. It was one thing to offer a home away from home for white Loyalists and quite another

for blacks. Most blacks were transported to the Canadian Maritimes where they established communities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Dissatisfied with Canada, substantial numbers opted for transport to England, and, finding life in England little better, they later left for Sierra Leone in West Africa. A small, but influential, number of blacks opted for transport to Jamaica. Among the more notable of these were Moses Baker and George Liele, folk or itinerant preachers who laid the basis for the island’s practice of Afro-Christianity. The history of black Loyalists remains one of the untold stories. Although investigations into their Diaspora have been undertaken, we know little concerning their plight and future in the Old World or the New.

— John W. Pulis

See also: Dunmore, John Murray, Fourth Earl of.

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BLACK NATIONALISM

Black Nationalism is a complex concept. Because of its multiple dimensions, there is no universally acclaimed definition for the term. Scholars have approached Black Nationalism from varying perspectives. Generally, it is based on the conviction that blacks share a common ethnic background, cultural identity, worldview, and historical experience. Nationalist consciousness among black Americans can be traced to the very dawn of enslavement. Drawn together by the experiences of slavery and discrimination, blacks, both in the United States and other parts of the world, began to espouse nationalist ideas and consciousness. The underlying goal has been the search for freedom and equality.

Racial/ethnic solidarity is perhaps the leitmotiv of Black Nationalism. The forging of this solidarity is often geographically exclusive, being confined to a particular location—the United States, Africa, or the Caribbean. Sometimes it is geographically unifying, embracing several regions where peoples of African descent are found. This is the Pan-African dimension. This transatlantic thrust is both a reaction to, and a reflection of, the historical practice of justifying black subordination on the basis of Africa's alleged barbaric and heathenish condition. The practice of mobilizing black consciousness against domination, oppression, and exploitation, and in pursuit of justice, gives Black Nationalism the character of a resistant phenomenon. This has often led to the mistaken projection of Black Nationalism as essentially antiestablishment and countercultural.

Black Nationalism has assumed varied forms throughout its history. "Integrationism" affirms black values, and integrationists evince a determination to belong, to become accepted as an integral element of a state or nation. "Emigrationism," or separatism, entails the search for a new national identity external to the oppressive state or nation. At times, emigrationism has been aimed at effecting relative isolation—either spatial or cultural—from the oppressor state's material and cultural influences, albeit within the same geographical confines. Spatial isolation is often described as "internal statism." Black Nationalists who favor cultural isolation advocate the construction of race and ethnically based institutions and values as defensive mechanisms against the destructive influences of the hegemonic group with whom they share territory. Black cultural nationalists vigorously affirm the unique cultural and historical identity of blacks and insist on the intrinsic essence and validation of their heritage.

The history of Black Nationalism in the United States exhibits all of the aforementioned dimensions. Since Black Nationalism originated with slavery and oppression, the earliest expressions of Black Nationalism were the slave revolts/plots, and antislavery organizational efforts of free blacks in the North. Slavery induced a consciousness of shared experience and group solidarity. By the mid-nineteenth century, this consciousness, particularly the underlying experience of deprivation and dehumanization, had led to a determined struggle to define and assert an identity.

Blacks mobilized their resources in demanding an end to bondage and the granting of full citizenship. Nationalists such as Lott Cary and Paul Cuffee proposed colonization as a strategy meant to enhance the cause of racial and social elevation, within both the

United States and Africa. Cooperative efforts of free blacks in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Ohio from the late eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth represented the greatest expression of national consciousness up to that time. These blacks clearly manifested a desire to end slavery and discrimination and to become fully integrated as Americans. Their failure to achieve integration unleashed an emigrationist consciousness and movement that mobilized black solidarity toward the assumption of an external national identity in Africa or the Caribbean.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 heightened emigrationist consciousness. Led by Martin R. Delany and Henry H. Garnet, emigrationists proposed creating an independent black nationality abroad, and they urged blacks to build their own nation where they could develop their potential unburdened by slavery and racism. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Africa became the focus of this independent black nationality. The plan of the nationalists was to initiate a successful cotton-producing economy in Africa that they hoped would rival and outsell American slave-grown cotton on the international market. This, they believed, would render slavery unprofitable, resulting in its demise. The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 temporarily halted this trend as blacks, including emigrationists, became optimistic that the war would ultimately destroy slavery. For blacks, the Civil War was a war for freedom and the realization of the elusive American national identity. This expectation was only temporarily realized during the war itself and the Reconstruction period that followed (1861–1877). The end of Reconstruction brought about a revival of Black Nationalism. With their aspirations betrayed and threatened by a renewed southern offensive, many blacks embraced emigration in both its external and internal dimensions. Some sought a new beginning in Africa; others looked toward Haiti; and still others turned to the lands of the West and Southwest, in the direction of Oklahoma and Kansas.

By the early twentieth century, Black Nationalism had coalesced into a strong Pan-African movement. Knowledge and consciousness of shared historical experiences of slavery, colonial exploitation and domination, and racism's pervasive and ubiquitous character compelled blacks in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa to forge a common front. The ethos of shared experience, identity, and cultural and historical heritage created and sustained the solidarity that Pan-Africanism represented. Marcus Garvey was most forceful in projecting this consciousness in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Pan-African

consciousness is deeply rooted in black history. However, it was not until the early twentieth century that Pan-Africanism became a sustained movement on a global scale, directed against the forces of colonialism and racism. Essentially, Pan-Africanism developed from consciousness into a movement that galvanized resistance against colonialism in Africa and worldwide racism by the mid-twentieth century. Black cultural nationalism was most pronounced and productive during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, when black artists, musicians, and writers used their talent and vocations to express, define, and project a consciousness of identity and nationalism.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s in the United States witnessed the flowering of Black Nationalism and consisted of a curious mixture of integration and separatist values—from the moderate approaches of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to the militant traditions of Malcolm X, Black Power, the Black Muslims, and the Black Panthers. Attempts by blacks to exercise control over their communities and such vital sectors and resources as education, religion, economics, and culture, and to wrest these vital aspects of their lives from the control and influence of forces and agents deemed hostile, represent enduring expressions of nationalism.

Within the United States today may be heard loud echoes of past traditions of Black Nationalism. Integrationism shapes the consciousness of many black conservatives who harbor faith in “the American dream,” and the notion of progress through industry and self-help. They strongly believe in the perfectibility of the American order. Cultural nationalistic and separatist aspirations and values inform the visions of the Black Muslims, proponents of Afrocentric projects, and the “hyper politicized” nationalism of black aesthetics and hip hop culture. They evince skepticism about the future of blacks in America, and they are bitterly critical of American institutions, values, and orientations.

— Tunde Adeleke

See also: Delany, Martin R.; Garnet, Henry H.

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BLACK SLAVEOWNERS

Slavery in the United States has traditionally been portrayed as an institution that was based on race. Generally speaking, this conviction is correct, but its propagation has led to the almost universal belief that all slaveowners were white and that all slaves were of African descent. In reality, although there were no white slaves, there were black slaveowners from the colonial period to the Civil War. Census records, deeds of sale, wills of free blacks providing for the disposition of slaves, and records of freedom suits brought by slaves against free blacks attest that there were numerous black masters in the United States. Black slaveowners, as did white owners, obtained slaves by inheritance, gifts, and purchase.

Records identify Anthony Johnson as perhaps the earliest black slaveowner, for Johnson, a former slave himself, acquired John Casor, a slave, in the 1650s. A local court sanctioned the right of free blacks to own slaves when it ruled not to give Casor his freedom when he sued Johnson for it. Another noteworthy case involving a freedom suit was initiated by Sarah, a slave, against Mary Quickly in the 1660s. Again, no claim was made that Quickly, being a black woman, had no right to own a slave, and the grounds for the suit were unrelated to the color of the defendant. Although some colonies initiated legislation forbidding blacks from owning slaves, none became law. A 1670 Virginia law specifically stated that blacks were not barred from buying any of “their own nation.” Later, some states restricted free blacks’ ability to own slaves. After 1832, Virginian blacks could no longer acquire slaves except spouses, children, parents, or those gained by inheritance or through descent.

In 1830 approximately thirty-seven hundred free African Americans, mostly in the Lower South, owned nearly twelve thousand slaves. According to the 1830 census, slightly more than 2 percent of the free black population in the southern and border states owned slaves. In Louisiana and Virginia, black slaveowners numbered more than nine hundred. Maryland and South Carolina ranked third and fourth, with 653

and 464 black owners, respectively. Black slaveownership was not confined to the southern states. In 1830 both Pennsylvania and Rhode Island reported twenty-three black masters. New York and New Jersey followed, with twenty-one and sixteen, respectively.

Some black masters held many slaves. In 1830 over 200 black owners held ten or more slaves. The largest black slaveowners resided in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia where ten or more black owners held more than twenty slaves each. Antoine Decruir and Martin Donatto owned seventy-five and seventy slaves, respectively. A Louisiana colony of free Creoles, descended from an eighteenth-century French settler and an African slave, contained 411 free persons who owned 276 slaves by 1860. One free black Virginian held seventy-one slaves, and two free blacks in South Carolina each owned eighty-four slaves. Two African-born mulatto brothers owned rice plantations in South Carolina worked by 100 slaves, and William Ellison, also of South Carolina, owned over 60 slaves prior to the Civil War. William Johnson, son of a white father and a mulatto woman, operated three barber shops in Natchez, Mississippi, owned 1,500 acres of land, and had at least fifteen slaves.

There were two kinds of black masters and black slaveowning. Most black slaveowners had some personal interest in their property. State policy toward manumission was often responsible for this type of slaveholding, as black slaveowners had purchased husbands, wives, or children and were not able to emancipate them under existing state laws. Phil Cooper, a slave in Virginia, became the chattel property of his wife in 1828 when she purchased him from his master, and Ermana, a slave woman, was the property of her husband—neither could legally be freed by the spouse. There were, moreover, some affluent free blacks who purchased relatives or friends, thus rescuing them from the worst features of slavery, if not bondage. This was a benevolent form of slaveholding in which the slaves were not seen as, nor treated as, slaves per se by their black masters but were merely technically enslaved. Despite the benevolent nature of such slaveowning, the relationship was still legally that of master and slave, and there were inherent dangers for the slave. Even ownership by one's relative was insecure. There was always the possibility of misuse since the power and control resided in the owner. A free black shoemaker in Charleston, for instance, purchased his wife for \$700, but, having decided she was unsuitable, he sold her a few months later, reaping \$50 in profit. Dilsey Pope owned her husband but sold him after he offended her in some manner.

The second type of black master was of a much different nature. There were some black masters who

most assuredly did not practice a benevolent form of slaveownership. These masters considered their blacks as chattel property; bought, sold, mortgaged, willed, traded, and transferred fellow blacks; demanded long hours in the workshops and fields; severely disciplined recalcitrant blacks; and hunted down escaped slaves. Major black owners sought slave property in part as an effort to conform to the dominant white pattern and to elevate themselves to a position of respect and privilege. For these free black masters, slaveholding was neither a philanthropic gesture nor a strategy for uniting family members. In these instances, free black masters had a real economic interest in the institution of slavery and owned slaves to improve their own economic status. Most black owners in this category were planters like Jacob Sampson, whose eleven slaves worked his 500-acre Virginia plantation.

It is impossible to determine how many black owners held slaves for profit and how many owned slaves for benevolent reasons. Raw census figures provide only hints as to the nature of black ownership of slaves. The number of slaves held was not necessarily indicative of the nature of that ownership. Although it can logically be presumed that the majority of those blacks who owned ten or more slaves held them for economic motivations, the reverse cannot be said. The ownership of a small number of slaves may indicate a benevolent purpose to the slaveownership, but it is not *prima facie* evidence of benevolence or philanthropy. Artisans and tradesmen were apt to own between one and three slaves. Gilbert Hunt, for instance, was a free black artisan in Richmond, Virginia, who ran his blacksmith shop with the help of two slaves.

Although slaveowning was spread across the economic spectrum of the free black community, it was concentrated near the top. In 1860, almost half of the free blacks with real estate worth \$2,000 or more owned slaves, and owning more than two or three slaves was confined to the economic elite since, whatever their desires, few free blacks could afford to own any slaves at all. Two of the wealthiest free blacks, Justus Angel and Mistress L. Horry, each owned eighty-four slaves. Cyprian Ricard, who purchased an estate with ninety-one slaves in Louisiana, and Charles Rogues and Marie Metoyer, who had forty-seven and fifty-eight slaves, respectively, were all members of the elite black class. Their need for labor, skilled and unskilled, drew them to the institution, as it was the only viable source of labor in the South. Furthermore, one of the best capital investments in the South, besides land, was slaves.

Wealthy free blacks drew distinctions between themselves and poorer free blacks and slaves. The fact

that free blacks in the South owned slaves underscores the distance that freedom placed between the free and the enslaved. Black masters were often trying to fit in with white society, and because they lived in a society in which more than 90 percent of the black population was slave, their principal goal was to preserve their freedom. To avoid slipping backward into bondage, they had to give their freedom substance, and one way to do that was to become a slaveholder. The Civil War and emancipation removed from these free blacks their labor force, a significant capital investment, a means of belonging to white society, and often, their economic status.

— Sharon A. Roger Hepburn

See also: Ellison, William.

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BLAIR EDUCATION BILL

According to an 1880 survey of the United States, seven out of twelve children and one voter out of seven could not read or write, with the southern regions having disproportionately higher numbers of illiterates. To ameliorate this national crisis, Chairman of the Senate Education and Labor Committee, Henry W. Blair, a Republican from New Hampshire, introduced the Blair Education Bill. The proposed legislation was intended to distribute federal funds equally for the instruction of African American and

white children. Although it did not deal with the issue of segregation, minimum standards of fairness toward newly freed African Americans were required since "separate but equal" public educational systems were to be instituted.

First presented to Congress in 1881, the bill suggested a ten-year commitment of federal money, beginning with \$15 million in the first year and decreasing by \$1 million each successive year. Approximately 75 percent of the money would have gone to the South because aid was to be allotted in proportion to state illiteracy rates. In its various incarnations, the bill was passed by the Senate in 1884, 1886, and 1888, but it never reached the floor of the House of Representatives. By 1890, interest in the Blair Education Bill disappeared completely. Had it been passed, this legislation would have allowed southern states to expand their dilapidated school systems and to make education available to impoverished white children. It would have been particularly valuable for newly freed African Americans, 47.7 percent of whom were illiterate in 1883 compared to the 6.96 percent national average for their white counterparts.

From the beginning, the bill was controversial and hotly debated, especially in the South. Worried that too many were "growing up in absolute ignorance of the English alphabet" and arguing that "ignorance is slavery," Blair sought equal access to education for all, especially African Americans. He hoped to eradicate one of the legacies of slavery that continued to keep freedmen in bondage in spite of legal emancipation. His supporters viewed universal education as a prerequisite for solving moral degeneration, economic lethargy, and uninformed voting in the post-Civil War (1861–1865) era since an intelligent and industrious citizenry could better promote financial and political stability. Northern and southern educators, southern independents and Republicans, and African Americans, among others, strongly endorsed the Blair Education Bill.

Ultimately, party politics, long-held racial beliefs, and suspicions of federal intervention in education defeated the bill. Many Democrats suspected that the legislation was politically motivated, designed to use up a tax surplus that resulted from high protective tariffs that the Republican Party favored. Although proponents of the bill argued that it was the nation's responsibility to help the overburdened South, opponents believed that federal encroachment was unconstitutional and would result in the usurpation of states' rights since education was a power reserved for local governments. Furthermore, many perceived the Blair Education Bill to be a

costly and futile ploy to uplift African American southerners, the majority of whom were deemed to be incapable of learning. Others worried that too much schooling would “spoil a good plow-hand” and enable educated African Americans to compete economically and politically with northern and southern whites. Northern Republicans, who nominated the bill but were then seeking reconciliation with the South after the Civil War, did not aggressively promote the legislation and essentially abandoned the freedmen. In the end, the failure of the Blair Education Bill reflected the divisive racial and political climates that continued to plague the nation in the era after Reconstruction (1863–1877).

— *Constance J. S. Chen*

See also: Education.

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JONATHAN BLANCHARD (1811–1892)

Firmly entrenched in the ideals of reform and social progress, Jonathan Blanchard strove to correct the ills of American society as abolitionist, pastor, and educator. Although his life is intertwined with common names of history, he remains unknown—in part because of history’s oversight, but also because of Blanchard’s self-recognized difficult personality. Writing to Thaddeus Stevens on May 12, 1847, he said, “I can see that my zeal is mixed with vehemence, my firmness with stubbornness, and, like Sampson, perhaps, my attempts against God’s enemies shaded with the spirit of revenge” (Blanchard Papers).

Blanchard grew up in meager conditions, but through hard work he was able to finish preparatory studies at Chester Academy in Vermont. He then attended Middlebury College (1828–1832) where he learned debate and parliamentary procedure as a member of the Philomathesian Literary Society. At this time he began *The Undergraduate*, one of several newspapers he would establish.

After Middlebury, Blanchard became the head of an academy in Plattsburgh, New York. It was there that

he assumed the mantle of an abolitionist. He did not call for repatriation of slaves to Africa or gradual emancipation, but advocated for the immediate abolition of slavery. This would be the focus of his career for the next three decades.

After experiencing a conversion while at Middlebury, Blanchard felt called to the ministry and began theological studies at Andover Seminary (1834–1836). While at the seminary he heard Theodore Dwight Weld’s call for itinerant lecturers for the American Anti-Slavery Society. He heeded Weld’s call, becoming one of Weld’s “Seventy” (key abolitionist agents who were sent out to recruit new members to the movement). He was assigned to Pennsylvania and traveled throughout the region for the cause of abolition.

After a year of mobs, threats, beatings, and successes, Blanchard returned to his theological training in 1837 at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. As a student he was called to preach temporarily at the Sixth Presbyterian Church, after his ordination he became its full-time minister. Two important figures at his ordination were Lyman Beecher and Calvin Stowe.

In addition to his continued antislavery work in Cincinnati, in 1843 Blanchard was a delegate to the second World’s Anti-Slavery Convention in London and was elected a vice president. The following year he journeyed to Quincy, Illinois, to deliver the commencement address to Dr. David Nelson’s abolitionist Mission Institute. During his time in the region, he took the opportunity to visit Knox College in Galesburg, which had offered him its presidency, and in 1845 he was installed as president, a position he held until 1858. Just prior to leaving Cincinnati for Knox, Blanchard debated Dr. Nathan Lewis Rice for four days on whether slaveholding was a sin.

Though removed from the fray of abolitionist work in rural Illinois, Blanchard made strong attempts to maintain his abolitionist activities. He publicly challenged Stephen A. Douglas on his congressional voting record on slavery-related matters, and in 1850 he wrote an open letter to Douglas concerning the Fugitive Slave Act that spanned seven newspaper columns. On October 13, 1854, in Knoxville, Illinois, Blanchard debated Douglas, a debate in which Douglas sought to show Blanchard as an extremist.

Blanchard’s abolitionist fervor eventually caused problems with Knox College founder George W. Gale, and so he left in 1858. A year later he became president of the Illinois Institute, and Blanchard restructured the board of trustees, nominating Owen Lovejoy, younger brother of famed abolitionist martyr Elijah P. Lovejoy, to the board.

Blanchard has been called a “minority of one,” and

his self-recognized vehemence and sublimated tendency for vengeance seemingly kept him from rising into the inner-circle of American abolitionism. Though his mind was keen, his work devoted, his spirit strong, and his acquaintances were numerous, his demeanor created barriers that distanced him from others, limiting him to regional importance.

— *David B. Malone*

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Douglas, Stephen A.; Immediatism; Weld, Theodore Dwight.

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BLEEDING KANSAS.

See Border War (1854–1859).

BLUFFTON MOVEMENT (1844)

The Bluffton movement led by secessionists and former nullifiers (South Carolina political figures who tried to nullify federal laws in the 1830s) like Robert Barnwell Rhett and Governor James Henry Hammond, was a short-lived attempt to make South Carolina provoke disunion. It began when Rhett gave a fire-eating speech at Bluffton, South Carolina, on July 31, 1844 (hence the name of the movement) calling for nullification or secession. The "Bluffton boys" sought to nullify the Whig tariff of 1842, called for the annexation of Texas as a slave state, and threatened to secede from the Union if southern demands were not met. "Texas or disunion" became a popular phrase in the state, and as during nullification debates, the tariff was portrayed as part of a northern antislavery plot. The repeal of the gag rule against abolitionist petitions in

Congress in 1844 further aggravated the secessionist-minded slaveholding Carolinian aristocracy. Moreover, during the same year, Samuel Hoar ventured into this stronghold of slavery to remonstrate against the unjust treatment of African American citizens of Massachusetts under South Carolina's notorious Negro Seamen's Act. Hoar was summarily expelled from the state and barely escaped the ire of the Carolina slave oligarchy with body intact. The Bluffton movement received added support from Governor Hammond, who in his annual message recommended state action to address southern grievances.

John C. Calhoun, who dominated state politics, headed off the revolt by Rhett and Hammond and nipped the movement in the bud. His faithful lieutenants, Francis W. Pickens and Franklin Harper Elmore, together with former unionists like Benjamin F. Perry and Christopher G. Memminger, led the counter-attack against the Bluffton boys. The ill-fated Bluffton movement was, according to most historians, a victim of Calhoun's plans to win the Democratic Party presidential nomination. The Carolinian leader, after the bitter experience of nullification, was probably also convinced of the inadvisability of precipitous and lone action by his state. More important, for Calhoun, through much of the 1840s, southern redemption lay not in secession but in his own elevation to the presidency.

Rhett and the Bluffton boys, unlike many before them, emerged unscathed from their temporary falling out with Calhoun. He along with Elmore, the president of the Bank of South Carolina, had led the Calhoun political machine, which controlled the state after nullification. In fact, Rhett quickly reemerged as a Calhoun confidant and was enlisted to check local criticism of Calhoun's advocacy of internal improvements on the Mississippi. On the other hand, Pickens, who helped Calhoun contain the Bluffton movement, soon became estranged from him over the issue. Moreover, some of Calhoun's closest followers, George McDuffie and Armistead Burt, had flirted with Blufftonism. Calhoun's private correspondence reveals that he, like the Bluffton boys, was acutely suspicious of the Van Buren northern wing of the Democratic Party and saw northern opposition to the annexation of Texas as extremely dangerous for the future of the slave South. Calhoun also played an instrumental role in fulfilling one of the major demands of the Bluffton movement, namely, the annexation of Texas. The Carolina leader differed with the Bluffton boys in policy but not in principles.

— *Manisha Sinha*

See also: Calhoun, John C.; Fire-Eaters; Hammond, James Henry; Nullification Doctrine.

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BORDER WAR (1854–1859)

The rising tensions over the issue of slavery in the United States first produced a violent combustion in the remote territory of Kansas in the mid-1850s. The border war of 1854–1859, also known as Bleeding Kansas, was a preview of the Civil War but preceded the national conflict by seven years. The fighting in Kansas over the issue of whether or not slavery would be allowed in the territory turned into a bloody partisan conflict that foreshadowed conflict in the border states during the Civil War. The Kansas–Missouri border erupted into armed combat and reduced the likelihood that the debate over slavery could be peacefully contained. The border war was a dress rehearsal for the Civil War.

The long-term causes of the border war were rooted in the westward expansion of slavery and the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The compromise had allowed Missouri to enter the union as a slave state but prohibited slavery from any future states in Louisiana Purchase territory above the 36°30' line, the southern border of Missouri. Although the agreement seemed to quell the sectional tensions of 1820, it only delayed the growing debate over slavery. The development of industry in the northern states and the rise of abolitionism, among other factors, in the next three decades polarized the nation over the issue.

In the short term, the border war was the product of the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854. That act organized two territories west and northwest of Missouri, and the bill's author, Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas, invoked the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which meant that the status of slavery in each territory would be decided by a vote of the citizens of the territories. Since these territories lay north of the 36-degree 30-minute line, the act effectively nullified the Missouri Compromise. The bill narrowly passed Congress but raised the ire of the increasingly antislavery North.

Out of this dispute rose the Republican Party, a sectional party dedicated to stopping the expansion of

slavery in the territories. The Republicans gathered membership from the defunct Whig Party, the nativist American (Know-Nothing) Party, and the growing number of Democrats alienated by what they saw as the southern domination of their party. The reversal of the Missouri Compromise was further evidence for these northerners of the southern slaveholders' ability to exercise a disproportionate share of political influence over the country's affairs. The slaveholding South had now given slavery a chance in a place where, for the last generation, slavery had been banned.

Many people saw popular sovereignty as a panacea for the ills of sectionalism, but events in Kansas Territory soon destroyed that illusion. When the territory was officially opened for settlement in mid-1854, many of the early inhabitants were nonpartisans who cared little for the slave issue, but outsiders saw Kansas as the next great battleground over slavery. In the territorial elections of March 1855, several thousand proslavery Missourians, called "border ruffians," flooded across the boundary to cast fraudulent votes. Even though free soil settlers were in the majority, they lost by a count of 5,247 to 797. It was later determined that 4,968 of the proslavery votes were fraudulent, but the proslavery forces had the territorial government thoroughly intimidated.

The dispute soon erupted into violence. A November 1855 killing of a free soil settler by a proslavery man triggered a series of events that led to the formation of large partisan bands that resembled armies. In May 1856 a federal marshal gathered a posse of seven hundred proslavery men to arrest some free soil officials at their headquarters in Lawrence. The posse went well beyond the arrests and looted the town, destroying two presses belonging to antislavery newspapers and burning the Free State Hotel. The "sack of Lawrence" led to a series of violent reprisals. John Brown, the man who later tried to incite a slave insurrection on the eve of the Civil War, led his sons in a brutal attack along Pottawatomie Creek in which five men were taken from their homes in a small proslavery community and hacked to death with broadswords.

Some two hundred men died in Kansas during 1856 alone, and the violence continued unabated. The national press covered each murder and skirmish with intense scrutiny, fueling sectional tensions. The Missourians' hopes of making Kansas a slave state were ultimately swamped by a sea of settlers from the free states. The instability of the territory made the prospect of taking slaves there a very risky proposition, and for many people the Kansas prairie seemed to represent the natural limits of the institution of slavery. By 1857, the Free State Party was in firm control of ter-

ritorial political life, and in 1859, the Topeka Convention drafted a free soil constitution. Still, Kansas did not enter the Union until after the first southern states had seceded in the winter of 1860–1861.

The Border War signaled the end of popular sovereignty as a useful method for deciding the issue of slavery in the territories. The conflict technically ended in 1859, but the local fighting was merely subsumed by the larger Civil War. The Kansas–Missouri border area witnessed some of the most brutal guerrilla conflict as the border ruffians and the antislavery supporters (jayhawkers) continued their bitter contest. In many ways, the climax to the violence that began in 1855 did not come until August 20, 1863, when southern raiders under the command of William Clarke Quantrill struck Lawrence again. The town, which had been the center of the free state movement during the border war, was burned and 200 men and boys killed. The violence on the Kansas–Missouri border between 1855 and 1865 was a microcosm of the larger conflict over slavery.

— *Richard D. Loosbrock*

See also: Brown, John; Jayhawkers; Lecompton Constitution.

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BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (1833–1840)

The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society associated itself with both the American Anti-Slavery Society and the New England Anti-Slavery Society and supported both organizations with financial contributions. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, much like the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, included both white and black women in its membership. More importantly, the Boston organization consisted of two diverse religious groups: evangelicals—those belonging to Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational denominations—and liberals—including primarily the Quaker and Unitarian members. Initially, a coalition

of these two divergent groups constituted the Boston organization. Both evangelicals and liberals were drawn to antislavery by their religious commitment to emancipation, and despite their differences, the women worked well together and made great strides toward their goals.

In its brief seven-year history, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society conducted three national women's conventions, organized a multistate petition campaign, brought suit against southerners bringing slaves into Boston, organized elaborate and profitable fund-raisers to keep male antislavery organizations financially solvent, and sponsored the Grimké sisters' lecture series throughout New England.

The society organized annual antislavery fairs at which handmade items and luxury items donated from European antislavery societies were sold. These fairs quickly became the social event of the Christmas season for Boston residents. In addition, the society published fifteen volumes of *The Liberty Bell*, a literary annual first published in 1839. Marie Weston Chapman served as editor, and each volume included poetry, reflective essays, biographical sketches, and short stories written by distinguished political and literary figures. The sale of these books provided both fund-raising and moral suasion opportunities for the society.

Religious differences finally split the society in 1840 after several years of bitter fighting between the factions that began in 1837. Although it officially disbanded in April 1840, Maria Weston Chapman led the liberal faction in declaring the dissolution illegal based on the society's original constitution and continued to operate the organization under the same name. In addition to its religiously liberal membership, the Chapman-run faction closely allied itself to William Lloyd Garrison and his antislavery beliefs. This society existed on paper into the 1850s, and its primary activity was the annual antislavery fair. The evangelical women formed a new society in 1840, the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society, but this group had disappeared by the mid-1840s.

Prominent members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society included liberal members Maria Weston Chapman, Lydia Maria Child, Anne Warren Weston, Henrietta Sargent, Caroline Weston, and Thankful Southwick, as well as evangelical members Mary Parker, Martha Ball, Lucy Ball, and Catherine Sullivan. Despite appearances, the evangelical women held a majority in the society, but the liberal members' names appeared in the antislavery literature more frequently as they were more outspoken than their evangelical sisters.

— *Sydney J. Caddel-Liles*

See also: Child, Lydia M.; Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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BREEDING OF SLAVES

Because the slave population in the United States was unique in that it reproduced itself, the question of whether slaveowners there utilized a deliberate breeding strategy has long been debated. A combination of historical circumstances no doubt contributed to a gradual but consistent increase in the native-born black slave population of the United States after the American Revolution, including the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 and then the lands gained in the war with Mexico, both of which resulted not only in the westward expansion of the United States but also in the westward expansion of slavery. In 1808 the constitutional ban on African importations went into effect, and although importations had been deliberately increased in anticipation of the ban in the decades immediately preceding it, the market demand for slaves after the ban went into effect had to be met solely by the natural increase of native-born slaves. At the same time, technological innovations in agriculture resulted in an antebellum cotton boom, which added to the increased demand for black slaves.

Initially, so-called surplus slaves from the older settled areas of the South were moved westward, both with their owners and alone after being sold. From 1810 through 1860, approximately five hundred thousand black slaves made the involuntary migration from Virginia and the Carolinas to Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and other Deep South states. Of particular interest for people who are in-

clined to conclude that slave breeding was at least a consideration of slaveowners is the fact that, unlike the strategy utilized during the colonial period, slave women and men were equally in demand in the old Southwest and sales of women and men were roughly equal. At least one historian has suggested that the odds of a slave couple being separated by sale were one in three, and slave women in their childbearing years were rarely allowed to remain without a mate, whether it was one of her own choosing or one selected by her master. Slave women almost invariably recalled being forced into sexual relationships, both with other slaves and with whites, including the owner. Heart-rending tales of the violent dissolution of slave marriages by slaveowners made indelible impressions on slave children, who recalled these scenes to Works Projects Administration interviewers many years later. "Encouragement" to reproduce often included rewards of leisure time, colorful cloth for dresses, and even cash. Occasionally, an owner might promise a particularly fertile slave woman her freedom after she had produced a certain number of healthy children. Despite continual interference, slave marriages tended to be long-lived, and families tended to be stable.

The flourishing internal trade in slaves suggests that the so-called surplus was constant over a period of five decades. In addition, larger commercial brokerages operating in southern coastal cities were responsible for acquiring, auctioning, and transporting hundreds of slaves annually. Additional slaves were also purchased and sold along the southwestern internal slave trade route, either overland or by sea via New Orleans. Some historians have insisted that slave traders were despised in a society that, nevertheless, used the acquisition and possession of slaves as an indicator of wealth and status.

The birthrate of Africans in the United States steadily increased, and the death rate decreased after the American Revolution. Indeed, native-born slaves had begun to outnumber Africans even before that. It is possible that tropical diseases in the West Indies and in South America contributed to the continued low birthrate of Africans in those countries, but in their own words, former slaves recounted to interviewers hired by the federal government during the 1930s the deliberate, artificial, and forced creation of slave "marriages" or even more temporary sexual liaisons for the clear purpose of producing offspring.

Women singled out for their fertility were referred to by the slaves themselves as "breed women," and women who failed to reproduce recalled being sold. When slaveowners had many more female than male

slaves, “breeding males” or “stockmen” were sometimes hired specifically to impregnate slave women. In other situations, a favored male hand might be allowed to take more than one wife at a time as a kind of reward. Thus former slaves recalled pairings of slaves by the white owner, the exertion of “influence” of one kind or another in order to pair a particular slave couple, rewards offered and given for producing offspring, the sale of women who did not reproduce after a period of time (although one historian has suggested that slave women might have used abortion techniques since documentary evidence has been found to show that some slave women who were considered infertile did in fact reproduce after emancipation), the “renting” of stud males, or the male owner himself impregnating females. It seems clear that the slaveowners strongly supported both promiscuity among the slaves and at least a version of polygamy for slaves. In addition, antebellum criminal court records contain evidence that slave women did occasionally violently resist being forced into sexual situations by slave men or by white slaveowners, resulting in the injury to or death of those men.

Slavery was meant to be a profit-making venture. Because slaves were sold as a hedge against inflation or bankruptcy, to mortgage property, or as collateral for loans; bequeathed in wills; and used as an indicator of social status as well as laborers, slaveholders strongly encouraged the “production” of slave infants either by “wedded” couples (keeping in mind that marriage between slaves was not recognized by law and was recognized by slaveholders only when it was expedient for them to recognize such a connection) or by slaves placed together arbitrarily for that purpose.

— Dale Edwyna Smith

See also: Domestic Slave Trade; Franklin and Armfield; Narratives.

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BROOKS–SUMNER AFFAIR

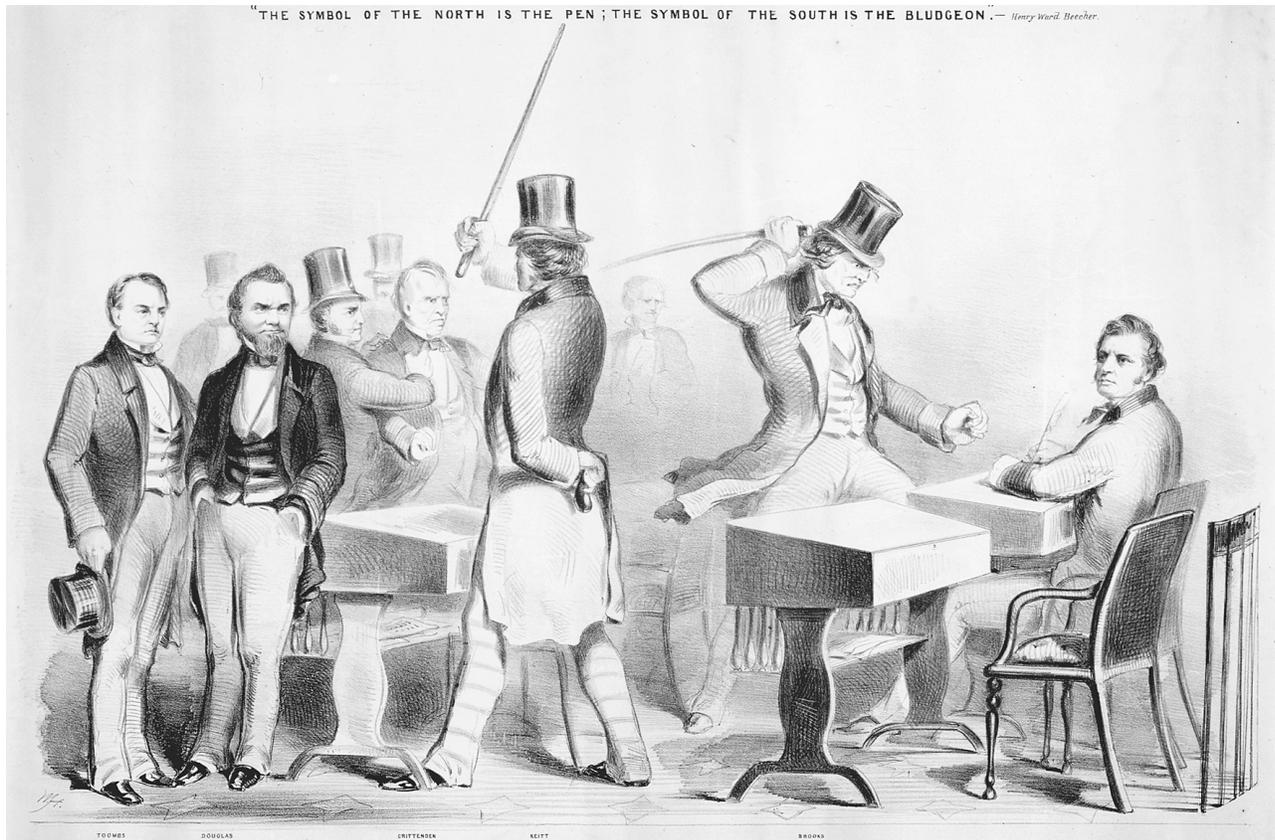
The Brooks–Sumner Affair was a brutal attack that occurred on May 22, 1856, on the U.S. Senate floor against Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner by South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks. The assault was one incident in a series of events in the 1850s connected with the debate on slavery.

On January 23, 1854, Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, an advocate of westward expansion and a potential candidate for the presidency, introduced the Kansas–Nebraska bill in the U.S. Senate. The bill called for creating two territories from part of the Nebraska territory. One territory to the west of Iowa would become Nebraska, and the other to the west of Missouri would become Kansas. Both territories would have the right of popular sovereignty to decide whether they would be free or slave states.

Douglas, hoping to gain support from southern legislators for his bill, supported the principle of popular sovereignty as established in the Compromise of 1850, which effectively voided the line between free and slave territory established in the Missouri Compromise (1820). After lengthy debate, Congress finally passed the Kansas–Nebraska bill. Antislavery forces in Congress, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner included, argued that passage of the measure represented a conspiracy of proslavery forces to expand slavery. Sumner, an avid abolitionist who was one of the most vocal congressional opponents of slavery, believed that if slavery could be prevented from expanding to new territories it would eventually fade away.

The Kansas–Nebraska Act’s passage placed the focus of the slavery question in the new territories, especially Kansas, where political and moral questions would be addressed violently in the upcoming months. In March 1855, fraudulent voting in Kansas helped elect a proslavery territory legislature. This proslavery legislature, based in LeCompton, dismissed the few antislavery delegates and enacted slave codes. Later that summer, antislavery forces called their own meeting in Topeka and established an extralegal antislavery legislature that passed laws prohibiting slavery and made formal application that Congress admit the Kansas territory as a free state. President Franklin Pierce condemned the antislavery Topeka legislature, recognized the proslavery legislature, and showed his support for the territorial administration by sending troops and appointing proslavery judges in Kansas.

Antislavery forces, especially the New England Emigrant Company, which organized to promote the movement of antislavery settlers to Kansas, appealed to Sumner to champion the cause of preventing



The Brooks–Sumner Affair was an indication of both the growing hostility between anti and proslavery forces and an increasing sectional and political rivalry that eventually led to the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

Kansas from becoming a slave state. Sumner realized that Kansas's request for statehood would be a topic on the Senate floor over which antislavery and proslavery forces would clash. In March 1856, when Douglas condemned Kansas's antislavery forces, Sumner defended antislavery attempts to make Kansas a free state.

On May 19, 1856, Sumner began a two-day speech titled "The Crime Against Kansas." In the speech, which was meant to arouse northern sentiment against the Kansas violence and the growing influence of proslavery forces in Congress, Sumner first recognized that in Congress the main agents of slavery were Senators Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Andrew Butler of South Carolina. Sumner then detailed the crime committed against Kansas. It was allowing the slavery forces to invade the once secure free territory. Only restoring the Missouri Compromise line, continued Sumner, could ameliorate the crime committed by the Congress and proslavery advocates.

Sumner also condemned President Pierce for supporting the illegally elected Kansas proslavery government, reprimanded U.S. senators who supported slavery, and then, in a series of personal attacks, focused

his anger on South Carolina Senator Andrew Butler. Sumner informed the crowded Senate chamber that Butler had taken up with "the harlot, slavery," ridiculed Butler's inability to control his drooling, and accused him of being an incompetent fool. Sumner also maligned South Carolina by making trivial the importance of the state's contribution to American society. Southern congressmen reacted vehemently with threats and insults, but Sumner refused any special protection from his supporters.

South Carolina Congressman Preston Brooks, determined to protect the honor of Butler, his relative, and the state of South Carolina, and to strike a blow against the antislavery forces in Congress, planned his response. Since Brooks considered Sumner to be a social inferior, the southern code of honor prevented him from challenging Sumner to a duel. Instead, Brooks decided to teach Sumner a lesson. On May 22, just two days after the "Crime Against Kansas" speech, Brooks and his cohort South Carolina Representative Lawrence M. Keitt, who stood nearby to prevent anyone from interfering, entered the Senate chamber soon after the day's session ended and approached Sumner

who was seated at his desk. Brooks informed Sumner that his “Crime against Kansas” speech was libelous against the state of South Carolina and demeaned the honor of Senator Butler, who happened to be a close relation. Without waiting for Sumner to respond, Brooks began beating Sumner with his walking cane.

The attack was so vicious that Brooks’s hollow cane broke into pieces from the impact of the blows. Sumner, unable to avoid the blows because he was trapped at his desk, which was bolted to the floor, finally tore the desk from the floor and collapsed bloody and unconscious on the Senate floor. Keitt, who kept onlookers from interfering with the attack, ended the attack by warning Brooks that if he continued the beating Sumner might die.

After the attack, Brooks received hundreds of canes from southern proslavery sympathizers. The injuries Sumner sustained in the attack prevented him from returning to the Senate for three years. Massachusetts reserved his Senate seat until he was well enough to return. In the House of Representatives legislators failed to pass a recommendation expelling Brooks. Soon after the vote, Brooks defended his attack on Sumner and tendered his resignation. South Carolina voters immediately returned Brooks to Congress by an overwhelming vote. Brooks’s beating of Sumner helped sway many conservatives to the Republican Party and to take up a strong antislavery stance.

— Craig S. Pascoe

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Kansas–Nebraska Act; Lecompton Constitution.

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BROWN FELLOWSHIP SOCIETY

The rules and regulations of the Brown Fellowship Society record that the organization was established on November 1, 1790, by five “free brown” men (James

Mitchell, George Bampffield, William Cattel, George Bedon, and Samuel Saltus) who sought to relieve “the wants and miseries” and promote “the welfare and happiness” of the free mulatto population of Charleston, South Carolina, by founding a charitable and benevolent association. As the earliest and the “preeminent mulatto organization in antebellum Charleston” (Johnson and Roark, 1982) the society restricted its membership to fifty of the city’s wealthiest free mulatto (brown) men. Perhaps as a consequence of such self-conscious class and complexional exclusivity, several other free black and free mulatto mutual aid societies later formed in Charleston, most notably the Humane Brotherhood and the Friendly Moralist Society.

The Brown Fellowship Society levied a sizable \$50 initiation fee and regular monthly dues to insure members for times of illness and indigence, providing “a decent funeral for any deceased member who did not leave in his estate sufficient funds for that purpose” (Harris, 1981), and furnishing financial support for widows and educating any remaining children when necessary. The purchase of a lot to be used as a burial ground was achieved soon after the society’s formation, a necessity no doubt made more urgent by the difficulties of burying brown bodies in such a color-conscious Christian city. Although the Brown Fellowship Society included affluent tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, a nationally known hotelier (Jehu Jones, Sr.), and even some slaveholders, its relatively well-heeled members were not shielded from the growing force of racially oppressive and proscriptive white supremacist legislation. In the wake of Denmark Vesey’s conspiracy (1822), Nat Turner’s revolt (1831), and the growing sectional crisis, the free black and free mulatto populations of Charleston found themselves facing new controls on their education and mobility, which added to the burden of special “capitation” taxes and subaltern status under South Carolina’s “Negro law,” which restricted the rights of the state’s free black population.

Questions of status and identity have been the key issues occupying most scholarly analyses of Charleston’s free mulatto aristocracy and its organizations. Although most historians agree that the free brown elite managed to occupy a middle ground between the broader free black and slave populations and the city’s white residents, there has been some dispute as to the degree of exclusivity, color consciousness, or caste discrimination as evidenced by the correspondence and official records of mulattoes affiliated to self-help groups such as the Brown Fellowship Society. In addition to the organization’s name having often been taken too “literally by many scholars as prima facie

evidence of mulatto exclusiveness” (Harris, 1981), perhaps too little has been made of the achievement of the free brown elite’s mindful policy of public accommodation and simultaneous exploitation of the personalism of the dominant culture (Johnson and Roark, 1984). Although members of the Brown Fellowship Society did not enjoy the dubious comforts of the third racial space occupied by the mulattoes of New Orleans, they successfully maintained their organization beyond the difficult years of the Civil War by judiciously excluding political controversy and by carefully cultivating white patronage. Just when the society disbanded is uncertain, but it continued to own the burial ground until 1957.

— Stephen C. Kenny

See also: South Carolina.

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HENRY “BOX” BROWN (C. 1815–1878)

Henry Brown gained fame through an extraordinary escape to freedom. Born a slave in Louisa County, Virginia, Brown was sent to work in the city of Richmond at about the age of thirteen when his master died. At about the age of twenty he met and married another Richmond slave, Nancy, and they lived as happily as possible under slavery for about twelve years. In August 1848, she and their three children were suddenly sold to a Methodist preacher from North Carolina.

No longer deterred from seeking to escape slavery—as Brown later noted, now “my family were gone” (Stearns)—he conceived an approach that, though dangerous, might work. He had a carpenter make a wooden box, 2 feet by 2 1/2 feet by 3 feet, and took it to a white friend, Samuel A. Smith, a shoe dealer, and

Smith’s free black employee, James Caesar Anthony Smith. Asked what the box was for, Brown exclaimed, to “put Henry Brown in!” The two Smiths marked the box “right side up with care”; addressed it to William A. Johnson, Arch Street, Philadelphia; and on March 29, 1849, shipped it by Adams Express.

Brown took with him a container of water and had three small holes for air, yet he thought he would die when, for parts of the journey, he traveled in the crate upside down. But the trip ended at last—after twenty-seven hours—and like Lazarus from the dead, Brown rose from the box when four men (including William Still, a black abolitionist, and James Miller McKim, a white one) from the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, a group associated with the Underground Railroad and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, collected the box and opened it. As for Samuel Smith, he went to the Virginia penitentiary for attempting again in May 1849 to ship two boxes, each containing a slave man, north to freedom.

Henry Brown took the name Henry “Box” Brown and, after moving to Boston, became active in the abolition movement as a witness to the horrors of slavery even at its best. He told crowds his tale, and abolitionist Charles Stearns published Brown’s narrative, *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown* (1849), “written from a statement of facts made by himself.” In January 1850, Brown attended a giant antislavery convention in Syracuse, New York. Also at the Syracuse meeting was James Caesar Anthony Smith, who, having made his way north after Samuel Smith’s conviction in Richmond, now assumed the moniker “Boxer” for his role in boxing up Brown. Some people in Boston painted a panorama, “Mirror of Slavery,” that depicted scenes from slavery and Brown’s flight, and “Box” Brown and “Boxer” Smith toured the Northeast with the panorama and the famous crate.

On August 30, 1850, slave catchers nearly kidnapped Brown. In order to put himself beyond their reach and that of the new Fugitive Slave Act, Brown left for England. In subsequent years, he told his compelling story to people in Great Britain. In England he also published another version of his story, *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself* (1851). Although slavery in the United States came to an end in 1865, Brown continued to perform on stage in England and Wales until as late as 1875, when he returned to America.

Accompanying Brown on his return to the United States were his second wife, whom he had married in the late 1850s, and their teenaged daughter. Having largely left behind the panorama that he had performed in his early years as a showman, Brown more



Henry “Box” Brown devised one of the most ingenious means of making his way to freedom in Philadelphia. (Library of Congress)

often performed magic tricks on stage. The historical record of Henry “Box” Brown fades in 1878, when he would have been about sixty-three years old.

— Peter Wallenstein

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Underground Railroad.

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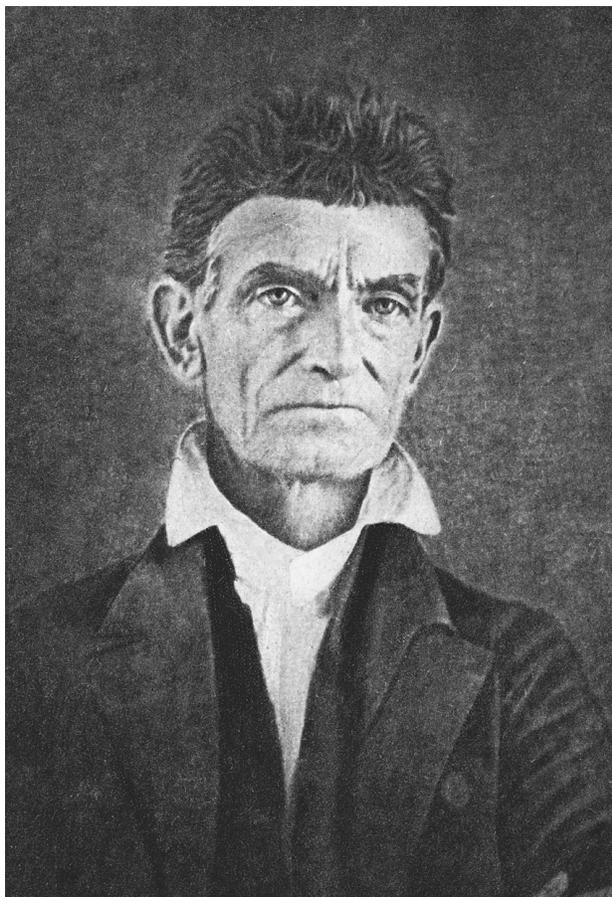
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JOHN BROWN (1800–1859)

John Brown was a radical religious abolitionist whose die-hard commitment to the destruction of slavery in the Harpers Ferry Raid prefaced the American Civil War. Brown was born on May 9 in Torrington, Connecticut, and was one of six children reared under the strict supervision of Calvinist parents Ruth and Owen Brown. The family relocated to Hudson, Ohio, in 1805. Owen, a tanner and shoemaker by trade, was also a successful land speculator. He was zealous in his commitment to the liberation of blacks and evangelical abolitionism. This commitment was reflected in his



Captured during his failed attempt to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, the radical abolitionist John Brown soon became a martyr to the antislavery cause. (Library of Congress)

support for antislavery educational establishments, including Western Reserve College and Oberlin College in Ohio. Reared in this reformist environment, the young Brown imbibed strict discipline, religious faith, and antislavery convictions.

By the time he was twenty, Brown's path was set. A skilled tanner, student of mathematics and surveying, Brown sought business success in order to realize his primary objective of abolition. On June 21, 1820, Brown married Dianthe Lusk, a member of a New York family who had relocated to Hudson. They were to have eight children, but frontier life, childbirth, and infant mortality eroded Dianthe's health and she died at thirty-one. An earlier move to Crawford County, in western Pennsylvania, in 1823, where Brown went into joint tannery business with Seth Thompson, proved unsuccessful and Brown returned to Ohio in 1836. Despite his hard work and obvious skills, Brown was often unsuccessful in his business ventures. One recent

biographer points to "wrong turns, dead ends, failed attempts, lawsuits, and grinding debts" (DeCaro, 2002). In 1846, the Brown family moved to Springfield, in western Massachusetts.

These failures coincided with his burgeoning public commitment to antislavery. During the 1840s, Brown was in touch with Quaker abolitionists and antislavery leaders Gerrit Smith and Frederick Douglass. On January 15, 1851, Brown helped found the League of Gileadites. It attracted forty-four members, many of whom were free blacks, fugitive slaves, and working citizens of Springfield. The primary aims of this group were to promote physical resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) and to protect runaway slaves from pursuing slaveowners and federal agents. By the mid-1850s, this organization had declined, but Brown's commitment to antislavery increased.

The Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854) opened up the possibility of the western expansion of slavery. Brown followed his sons to Kansas, settling along the Osawatimie River. The future status of this territory—whether it would enter the Union as a free or slave state—was in fierce dispute. After one failed attempt to destroy Lawrence, a free state town, proslavery forces attacked again on May 21, 1856, and destroyed it. Three days later, Brown and his sons Owen, Frederick, Oliver, and Salmon and son-in-law Henry Thompson, along with free state men Theodore Weiner and Townsley, executed five proslave settlers along the Pottawatomie Creek with short broadswords.

During this period, Brown became known as "Osawatimie Brown" or "Old Osawatimie." For some abolitionists, he came to symbolize a holy crusade against slavery; to many proslavery supporters and southern sympathizers, he became a hated figure. This difference of opinion helped to clarify the complex nature of growing sectional divisions in the antebellum United States.

By the mid-1850s, Brown had planned a raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry in northern (now West) Virginia. The place was well stocked with arms and was strategically well situated for easy access to the slave South down the Appalachian Mountain range. In early 1858, while visiting with Frederick Douglass at Rochester, New York, Brown wrote *Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States*. Consisting of forty-eight articles, the document condemned slavery, envisioned a mountain-based community, and outlined a political structure based on the U.S. Constitution. Later that year, Brown traveled to Chatham, Canada West, which was home to black communities, to drum up support for his planned raid. By summer 1859, Brown

had secured financial backing from a secret six (Gerrit Smith, Samuel G. Howe, Franklin Sanborn, Theodore Parker, George L. Stearns, and Thomas W. Higginson). His twenty-one followers included two former slaves (Shields Green and Dangerfield Newby); three black activists (Osborne P. Anderson from Chatham and Oberlinites John Copeland, Jr. and Lewis Leary); and an assortment of religious abolitionists, antislavery activists, and Brown family members. The youngest follower, twenty-year-old William H. Leeman, explained the nature of the plan in a letter to his mother: “We are now all privately gathered in a slave state, where we are determined to strike for freedom, incite the rebels to rebellion, and establish a free government” (Oates, 1970).

The twenty-two-man army began its raid on the federal arsenal late Sunday evening, October 16 1859. Thirty-six hours later, and after fifteen deaths including Brown’s sons, the raid was over. Brown had failed to accomplish his stated objective of slave insurrection. The bodies of the black rebels were sliced and diced by students at Winchester Medical School. After a brief examination, short imprisonment, and show trial, Brown was convicted for treason against the state (although his was legally a federal offense). On December 2, 1859, John Brown was hanged. His corpse was later transferred to his family’s farm near Lake Placid in upstate New York.

Many northerners praised Brown’s principles even if many of them disagreed with his methods. Southerners condemned the event even as they used it to galvanize popular support for their cause. On October 25, 1859, the *Richmond Enquirer* wrote: “The Harpers Ferry Invasion advanced the cause of Disunion more than any other event.” Most importantly, the raid served as the opening shot of the Civil War. As Brown scrawled on a small note the day of his execution: “I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land: will never be purged away; but with Blood” (Oates, 1970). At a eulogy held for Brown in New York City the same day, Henry Highland Garnet spoke of “the dreadful truth written as by the finger of Jehovah—For the sins of this nation there is no atonement without the shedding of blood.” This was less a prophecy than a direct recognition that only warfare would abolish American slavery.

The historical significance of John Brown has been debated ever since. Was he a dangerous antislavery fanatic or a principled freedom fighter? Although slaveholders, northern Democrats, and moderate abolitionists thought the former, radical abolitionists and generations of African Americans believed the latter. Did the plan fail because it was poorly planned, or be-

cause slaves did not want to engage in insurrection? Clearly, the raid was well planned if poorly executed. Perhaps Brown should have taken to the hills Spartacus-like and incited the slaves. Alternatively, the slaves would probably not have followed him because of the blunt power of the slave regime. When this regime began to collapse a few years later, however, slaves did self-emancipate themselves, fight for the Union, and help destroy slavery. From whence arose Brown’s passionate antislavery beliefs? Some biographers make much of his commitment to black people. Others insist the basis of this commitment was his fierce desire to eradicate the evil system of slavery through doing God’s work. The historical jury remains out on several of these issues, but there are some irrefutable points. Brown’s racial solidarity has always kindled greater respect among Americans of African descent than among whites. And Brown’s raid and its consequences portended the underlying reality of the antebellum sectional crisis—namely, slavery.

— Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie

See also: Harpers Ferry Raid.

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JOHN MIFFLIN BROWN (1817–1893)

The abolitionist, educator, and eventually the eleventh bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, John Mifflin Brown was born in Cantwell’s Bridge (currently known as Odenta), Delaware, on September 8, 1817. Details of his early life are sketchy, but his future close involvement with the AME church was probably due to the influence of his mother and grandfather, both of whom were Methodists.

Prior to reaching his teens, Brown left Cantwell’s Bridge for Wilmington, Delaware, where he resided

with the Quaker family of William A. Seals. While in Wilmington, Brown attended Sunday School and church services at the Presbyterian church, where he and all other blacks were forced to sit in black pews located in the gallery of the church. Unwilling to accept this seating arrangement, Brown began attending Sunday School at the Roman Catholic church, where he was welcomed. The next few years of Brown's life were spent serving as an apprentice, first to attorney Henry Chester and then to Frederick H. Hinton, a barber.

In January 1836, Brown became a member of the Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia. After working as a barber in New York for a short while, Brown enrolled in Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in order to prepare for college, but failing health forced him to return to Philadelphia in summer 1840. During the fall of 1841, he enrolled at Oberlin College but did not complete a degree. Brown was an avid supporter of Oberlin, an institution that was known for its abolitionist tradition and a place where Brown found an environment that welcomed abolitionist lecturers and activists. Brown praised Oberlin College for its liberal tradition and encouraged blacks to attend because of this tradition and because of its reasonable tuition. In 1844 Brown opened the first school for black children living in Detroit, Michigan, and during that same year, he began serving as acting minister of the AME church there, a position he held until 1847.

After joining the Ohio Conference in 1849, Brown was given the pastorship of the AME church in Columbus, Ohio. That same year, he was appointed principal of Union Seminary, the first school owned and operated by the AME Church. Although enrollment at Union Seminary grew dramatically under Brown's leadership, the future of the school was tenuous, and in 1856 the assets from the then-defunct Union Seminary were merged with the newly established Wilberforce University.

As a result of his commitment to abolition and spreading the gospel, Brown was imprisoned on several occasions for allowing slaves to attend worship services. In 1858 he became the pastor of Bethel AME Church in Baltimore, where he was instrumental in increasing church membership and also raising significant funds to remodel the building. In 1868 Brown was elected bishop, was consecrated, and was assigned to the Seventh Episcopal District, which included several southern states. Brown was instrumental in organizing conferences and increasing church membership. He died at his Washington, D.C., home on March 16, 1876.

— Beverly Bunch-Lyons

See also: African Methodist Episcopal Church.

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WILLIAM WELLS BROWN (C. 1814–1884)

An abolitionist and writer, William Wells Brown was born a slave, and his father was a white slaveholder. As a youth he was taken to St. Louis, Missouri, where he lived and worked for three different owners. He was hired out for various jobs: a farmhand, a servant in a tavern, for a brief time a handyman in Elijah P. Lovejoy's printing office, a worker on Mississippi River steamboats, an assistant in his owner's medical office, and a handyman for James Walker, a slave trader who took him along on three trips to New Orleans. Brown's work in the doctor's office inspired him later to study and practice medicine, while his work in a tavern led to his later activism in the temperance movement. His various work experiences provided a wealth of information for him to draw on when he became an anti-slavery activist.

Since childhood, Brown had thought of escaping from slavery, and when his last owner, a St. Louis commission merchant and steamboat owner, took him to Cincinnati as a servant he seized his chance. Traveling on his own and falling ill, he chanced on Wells Brown, an Ohio Quaker who housed and fed him for about a week until he was able to continue his journey. Assuming the status of a free person, Brown took his benefactor's name and was thereafter known as William Wells Brown. Later he dedicated the first edition of his narrative to Wells Brown.

Brown lived for several years in Cleveland, and then in Buffalo for nine years before moving close to Rochester, New York. During much of that period, he worked on Lake Erie steamers, taking advantage of the opportunity to help other fugitives reach Canada. Largely self-educated, he lectured on temperance and in 1843 became a lecturer for the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. In 1847 he moved to Boston where he lectured for both the Massachusetts and American Anti-Slavery societies. William Lloyd Garrison recognized Brown's talents as a speaker, and he and other New England abolitionists sponsored Brown's tours. For his part, Brown was loyal to the Garrisoni-

ans, continuing to work with them when many other antislavery advocates had shifted their support to electoral politics or free soil tactics.

In 1848 Brown represented the American Peace Society at the Peace Congress in Paris, where he met Victor Hugo and other European reformers. While he was abroad, Congress enacted the new Fugitive Slave Act (1850), which made it much more dangerous for him to return to the United States. He traveled and lectured extensively in Britain, joining fellow black abolitionists William and Ellen Craft at some public meetings and at others exhibiting a panorama to add a visual dimension to his lectures on slavery. The panorama was not well received, but Brown's lectures were always impressive. He and other former slaves had the stamp of authenticity in speaking of the peculiar institution. Many who would not listen to a white abolitionist were moved by Brown's forceful presentation. Yet he wished to return to his native country and finally agreed, reluctantly, to permit British abolitionists to purchase his freedom.

After returning to the United States, Brown devoted himself to antislavery work with another series of lecture tours. As the North became more free soil in sentiment, Brown met a much warmer reception from audiences. He also wrote more than a dozen books, pamphlets, and plays, beginning with the *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself* (1847), which quickly became a best-seller. The 3,000-copy first edition sold out within six months. Three more editions followed, reaching a total of 10,000 copies sold in two years. It was one of only a few slave narratives that were written by the subject rather than having been dictated to abolitionists.

By 1856 Brown supplemented his lectures by reading one of his works, a three-act antislavery drama entitled *Experience; Or How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone*. Although he never published his first play, it met an enthusiastic response. By the end of 1856 he planned a second drama, *The Escape; Or a Leap for Freedom*, the first known play to be published by an African American. Brown often read it, too, during his extensive travels in the antislavery cause.

Although his lectures and dramatic readings were based primarily on his personal experiences as a slave, it was his novel *Clotel: Or, The President's Daughter* (1853), which became his most controversial work. Published in London, *Clotel* was based on the rumor that Thomas Jefferson had fathered a slave daughter by his personal servant Sally Hemings. As a novel it was flawed, parts of it being virtually lifted from Lydia Maria Child's story "The Quadroons." Yet as one of the earliest novels published by an African American,

it adds to Brown's significance as a pioneer writer for his race. *Clotel* did not appear in the United States during Brown's lifetime, though he wrote three variations on its theme for domestic readers.

Another of Brown's innovations was a travel book, *Three Years in Europe; or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met* (1852), written from the perspective of a former American slave. Its contents included articles and letters Brown contributed to the London press and American antislavery papers during his European sojourn. In contrast to other travel accounts, Brown's book compared the freedom he found in Britain with the slavery he had suffered in his native land. In a letter to his last owner, Brown wrote of his affection for America but his hatred for "her institution of slavery."

Brown pioneered in yet another area, writing a history of African Americans. Although he was not a trained historian, he called attention in his four books to the contributions of African Americans in the American Revolution and in the Civil War. Later editions of *The Black Man; His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863) and *Rising Son; Or the Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race* (1874) included biographical sketches of more than one hundred African American men and women whom Brown believed represented the best in their race.

Brown recruited for the Union army during the Civil War and continued his efforts for civil rights. He also undertook the practice of medicine, combining it with lecturing and writing. Temperance remained one of his major concerns. Late in life Brown traveled through the South, writing of that experience in his last book, *My Southern Home: Or, the South and Its People*. Brown, who rose from slavery by his own efforts, produced more than a dozen publications and broke ground for later African American writers in several fields, was a significant American writer.

— Larry Gara

See also: Craft, William and Ellen; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Garrison, William Lloyd; Underground Railroad.

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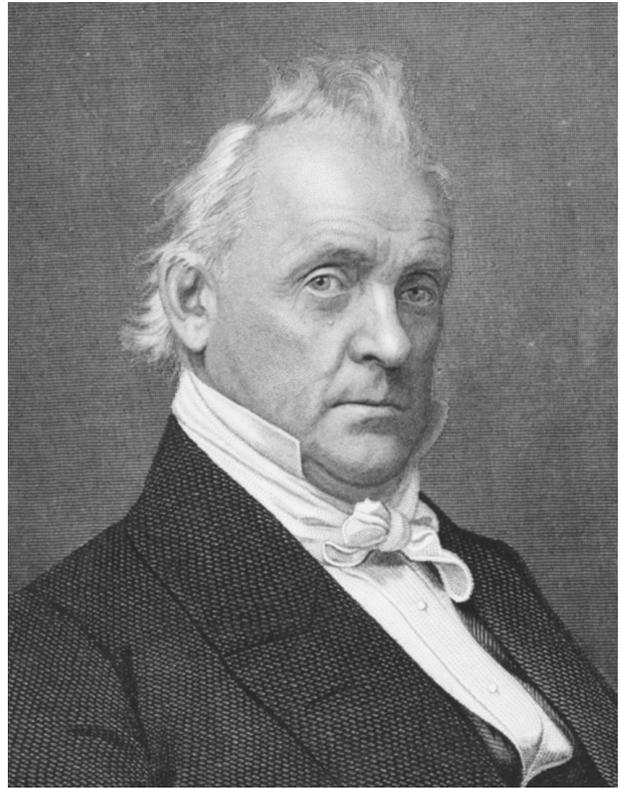
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JAMES BUCHANAN (1791–1868)

As the fifteenth president of the United States, James Buchanan did much to inflame sectional passions and to exacerbate controversies over slavery. A Pennsylvania native, Buchanan began practicing law after graduating from Dickinson College in 1809. Election to his state's legislature in 1812 began a long political career that kept Buchanan in public office almost continuously until 1861. He entered Congress in 1820 as a Federalist, though by the end of his decade-long tenure in the House of Representatives he had become baptized into the Jacksonian faith. After a brief stint as minister to Russia (1832–1833), Buchanan spent ten years in the U.S. Senate (1835–1845), where he showed traces of being a “doughface”—a northerner who sided with the South on slavery questions. Buchanan viewed such concessions as necessary for preserving the integrity of the Democratic Party as a unified national institution. Hence, he supported the annexation of Texas as a slave state in order to mollify the southern wing of the Democracy and thus to maintain party solidarity.

Buchanan left the Senate to join President James K. Polk's cabinet as secretary of state (1845–1849). In this post he showed skill and tact in handling diplomatic crises, but at the same time his pro-southern tendencies came into sharper focus. He supported Polk's aggression against Mexico and joined southerners in opposing the Wilmot Proviso, which aimed to bar slavery from all territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War (1846–1848). Instead, to resolve the question of slavery in the West, Buchanan advocated extending the Missouri Compromise line—which applied only to the old Louisiana Territory—to the Pacific Coast, thereby dividing the Mexican Cession into clearly delineated free and slaveholding spheres. But Democratic chieftains rejected this formula and instead hitched their party's platform to the doctrine of popular sovereignty—that is, to the idea of territorial self-determination of the slavery question. Largely for this reason, in 1848 the Democrats declined to run Buchanan for the presidency, an office he desired keenly, preferring rather the candidacy of Michigan senator Lewis Cass, the reputed “Father of Popular Sovereignty.”

After again failing to win his party's presidential nomination in 1852, Buchanan joined President Franklin Pierce's administration as minister to Great Britain (1853–1856). In this station he became involved in an imbroglio concerning American plans for acquiring Cuba. In 1854 Buchanan and two other diplomats endorsed the Ostend Manifesto. The brainchild of Pierre Soulé, a fiery proslavery annexationist from Louisiana and head of the American legation in



James Buchanan, the fifteenth president of the United States, did little to prevent southern states from seceding from the Union and forming the Confederate States of America. (Library of Congress)

Madrid, the Ostend Manifesto proposed that the United States should seize Cuba by force if Spain refused to sell the island. This action endeared Buchanan to southern slavery expansionists, who coveted Cuba as an additional slave state, but it earned him the wrath of northern free soilers, who became convinced that Buchanan was a minion of the “slave power.” Nevertheless, the Ostend fracas paled in comparison to the Kansas–Nebraska controversy, which also exploded in 1854 and which helped make Buchanan the Democratic presidential nominee in 1856. Rising anti-Nebraska sentiment in the party caused Democratic leaders to pass over Buchanan's chief rivals, the incumbent Pierce and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, both of whom figured prominently in passing the Kansas–Nebraska Act. Buchanan secured the party's candidacy because he was overseas when the Nebraska trouble broke and thus seemed untainted by the affair. With solid southern backing, he won the election of 1856.

Sectional discord over slavery plagued Buchanan throughout his term, and he did much to fuel the antagonisms. Tensions began mounting days after his in-

auguration when the Supreme Court issued its decision in the *Dred Scott* case (1857), decreeing that the Constitution did not recognize black people, slave or free, as citizens, while denying the authority of Congress or territorial legislatures to exclude slavery from the territories. Seeing the ruling as a final resolution to the territorial conundrum, Buchanan endorsed it wholeheartedly. Privately, in fact, the president committed a serious breach of constitutional ethics by pressuring one of the Court's northern Democratic justices to side with the Court's southern majority in handing down a proslavery judgment. Buchanan's southern supporters appreciated his stance, but it undermined the northern wing of his party because, since 1848, northern Democrats had embraced popular sovereignty as their formula for dealing with slavery in the territories. Yet, in disavowing the ability of territorial governments to regulate slavery, the *Dred Scott* decision seemed to invalidate that doctrine and to do so with the president's blessing. Buchanan thus helped precipitate a sectional rift in his own party.

Buchanan shattered his party completely during the debates over Kansas statehood in 1857–1858. As part of the original Louisiana Purchase lying north of the 36°30' line, Kansas Territory fell within the slave-free zone established under the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In 1854, however, Congress reorganized the region on the basis of popular sovereignty, thereby opening the door for the possible introduction of slavery into Kansas. Though most Kansans supported the free soil cause, a militant pro-southern minority used rigged elections, voter fraud, and similar artifices to elect a proslavery constitutional convention. Meeting at Lecompton in 1857, this bogus assembly drafted a slave-state constitution and submitted it to Congress in application for statehood. Buchanan fully endorsed the Lecompton Constitution, despite its questionable legitimacy, and pushed hard for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union as a slave state. He hoped that a speedy admission, even under dubious auspices, would bring closure to the matter and eliminate the source of sectional agitation. Once again, however, he failed to see the consequences of his blatantly pro-southern policies. Led by Stephen Douglas, numerous anti-Lecompton Democrats broke with the administration in 1858 and joined Republicans in denouncing the Lecompton Constitution as a sham and a subversion of popular will in Kansas. Buchanan's course, therefore, split the northern Democrats and all but ensured a Republican presidential victory in 1860.

The election of Abraham Lincoln in that year triggered the secession of the Lower South. Buchanan approached this crisis with equivocation. He denied the

right of any state to leave the Union, but he simultaneously denied the power of the federal government to coerce states to remain in the Union. He spent his final days in the White House attempting to avert civil war, happily transferring the reins of government to Lincoln in early 1861. He retired to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1868. Unapologetic to the last, Buchanan went to his grave blaming the dissolution of the Union and the ensuing Civil War on the zealotry of fanatical abolitionists and uncompromising "black" Republicans, who placed their devotion to the black race above the preservation of the republic itself.

This, of course, was hardly an accurate assessment. The former president himself bore a heavy burden of responsibility for the sectional apocalypse. Well before the Civil War erupted, Buchanan had earned the nickname "Old Public Functionary," a reference to the many offices he held during his long civic career. Yet, for all his political experience and insight, Buchanan confronted the sectional conflicts of the 1850s with considerable ineptitude. Indeed, his policies helped sunder the Union to which he had devoted his life.

— Eric Tscheschlok

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Civil War; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Lecompton Constitution; Popular Sovereignty.

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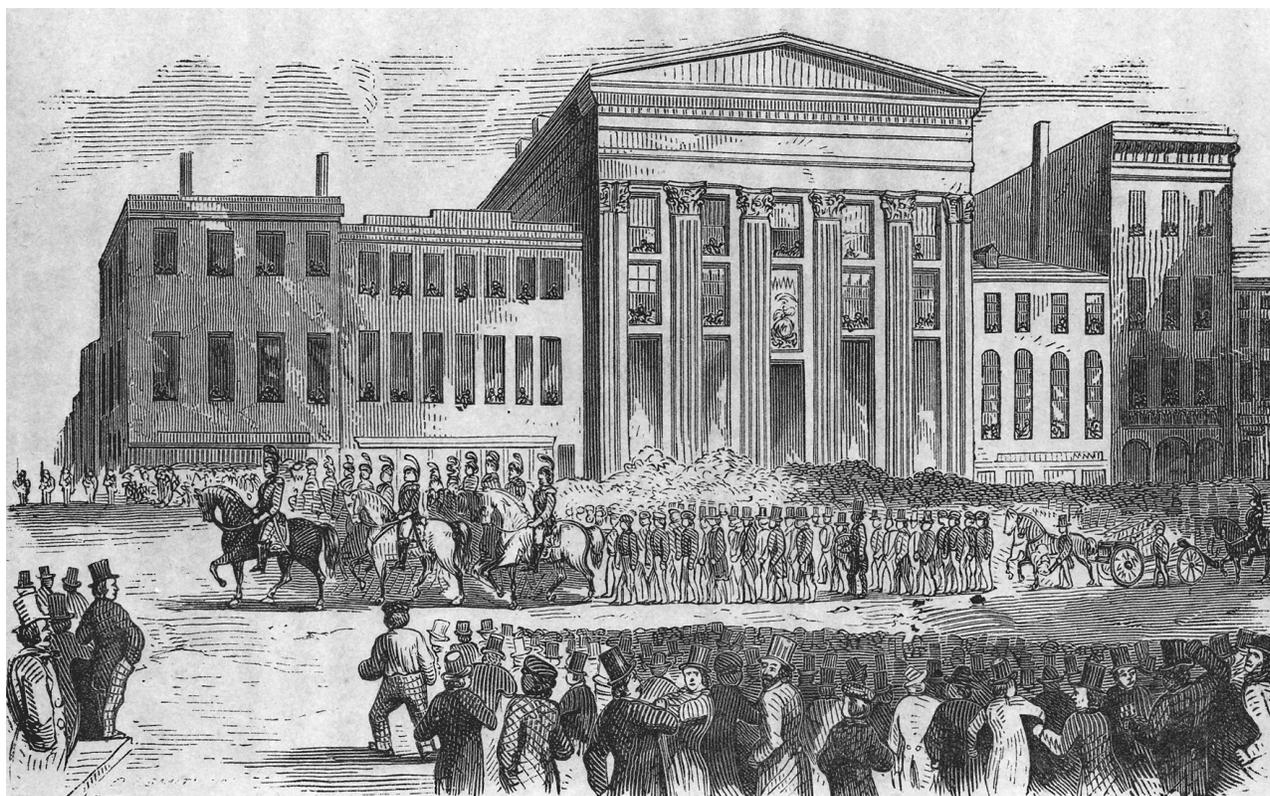
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ANTHONY BURNS (C. 1830–1862)

Anthony Burns ranks near Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman among the more famous fugitive slaves in U.S. history. Born in the early 1830s in Stafford County, Virginia, Burns had a hand mangled in a sawmill accident, but he learned how to read and write, and in his teens he became a Baptist preacher. Employment in Richmond, Virginia, in 1853 offered him a realistic opportunity to escape, and in February 1854 he stowed away on a ship bound for Boston by way of Norfolk.

On May 24, eleven weeks after arriving in Massachusetts, Burns was on his way home from his job at a



Officials in Boston provoked public discontent by returning the fugitive slave Anthony Burns to Virginia, even though their actions complied with the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. (Library of Congress)

clothing store when he was arrested on a false charge of robbery, taken to the federal courthouse, and confronted by his Virginia owner, Charles F. Suttle. The next morning, Burns was taken before the fugitive slave commissioner, Judge Edward G. Loring, for what was intended as a quick hearing under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and a quiet return to slavery in Virginia. But a failed rescue effort on May 26 led to the death of a jailer. Continued intervention by Burns's black pastor, Leonard A. Grimes, a white lawyer, Richard Henry Dana, and other Bostonians drew the procedure out until June 2. Judge Loring then determined that Burns was indeed the fugitive slave being sought. Hundreds of state militia and more hundreds of federal soldiers ushered Burns to the docks for his return to Virginia.

At enormous cost, the federal act had been enforced—a situation that inflamed passions over slavery on both sides. Northerners who had considered slavery a distant phenomenon saw the system's political power reach into their own region—and just as a furor over the Kansas–Nebraska Act erupted as well. Opposition grew toward slavery, along many dimensions, whether because of what it did to so many blacks or what it did

and threatened to do to whites. White northerners, that is, even if they had little interest in what slavery did to the enslaved in the South, might respond, as did one Massachusetts newspaper, “We are the slaves and vassals of the South” (Von Frank, 1998, p. 258). Yet proslavery southerners could see that the Fugitive Slave Act might not be worth much; as the *Richmond Enquirer* put it, “A few more such victories, and the South is undone” (Schwarz, 2001, p. 54). The Anthony Burns case propelled the nation toward secession, Civil War, and emancipation.

As for Anthony Burns himself, in despair after his capture, he had regarded quiet cooperation with the slave catchers as the safest way to behave, but the fracas associated with his being rendered back to slavery also led to his eventual freedom. For months following his return to Richmond on June 12, 1854, he was kept manacled in a filthy jail cell. Suttle then sold him to David McDaniel, a slave trader and planter from Rocky Mount, North Carolina. Burns managed to write letters to Boston, and black Bostonians soon learned of his new whereabouts. McDaniel agreed on a purchase price that would permit Burns to return to the North, this time as a free man. Burns arrived back

in Boston one year after he had stepped off the steamer that carried him out of slavery the first time.

Burns's wish to study to become a trained preacher took him to Oberlin College in Ohio in summer 1855 and to Fairmont Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. Sales of his biography helped finance his education. He served briefly as the minister of a black church in Indianapolis, and in 1860 he became the pastor of a congregation of fugitive slaves, Zion Baptist Church, in St. Catharines, on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario. Still weak from his 1854 ordeal, Burns died of tuberculosis a year and a half after moving to his new home.

— Peter Wallenstein

See also: U.S.–Canadian Relations on Fugitives; Fugitive Slave Act (1850)

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WILLIAM BYRD (1674–1744)

The second William Byrd of Virginia, one of that colony's most prominent slaveholding planter aristocrats, distinguished himself as a lawyer, colonial official, and writer. He inherited a large James River plantation, its slaves, and the family home, Westover, from his father, William Byrd (1652–1704), who had obtained part of his fortune through land speculation and the traffic in African slaves. The son William Byrd later acquired more land and slaves, which allowed him an elegant and cultivated lifestyle.

Byrd owned over two hundred African slaves and several Native Americans. On occasion he imported Africans directly; others he acquired when he took over the Mount Folly estate of his deceased father-in-law, Daniel Parke. Byrd, like many Virginia planters, occasionally sold his slaves to pay his creditors.

Although Byrd attempted to be a kind master, referring to his slaves and servants as "my family," his paternalism also had a harsh side. His *Secret Diary* details how he often talked with his slaves, listened to their troubles, advised them on personal matters, and prescribed cures for their illnesses. He made sure that his slaves had adequate clothing, and as a strict observer of the Sabbath, he tried to minimize their Sunday work. On more than one occasion he prevented his hot-tempered first wife, Lucy Parke Bryd, from brutalizing household slaves. However, he personally whipped slaves whose behavior displeased him, or he might induce an unruly slave to vomit, which he found to be an effective punishment. He ordered others to be tied by the leg or fastened with a bit in their mouth, but he never branded them, relying on threats, not punishment to maintain discipline. Occasionally a slave escaped, but this occurred less frequently at Westover than at other Virginia plantations.

Though intensely religious, Byrd possessed elastic morals, which stretched to the slave quarters. He appreciated the beauty of black women and lusted for them. His *Histories of the Dividing Line* recounted an encounter with a "Dark Angel," and his *Commonplace Book* contained raunchy jokes about blacks and whites together. His *Diary* referred to "tawny nymphs," kissing black women, and fondling the breasts of a "Negro girl" who "resisted a little." He also composed verses to "Ebonia with an Olive Skin," but apparently he refrained from sexual relations with his female slaves until after 1720, when he began to make visits to slave quarters in search of female companionship.

Byrd gradually came to disapprove of slavery as unchristian. He advocated prohibition of slavery in the new Georgia colony and once expressed the hope that Virginia would prohibit the chattels altogether. He claimed that slavery contributed to moral degeneracy and laziness among whites, who disdained work "for fear it should make them look like slaves." He felt uncomfortable with the inhumanity of slavery and regretted the cruelty it engendered. But severity was necessary, he conceded, because the vast numbers of slaves made them insolent. His greatest concern, however, was the possibility of a servile revolt that would tinge Virginia's rivers with blood. Byrd also had great contempt for self-righteous New Englanders who carried rum and slaves up Virginia's rivers, once characterizing them as "felons." Despite Byrd's reservations about slavery, he recognized the institution as an economic necessity.

— Charles H. McArver, Jr.

See also: Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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**JOHN C. CALHOUN (1782–1850)**

Although he served as vice president and cabinet officer in two presidential administrations, John C. Calhoun is most remembered as a staunch supporter of slavery and states' rights. No southern politician of the antebellum period was more widely experienced than South Carolina's Calhoun. As congressman, senator, cabinet member, and vice president, he was as powerful and influential as any American before his death in 1850. Yet, despite his national stature, history recognizes him more as the strategist who engineered the antebellum defense of slavery.

Calhoun was a significant slaveholder, and not surprisingly, he viewed slavery as an economic good. He was interested in agriculture and scientific farming, and he had mining interests in northern Georgia. His largest landholdings were near Pendleton, South Carolina, where he owned a 1,000-acre cotton plantation named Fort Hill. He owned another cotton plantation in Alabama's Black Belt in Marengo County. Calhoun owned over 150 slaves at the two operations combined, and he also utilized slave labor at his gold mine located near Dahlonega, Georgia. Calhoun added several large land grants to his already considerable interests, but in

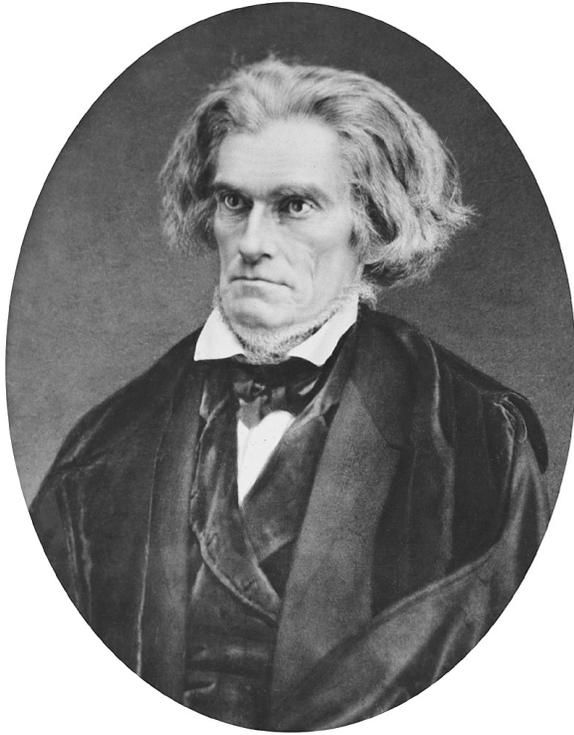
his later years, he went into serious debt with land investments and several poor harvests.

Calhoun grew up with slaves and was considered a good and fair master. The historical record shows that his slaves were rather fond of their master. He was convinced of blacks' inferiority and found them incapable of freedom. He defended slavery on moral and economic grounds and rejected the "necessary evil" defense, convinced that the institution was the foundation of a southern society based on agriculture. Over the last two pivotal decades of his life, Calhoun did not waver in his belief that slavery was a "positive good" that was benevolent to the inferior race.

Calhoun saved his most vitriolic attacks for northerners who were critical of slavery, especially abolitionists. Calhoun charged that northern contentions that slavery was a sin and immoral were baseless, and he did not mince words when provided a public audience. Unlike several of his more enlightened southern colleagues, Calhoun opposed emancipation, but, to the satisfaction of many of his fellow slaveowners, his was one major defining voice defending the existence of slavery.

Calhoun was born on March 18, 1782, near the Abbeville community in South Carolina. In fall 1802, he left South Carolina for Yale and returned two years later a graduate and a Unitarian. Calhoun began the study of law in Charleston and graduated from Connecticut's Litchfield Law School in 1806. His early years practicing law proved unfulfilling, and he entered politics in 1808. His early experience led to Calhoun's election to Congress in 1811 where he served until 1817, when he was appointed President James Monroe's secretary of war. A war hawk in Congress, Calhoun served eight years in the cabinet, reorganizing the War Department and overseeing its significant growth. Aspiring to the presidency, Calhoun settled for the vice presidential post under John Quincy Adams. As the Democratic Party emerged with the meteoric rise of Andrew Jackson, Calhoun found the party's states' rights platform compatible with his doctrine of nullification, and when Jackson easily carried the presidency in 1828, Calhoun was again elected vice president.

The year 1828 was pivotal for Calhoun—he anonymously penned the so-called South Carolina Exposition, thus continuing the states' rights stand. Calhoun introduced his interpretation of the doctrine of interposition, arguing that a state had the right to veto any federal legislation that it found to be unconstitutional. The entire argument centered on opposition to the protective tariff of 1828, and Calhoun and South Carolina led the charge. As a split developed between



John C. Calhoun, a staunch supporter of slavery and states' rights, served as vice president and cabinet officer in two presidential administrations. (Library of Congress)

Jackson and Calhoun, South Carolina nullified the tariffs of 1828 and 1832, and threatened secession. The volatile Calhoun was elected to the Senate in December 1832, and he then resigned from the vice presidency. In time, a lower tariff measure passed as a compromise and the secession crisis was averted.

From the Senate, Calhoun further developed his defense of slavery as a positive good and opposed the growing national antislavery movement. As a rather large slaveowner, Calhoun moved away from defending the institution as a necessary evil for southern economic development. Confronting abolitionists at every turn, Calhoun defended the South's right to protect its constitutional guarantee to own slaves, a defense that further projected his position as a national political figure. He briefly considered a run for the presidency in 1844 and was appointed secretary of state under President John Tyler in April 1844. Again slavery became an issue for Calhoun, as he pushed for allowing slavery in the annexed Texas territory. He left the State Department when James K. Polk was elected, but once again returned to the Senate in late 1845. One final time Calhoun rose to defend states' rights, this

time over the Compromise of 1850 and California statehood. Seeing the South being pushed into a minority position on slavery, Calhoun argued against the compromise. Too weak to read his own speech, Calhoun heard his words read for him on the Senate floor. He appeared in the Senate for the final time on March 13, 1850, and died on March 31. Like so many other southerners who fought to defend states' rights and thus slavery, Calhoun never strayed from his views.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Compromise of 1850; Democratic Party; *Disquisition on Government* (Calhoun); Nullification Doctrine; *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*.

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CANADA. *See* United States–Canadian Relations on Fugitives.

LUCRETIA “PATTY” HANLEY CANNON (C. 1764–1829)

Patty Cannon led the nineteenth century's most successful kidnapping ring in the abduction of free blacks. Cannon's gang, which included over thirty white thugs and a black confederate, terrorized African Americans from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to Accomac, Virginia. Responsible for sending countless numbers of free blacks into slavery, Cannon's operation illuminates the dangers that freed slaves and freeborn people living within a slave nation faced.

Much of Lucretia Hanley Cannon's life remains a mystery. Born in about 1764 possibly in Canada, the black-haired, brown-eyed, and buxom woman nicknamed “Patty” spent most of her life in Delaware. Large and powerful with a rowdy disposition, she reputedly

had the ability to fling a man to the ground by his hair. She married Jesse Cannon and produced several children, one of whom she later confessed to strangling three days after its birth. Jesse, killed by poison, also figured among Cannon's eleven acknowledged murder victims.

One of her daughters married Joe Johnson, and he did much of the gang's kidnapping work. Cannon supervised blacks imprisoned in the two Cannon–Johnson homes, each located in the heavily wooded Johnson's Crossing (now Reliance, Maryland) at the intersection of Dorchester and Caroline counties along Delaware's southern border with Maryland near the Nanticoke River. In these houses, chained African Americans were held captive in attics, basements, and hidden rooms. They would be transported in covered wagons to Johnson's Ferry (now Woodland's Ferry) for shipment to plantations. Johnson captained the ships and led the bands taking captives to the South. With easy access to the Chesapeake Bay, the gang operated by both land and water for years.

In the United States, free blacks risked being kidnapped and sold into slavery. Although kidnapping occurred throughout the nation, residents of states bordering the Mason–Dixon line were in greatest jeopardy, and Delaware was a good site for the Cannon–Johnson gang. On the Chesapeake's eastern shore peninsula, whites viewed freeborn and emancipated blacks, who by 1819 already outnumbered slaves, as a threat. Antikidnapping laws could not be enforced in such a hostile climate, and newly opened cotton country in the old Southwest created a huge demand for slaves just after the African slave trade had been abolished. Kidnapping could be a highly lucrative and relatively safe occupation. In abducting slaves, kidnappers risked death at the hands of angry slaveholders, but by abducting freeborn or emancipated blacks, kidnappers faced only slight risk since the victims and their families had little legal recourse and few powerful supporters.

The exact number of Cannon's kidnapping victims is unknown but is estimated to be over two dozen. Slave testimony collected in Delaware's Federal Writers' Project shows that while Quakers sent runaway slaves north into freedom, Cannon shipped free blacks south into slavery.

In the late 1820s, a farmer working land near the Cannon–Johnson property discovered several buried skeletons. The remains were eventually linked to Cannon. Arrested in 1829 for killing a slave trader, she confessed to murdering eleven people and admitted to playing a role in twelve other deaths. She committed suicide in jail on May 11, 1829, in Georgetown,

Delaware, by taking poison. At a posthumous trial in October 1829, the Delaware court, refusing to allow justice to be thwarted, convicted Cannon of the murder of three children and sentenced her to hang.

In subsequent years, Cannon acquired immortality in print. Featured in both George Alfred Townsend's 1884 collection, *The Entailed Hat*, and R.W. Messenger's 1926 novel, *Patty Cannon Administers Justice*, Cannon has become a nightmarish legend and as such, part of American folklore.

— Caryn E. Neumann

See also: Free Persons of Color.

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SLAVE CATCHERS

Slave catchers were persons engaged in locating and capturing slaves who attempted to escape a condition of servitude (as in the United States), or in capturing persons who subsequently became commodities in slave commerce (as in Africa). Slave catchers were important members of all slaveholding societies throughout recorded history. Babylonian Laws 17–20 defined the responsibilities and expectations of such a profession (searching), as did Hittite Laws 22–23 and 61. Elaborate Roman legislation categorized slave types and processes applicable in retrieving fugitive slaves, and attempted to remove opportunities for collusion between fugitive slaves and catchers/entrepreneurs. The Romans commonly used branding as a technique for identifying runaways, and officials regularly detained branded persons for collection by owners, even before owners reported them missing. Muslim-influenced African societies appealed to Islamic law (Sura 47) to define an employer's obligations to slave catchers and to legitimize slave catching. Africa's animistic societies appealed to indigenous law.

In the Americas, various slave-catching (retrieving) traditions applied. In the United States, the Fugitive Slave Act (1793) permitted slaveowners to apply to federal court officials for an order to return fugitive slaves to the state from which they had fled, but that act did not provide for enforcement of the court's decision within the state of discovery or establish procedures for returning fugitive slaves legally to owners. In 1818 Congress considered a new proposal designed to

give force to earlier legislation and to satisfy both slaveowners and antislavery sentiments, but Congress failed to reach consensus or compromise sufficient for passage. Consequently, the 1793 act remained the principal law (however flawed) regarding slave retrieval until when, in the Compromise of 1850, Congress passed a new Fugitive Slave Act as part of the Compromise of 1850.

Between 1793 and 1850, sentiments of both slaveowners and antislavery advocates changed dramatically, and the slave-catching/searching/retrieving profession also changed. In 1793 significant numbers of settlers and slaves were under a service obligation/contract, and society respected the professional catcher. After 1793, numbers of free-based indentures in the North declined significantly, leaving a preponderance of catchers employed in locating and retrieving fugitive slaves who crossed from slaveholding to nonslaveholding states. Until 1850, federal law complicated slave catching/searching/retrieving within northern states since it provided no binding process for enforcement. In addition, state laws, state courts, and state officials confounded the process by obstructing legitimate slave catchers. Abolitionist opposition and successes in blocking lawful retrievals encouraged the slaveowners' increasing willingness to sanction extralegal means to retrieve property. Slave catchers consequently changed search-and-return methods. Rather than risking opposition and time-consuming involvements of northern courts, catchers increasingly avoided the legal process altogether, simply seizing fugitive slaves and secretly transporting them to a place that sanctioned slavery. Contemporary abolitionist literature characterized such persons as bounty hunters or kidnappers, often accusing them of kidnapping free African Americans to replace financial losses suffered by slaveowning employers.

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was part of a larger compromise between northern and southern states and was designed to remedy the defects of previous legislation. Unfortunately, this act did not halt the excesses of catchers who were accustomed to working outside legal processes. It effectively legalized and sanctioned slave catching in the North, protecting by federal law and enabling federal marshals and other federal officials to enforce it. Abolitionists interpreted the law as significantly failing to meet its antislavery objective and a victory for slaveowners who pursued fugitive slaves both by legal means (protected by the federal government) and illegal means (kidnapping).

Slave catching as it relates to capturing people for the purpose of enslaving them mainly applied to Africa in modern times, although slave catching was

practiced by others and in other areas much earlier. Wars have always produced winners and losers, and losers often became booty or compensation for the costs of fighting the war. This was particularly true in Greek and Roman societies, and to a lesser degree in Spanish territories during the Reconquista (the reconquering of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims, 711–1492) and subsequent conquest of the Americas. In Africa, people became captives in various ways. Some African states (Oyo, Abomey, Asanti, Kongo, Benin) waged wars of expansion, often to produce captives, which they then sent to coastal purchasers of slaves in exchange for European/American merchandise or goods that could be obtained only on the coast. In some areas, such as the Fula Empire (Guinea-Conakry), powerful ethnic groups considered others as inferior or infidel and subject to periodic culling or harvesting; those harvested persons (perhaps age or gender specific) then became commodities in the transatlantic slave trade. In other areas (the Gambia and Sierra Leone), interior raids by coastal peoples produced captives, who became coastal commodities.

Generally, accepted wisdom along the west coast of Africa specified that European buyers needed to pay a fair price and a tax for each slave exported from the coast. Failure to do so would inevitably result in retaliation against other Europeans visiting the coast. As a practice, slave catching became increasingly counterproductive for Europeans and threatened the coastal industry of purchasing slaves and selling manufactured goods. Thus, by 1750, most slaves leaving the west coast of Africa were captives of Africans who sold them to European/American buyers for transport across the Atlantic. The significant decrease in transatlantic slave trading after 1830 did not end the slave catching profession on the continent. Legal indigenous slavery continued throughout Africa into the twentieth century, as did active slave raiding and wars fought for purposes of collecting slaves.

— Bruce L. Mouser

See also: Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Fugitive Slave Acts, State.

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ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE (1806–1899)

Elizabeth Buffum Chace was a leader of the antislavery movement in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. She became an abolitionist largely because of her family's involvement in the movement. Her father, Arnold Buffum, cofounded and served as president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832. Her grandfather, as a member of the Rhode Island Society for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, had helped runaway slaves from New York reach freedom in Canada before New York abolished slavery in 1827. A devout Quaker, Chace had no doubt that slavery was evil, and in the early 1830s she became an active abolitionist. Despite her extreme reluctance to speak before anyone other than family members, in 1836 she cofounded and served as vice president of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Fall River, Massachusetts. The following year she became the society's president, and in 1838 she represented the society at the Female Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Chace was not a fiery leader like William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator*, whom she greatly admired. Rather, she led her group by quietly hosting meetings in her home, which contained a small lending library of antislavery material. She also circulated petitions demanding that the state legislature grant more civil rights to blacks, and she contributed goods that she had sewn to proabolition fund-raising events.

In 1839 Chace moved to Valley Falls, Rhode Island, where her husband had opened a new business. She became the unofficial secretary for Rhode Island abolitionists; she organized meetings across the state and made most of the arrangements for a Sunday lecture series in Providence that focused on abolition. She also began writing articles for the *Liberator* while continuing to raise money and to circulate petitions to the state legislature.

Shortly after relocating to Valley Falls, Chace and her husband turned their home into a station on the Underground Railroad. Many runaway slaves were able to make their way to Cape Cod by sneaking aboard a ship bound for Boston from a southern port, but once on the Cape they still needed help to get to Canada and freedom. Fortunately for them, a number of abolitionists lived on the Cape, and whenever they happened upon a runaway they sent the fugitive to the Underground Railroad station in New Bedford, Massachusetts. From there, the runaways were sent to Fall River, where Chace's sister and brother-in-law operated a station in their home. From Fall River, run-

aways were sent to Valley Falls, where the Chaces would put them on the train to Worcester, Massachusetts. In Worcester, an abolitionist conductor made sure the runaways got on a train headed north through Vermont to Canada.

Chace was so devoted to abolitionism that in 1843 she gave up her beloved Quaker faith. The occasion for this momentous decision was the yearly meeting of New England Friends, which refused to allow abolitionists, many of whom were Quakers, to hold their gatherings in Quaker meetinghouses. That same year she heeded Garrison's call to all abolitionists to refuse to vote in federal elections, on the grounds that voting supported the federal government, which in turn supported slavery. In 1860 she served as vice president of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention. From 1865 to 1870 she served as vice president of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which continued to function after the demise of slavery in an effort to help freed people gain economic and political equality.

— Charles W. Carey

See also: Garrison, William Lloyd; Underground Railroad.

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JOHN CHAVIS (1763–1838)

As a free black conservative teacher and preacher, the Reverend John Chavis announced that the abolition of slavery would add to the problems of his enslaved brethren, and in 1831 he referred to Nat Turner's revolt as an "abominable insurrection" (Hudson, 1976). Concern for his own personal welfare outweighed his concern for and identification with enslaved blacks, as the Turner rebellion had made it impossible for Chavis to continue his life's work when North Carolina's frightened whites nearly expelled all free blacks from the state.

Chavis was born near Oxford in Granville County, North Carolina, at a place known locally as the Reavis

Cross Roads in 1763. In 1832 Chavis described himself as “a free born American [who] saw service in the Revolutionary War” (Hudson, 1976). Chavis managed to receive an extraordinary education. An 1802 court record shows that he had regularly attended Washington Academy (now Washington and Lee University). According to some sources, Chavis attended but did not graduate from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). He was sent to college as an experiment to see if black people could learn the same as whites, and the experiment obviously succeeded—Chavis excelled in both classics and rhetoric.

The records of a meeting of the Presbytery of Lexington, Virginia, in October 1799, indicate that Chavis was eligible for a license to preach provided he passed the trials. The trials included an exegesis in Latin and a homily on the decree of Election. In 1801 the Presbyterian Church licensed Chavis to preach; thus he became the first ordained black preacher and theologian in the Presbyterian Church. He worked as a missionary in southern Virginia, and in 1805 he returned to North Carolina and joined the Orange Presbytery where for more than twenty years he preached in Granville, Orange, and Wake counties.

By 1808 Chavis had married a woman named Frances and settled in Raleigh where he opened a private integrated school, but he was forced to separate his black and white students. He taught the white children in the day school, charging them \$2.50 for tuition, and the blacks in the night school from sundown until 10 P.M. He charged black families \$1.75 tuition (probably per year). Chavis was described in later years by his former students as black in complexion, immaculate in his dress, somewhat corpulent, and about five feet six or seven inches tall.

Vigorously involved in the politics of the 1800s, Chavis identified himself as a Federalist. He opposed Andrew Jackson’s election, stating that Jackson was a backwoods countryman without benefit of “blood or training” (Knight, 1930). Clearly, Chavis favored the aristocracy, and perhaps even thought himself a part of it, until 1835 when the North Carolina General Assembly stripped him of the vote, deciding that blacks, including freemen, could not cast ballots.

On June 13, 1838, Gales and Son published a pamphlet written by Chavis entitled *Letter Upon the Atonement of Christ*, the sale of which provided income for Chavis and his wife; in addition, the Presbyterian Church voted to support them for the remainder of their lives. Chavis and his wife resided with his brother, Mark Chavis, a prosperous millwright with land 6 miles north of Oxford. For years after his death, Chavis’s work as a minister and an educator seemed

forgotten, but after fifty years of obscurity, Charles Lee Smith, an educator, resurrected the name and had a large park and housing project in Raleigh, North Carolina, named in Chavis’s honor.

— *Nagueyalti Warren*

See also: Turner, Nat.

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CHEROKEE SLAVEOWNERS

The Cherokee, one of the Five Civilized Tribes whose territory once extended from North Carolina southwest into Alabama, became slaveowners in their attempt to assimilate into white planter society. The Cherokees who adopted the plantation culture of their white neighbors, which included slave-based agriculture, did so in the hopes of assimilating into white society. Many Cherokee were already of mixed heritage as from the time of European settlement, they had intermarried with whites; by the 1830s many of the Cherokee tribal leaders came from families with mixed Cherokee/white blood. For them, adopting white culture was another step toward assimilation.

As slaveowners, the Cherokee tended to treat their slaves less harshly than did white southern planters, although recent scholarship disputes this belief. Traditionally, the Cherokee had enslaved their prisoners of war, but enslavement was not always permanent: some prisoners were later adopted into the tribe. Before Europeans settled in the southeastern part of the United States, chattel slavery did not exist in Cherokee tribal society because the accumulation of wealth was not important to them. However, after they accepted some aspects of white culture, including a centralized government, commerce, and increased productivity, the Cherokees began to use slave labor.

In 1828 the Cherokee established their own republic with its capital at New Echota in north Georgia. The constitution they created was similar to that of the United States. However, their slave code, a series of laws regarding the control of black slaves within Cherokee lands, predated their constitution. Little of

the slave code dealt with slave rebellion or insubordination, and most punishments were reserved for the master rather than the slaves. Cherokees who married slaves, bought merchandise from them, or sold them liquor were punished. These Cherokee slave codes were influenced more by their own tradition than by white custom.

The new Cherokee republic was largely run and organized by slaveholding Indians. By the 1830s their prosperity and status had brought them respect both within the tribe and in white society. Most Cherokee slaveholders spoke English and were part white. They farmed more acres and owned more businesses; mainly mills, taverns, and ferries, than nonslaveholders. As a group, the Georgia Cherokee had considerably more wealth than the North Carolina Cherokee, who followed traditional ways and owned relatively few slaves.

Although editorials in the *Cherokee Phoenix* (the newspaper of the Cherokee Nation, founded in 1828) favored abolition with compensated emancipation by 1839, most Cherokee probably accepted their white neighbors' views on slavery and regarded blacks as inferior. Cherokee law excluded blacks and mulattoes from voting or holding office in the Cherokee republic, and free blacks who moved onto Cherokee land were regarded as unwelcome intruders and had to obtain a residence permit. The Cherokee were forbidden by law to marry slaves, but they could marry free blacks and the 1835 census listed a small number of Cherokee with African blood.

Slaves owned by the Cherokee were allowed to establish chapters of the African Benevolent Society, an outgrowth of the American Colonization Society within the republic. Missionaries who proselytized among the Cherokee converted more blacks than Indians. The Moravians, first to preach in the Cherokee republic, established a mission school at Spring Place (near present-day Chatsworth), the home of James Vann a wealthy Cherokee slaveowner. Their church services were integrated, as were those of the American Mission Board, which followed the Moravians into Cherokee territory and established several schools and churches for the Cherokee. Slaves were allowed to attend both church services and mission schools. This soon became a problem because Georgia state law forbade the instruction of blacks. Although the Cherokee may have treated their slaves better than white owners did, they still considered slaves to be property or chattel, just as the white owners did. Because Cherokee law protected property, slaves were sold in payment of debt or to settle estates.

Despite their successful adoption of white culture, when gold was discovered in Georgia, the state govern-

ment demanded the Cherokee be removed to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. Although they won their case before the Supreme Court of the United States, the Cherokee were forced to leave their Georgia land. Many took their slaves with them to Oklahoma. Henry Bibb, a slave owned by a Cherokee in Oklahoma, was quoted as saying, "If I must be a slave, I had by far, rather be a slave to an Indian, than to a white man" (Mails, 1992).

— *Elsa A Nystrom*

See also: Seminole Indians

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CHARLES WADDELL CHESNUTT (1858–1932)

Charles Chesnutt confronted the perils of slavery and its reaches first through imaginative literature and then through political action. An artistic innovator, he combined fiction with social history in the hope of awakening white Americans and attaining social justice; he produced a distinctive genre of American literature. Disappointed in his purpose, however, he turned to other literary categories—biography, letters, essays, articles, speeches—and to politics. He became a foremost expository protagonist for African Americans and a formidable antagonist of racism in the United States.

Although he could have passed as a white person, Chesnutt determined to honor his black heritage and to throw his talents into the balance. His collections of short stories (*The Conjure Woman and Other Conjure Tales*, *The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories*) established him as a superlative writer of short fiction. His novels (*The House Behind the Cedars*, *The Marrow of Tradition*, *The Colonel's Dream*) drew themes from his own experience and that of his ancestors, as well as from the drama being played out in the long shadow of black slavery in the United States. The novels exam-

ine “passing” (blacks passing for white), race riots, and the lingering powers of the landed families of the antebellum era. Critics as eminent as William Dean Howells applauded Chesnut’s work; but because the South was rushing toward white supremacy, his books never reached a substantial public.

Turning to expository writing and political action, Chesnut addressed subjects of concern to African Americans and to white contemporaries. He wrote a life of Frederick Douglass, the black abolitionist–orator–journalist born in slavery. Through many publications and speeches he confronted racial issues of American experience: laws affecting former slaves and reinstating limits on their opportunities; problems of lynching and race rioting; political alignments that reinstated slave conditions; and African American civil rights, their abrogation, and the consequences to the nation of their denial. He corresponded with figures of influence in the white world.

Chesnut conducted extensive dialogues with Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, African American leaders who, in the wake of American slavery, set courses for interracial relations. In widely read articles, Chesnut delineated a third racial posture: Washington believed that vocational education and the interlacing of black energy with white business would eventually achieve resolutions; DuBois believed that militant insistence on every right, especially education, would bring results. Chesnut thought that the vote should be secured immediately regardless of education or previous servitude. He concluded that in the end, intermarriage of the races would prove the only answer to the cruelties attendant on slavery.

— Frances Richardson Keller

See also: Literature; Passing.

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LYDIA MARIA CHILD (1802–1880)

Coupling an eighteenth-century sensibility with a nineteenth-century radical’s passion to free the slaves, Lydia Maria Child was one of the antislavery movement’s most brilliant essayists. From her *Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833) to *Romance of the Republic* (1867), Child was a tireless and accomplished advocate of black Americans’ human rights. Clear-sighted in her analyses of southern slavery, Child discerned its links to the social lot of white women and also found time to investigate comparative religions.

Child’s first book, *Hobomok* (1824), treated the shocking subject of miscegenation (marriage or cohabitation between a white person and a member of another race), yet literary Boston welcomed this novel and its author with open arms. Soon, Child was writing essays and short stories to popular acclaim, and editing *The Juvenile Miscellany*, an enormously popular children’s magazine. Finding belles lettres insufficiently lucrative, Child turned her energy and talent to domestic guides like *The Frugal Housewife* (1829) and *The Mother’s Book* (1831).

Both of the last-named books sold extremely well until Child published her exhortatory *Appeal*; after that, she was labeled a radical and ostentatiously shunned. Undeterred, Child joined the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, accompanied George Thompson on his U.S. tour, and published *Authentic Accounts of American Slavery* (1835), *The Evils of Slavery, and the Cure of Slavery* (1836), and an *Anti-Slavery Catechism* (1836).

Although dismayed by the antislavery movement’s dissent over the role of women in abolition, Child continued to oppose the South’s peculiar institution. In the early 1840s, she edited the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and published short stories and essays opposing slavery. Yet in 1843, after separating her finances from her husband’s, Child stepped out of the antislavery limelight, exhausted by the internecine quarrels that plagued the movement at the time.

In the 1850s and 1860s, her energy renewed, Child attended antislavery gatherings and asked permission to nurse John Brown in prison. She also helped to raise funds for the families whose sons and fathers had died in the raid on Harpers Ferry, engaged in a letterwriting campaign with Virginians who were outraged at Brown’s supposed treachery, and composed antislavery

treatises like *The Patriarchal Institution* and *The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law* (1860). In addition, Child penned pro-emancipation articles that were printed anonymously, and edited Harriet Ann Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), a slave narrative that focuses on the sexual exploitation of women born as slaves. A section of the last book reappeared in Child's *Freedmen's Book* (1865), a compendium intended to instill racial pride in people long subjugated to the lash. When that work appeared, Child was lobbying for the redistribution of confiscated plantation lands.

In 1870 she attended the closing meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the last anti-slavery festival. Nine years later, she wrote her last article, a tribute to William Lloyd Garrison.

— Barbara Ryan

See also: Jacobs, Harriet Ann.

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CHRISTIANA RIOT (1851)

The most violent incident of African American resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 occurred on September 11, 1851, near Christiana, Pennsylvania. That morning, Maryland slaveowner Edward Gorsuch, six of his relatives, and three U.S. marshals bearing federal warrants arrived at the tiny Quaker village of Christiana and surrounded the house of William Parker, a local black farmer.

The posse demanded the surrender of Nelson Ford and Joshua Hammond, two slaves who had run away from the Gorsuch farm in 1849 and were hiding inside the Parker home. Parker's wife sounded a horn, and dozens of neighbors—both black and white—responded. Two Quakers advised the posse to retreat, but Gorsuch refused, declaring, "My property I will have, or I'll breakfast in hell" (Slaughter, 1991). After a heated verbal exchange, shots were fired and, when the confusion subsided, Gorsuch lay dead and three members of his party were nursing serious wounds.

The affair quickly assumed national importance. Southern proslavery newspapers and the abolitionist press waged a fierce propaganda battle, each attempting to use the incident to sway public opinion. The

proslavery papers viewed the riot as a breach of southern property rights under the U.S. Constitution and saw abolitionist provocation as the cause. The abolitionist press blamed slaveholding interests and cast the rioters in the liberty-loving tradition of the heroes of the American Revolution.

Fearing political repercussions, President Millard Fillmore dispatched a company of U.S. Marines and some forty Philadelphia policemen to Christiana to apprehend those involved. Nearly forty blacks and six whites, some with tenuous links to the incident, were arrested. But the five blacks who were most responsible for Gorsuch's death—including Parker, Ford, and Hammond—escaped to Canada West (now Ontario), where requests for their extradition went unheeded.

Federal prosecutors sought to make examples of the rioters and charged them with treason. A grand jury indicted and imprisoned thirty-six blacks and two whites until they could be tried before the U.S. circuit court in Philadelphia. The trial of Castner Hanway, a white miller alleged to have directed the rioters in their attack on the posse, became the test case on which the fate of the other thirty-seven rested. But his trial, which ironically convened on the second floor of Independence Hall, only served to show the weakness of the government's case. The available evidence proved insufficient to substantiate the charges and after Hanway was acquitted in early December, the prosecution waived all remaining indictments and the rioters were released.

The incident at Christiana, and its aftermath, demonstrated the difficulty of enforcing the Fugitive Slave Act. It also polarized public opinion regarding the law. Southerners were outraged that none of the rioters were convicted. At the same time, federal efforts to punish the rioters increased sympathy for the abolitionists in the North. As a result of the riot, sectional tensions increased, and the nation moved closer to civil war.

— Roy E. Finkenbine

See also: Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Slave Catchers.

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JOSEPH CINQUÉ (C. 1811–C. 1852)

The man who came to be known as Joseph Cinqué was the leader of a successful revolt in which thirty-eight slaves under his command seized the slave ship *Amistad* and attempted to return to Africa. When U.S. authorities thwarted that plan, northern abolitionists pursued legal appeals on behalf of Cinqué and his colleagues, appeals that eventually led to their release and repatriation to Africa.

Cinqué was born Sing-gbe in a region of West Africa now known as Sierra Leone. The year of his birth is generally accepted as 1811, although some sources claim he was born in 1817. Sing-gbe, a member of the Mende tribe, was captured by slave traders in 1837 or 1838 and forcibly removed to the infamous Portuguese slave factory on the island of Lomboko off the coast of West Africa. He left behind a wife and three small children. On Lomboko, Portuguese slavers called him “Cinqué,” a phonetic approximation of Sing-gbe, and prepared him for transportation to the slave market in Cuba. The voyage aboard the Portuguese slaver, *Tecora*, was exceptionally harsh even by the grim standards of the usual transatlantic voyage in a slave ship. More than half of the men, women, and children who left Lomboko did not live to see Havana. Since the importation of slaves to Cuba was illegal, slavers gave incoming Africans Christian names and falsely listed them as Cuban-born. Sing-gbe was thereafter known as Joseph Cinqué.

Two Spanish planters, José Ruiz and Pedro Montez, bought Cinqué and thirty-eight other slaves in Havana and loaded them and some other slaves aboard a 120-ton schooner, the *Amistad*, for the short run up the Cuban coast to Puerto Principé. The slaves were connected by a long chain threaded through their neck rings and fastened to the inside of the wooden hull of the *Amistad* in the cramped, dark hold of the ship. For two days and nights they pitched and rolled in terror as the *Amistad*'s crew fought an unexpected storm that drove them far off course.

Using a rusted nail pried from the floor planks of the hold, Cinqué methodically worked at the bracket that anchored the slaves' chain to the hull. Once freed, the slaves broke into the cargo hold where they armed themselves with cane knives. Then, under cover of darkness on the first night of calm, Cinqué led the slaves out of the hold. On deck they found an ex-

hausted captain and crew asleep, with only one man awake at the helm. Within minutes the deck of the *Amistad* was awash with the blood of the captain, Ramón Ferrer, and his crew. Two of the crew members were killed; four survived. Two of the survivors evaded the slaves and slipped off the ship in a lifeboat. They eventually reached the port of Havana and told the story of the *Amistad* mutiny. The other two survivors, Ruiz and Montez, were spared because Cinqué needed their navigational skills to pilot the *Amistad* to its new destination—Africa.

For sixty-three days, Ruiz and Montez, who were expert seamen, deceived Cinqué by setting a northeasterly course by day and turning hard north by night. Ruiz and Montez intended the zigzag path to lead them, not to Africa, but to the United States, where slavery was legal and the rights of slaveholders were recognized and protected. The land they eventually spotted, which Cinqué assumed to be an island off the African coast, was Long Island off the coast of New York City. The *Amistad* was intercepted by a U.S. Coast Guard cutter and escorted under arms to the port of Montauk, New York, where Cinqué and his compatriots were arrested and imprisoned.

When the news of the *Amistad*'s capture reached Havana, Spanish and Cuban authorities demanded the return of the ship and its slave cargo. The penalty for slave insurrection in Cuba was burning at the stake, the fate that awaited Cinqué and his band if they were returned to Havana. U.S. president Martin Van Buren, eager not to offend the powerful slavery interest in Congress, ordered their return to Spanish authorities. Northern abolitionists, however, filed a lawsuit in federal court to block Van Buren's action.

For almost two years, a protracted legal battle played out in the federal court system. At stake were both the lives of Cinqué and his fellow Africans and the important legal principle of a human being's right to resist enslavement forcibly. Although the highly publicized case proceeded through the appellate process, with the abolitionists winning at each level and the appeal carried to the next level by the government, Cinqué, free on bond posted by wealthy New England abolitionists, lived comfortably in Farmington, Connecticut. A powerful speaker with a charismatic physical presence, Cinqué took to the lecture circuit, and the fees he earned helped pay the mounting legal bills. Although he spoke only in Mende, Cinqué's speeches were translated into English and widely distributed throughout the North.

Cinqué's cause won the support of former president John Quincy Adams, an ardent abolitionist and respected elder statesman. Adams, who was also a skilled

litigator, personally pleaded the case for the *Amistad* insurgents before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841. The Court ruled in Cinqué's favor, declaring that he and his fellow mutineers were free to return to Africa. Joseph Cinqué returned home in 1842.

His subsequent life is not clearly documented. Some accounts claim he died barely a decade after his return to Africa; others contend he lived until 1879 and was buried on the grounds of the American Missionary Association compound in Sierra Leone.

Regardless of his ultimate fate, Joseph Cinqué remained an important symbolic presence for slaves in the United States and, after the abolition of slavery there, for African Americans. In 1939, on the centennial anniversary of the *Amistad* mutiny, a major artwork was unveiled. The *Amistad Murals* by noted African American artist Hale Woodruff commemorated Joseph Cinqué's seizure of freedom.

— Frederick J. Simonelli

See also: Adams, John Quincy; *Amistad* Case.

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CIVIL WAR (1861–1865)

The Civil War in the United States began after decades of discord between the northern and southern states. Various economic, political, and social issues led to disagreements between the states, yet slavery seemed to be at the heart of each problem. Since slavery predominated in the South, southerners felt increasingly isolated and threatened by attempts to hinder or ban slavery. Whereas slaveholders had earlier seen slavery as a necessary evil that was inconsistent with the ideals of the American Revolution, by the 1830s southerners believed slavery to be a positive good.

This change in attitude was partially a result of slavery's benefits. Unlike the more industrialized North, slaves were the principal form of wealth in the agricultural South; by 1860, the 4 million slaves had a market value of \$3 billion. Slavery, however, was not only a means of providing a large labor force, but it also served as a way to preserve white supremacy. This aspect was especially important for some people whose sole claim of superiority came from the color of their skin.

Slaveholders also became much more defensive of slavery as the antislavery movement intensified and produced more abolitionists, like William Lloyd Garrison, who called for an immediate end to slavery without compensation to slaveowners. As a result, the South became a dangerous place to express antislavery sentiments.

During the 1840s, the national debate dealt more with slavery's expansion into the western territories than with the actual abolition of slavery. Southerners believed that it was their constitutional right to take their slaves into the territories with them and that Congress lacked the power to prevent them from doing so. Northerners opposed the expansion of slavery, some on moral grounds and others for economic reasons. Despite opposing the expansion of slavery into the new territories, many northerners did not oppose the institution of slavery in areas where it already existed, as they feared that if slavery ended, emancipated slaves would flock to the territories and take land that could be used by whites.

After several heated debates in Congress, Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky proposed a compromise bill in 1850. The bill included five measures:

1. The admission of California as a free state
2. The creation of the New Mexico and Utah territories, in which residents would be allowed to choose whether or not to permit slavery
3. The payment of Texas's debts in return for that state's promise not to seek to widen its western border
4. The end of the slave trade in Washington, D.C.
5. The creation of a new fugitive slave law, which required that runaway slaves be returned to their masters and authorized the use of federal power to enforce the law.

Congress ultimately approved Clay's bill, which became known as the Compromise of 1850. Despite widespread acceptance of the Compromise, it soon became obvious that it offered only a temporary solution to the problem, as its vague language left much open to debate. One tragedy of the Compromise was that under the Fugitive Slave Law, a number of free blacks were captured and sent south without an opportunity to prove that they were not runaway slaves. However, the greatest problem with the Compromise of 1850 was its failure to confront the issue of the expansion of slavery directly. Instead, Congress placed a seal of approval on the theory of popular sovereignty—that is,



Bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, on April 12–13, 1861. The Battle of Fort Sumter was the first armed action of the American Civil War. It ended when Major Robert Anderson's Union forces surrendered after thirty-three hours of continued shelling by the Confederate army. (Library of Congress)

allowing settlers to choose whether or not they wanted slavery. Consequently, Congress sent out mixed signals to people on both sides of the debate.

In 1854 Congress passed the Kansas–Nebraska Act, which established Kansas and Nebraska as territories and ruled that popular sovereignty should settle the issue of slavery in these two areas. Conflict erupted almost as soon as President Franklin Pierce signed the bill into law in May 1854. When Missouri slaveowners moved into Kansas Territory, they immediately clashed with antislavery settlers. Soon the conflict, known as Bleeding Kansas, turned deadly, and fighting continued for four years until antislavery forces emerged as the victors.

The slavery issue split both the Whig and Democratic parties down sectional lines, causing northern Whigs and Democrats to take sides against their southern counterparts. At the same time, several political groups joined to form the Free Soil Party to oppose slavery's expansion. However, the major disintegration of the political parties came with passage of the

Kansas–Nebraska Act. Many northern Democrats left their party, as did northern Whigs, and most of these men, along with members of the Free Soil Party, created the new Republican Party, which took a firm stance against the expansion of slavery.

As tensions grew between North and South, so did the antislavery movement. Southerners were outraged at the publication of the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), which sold 500,000 copies and strengthened the antislavery movement in the North. Written by the northern abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* told of the horrors of slavery; it was banned in the South.

Yet some southerners also criticized slavery. Although slavery was immensely profitable for some, others argued that slavery would ultimately ruin the South. In his book *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857), North Carolinian Hinton Rowan Helper argued that slavery was an inefficient system that stunted the South's economic growth and hurt the nonslaveowning majority. He believed that by focusing on agriculture

and ignoring natural resources and industry, the South was becoming “a cesspool of ignorance and degradation.” Most of all, Helper expressed his hatred of the rich planter class, whose arrogance and greed prevented poor whites from prospering.

The book was banned by southern states, and people found to own a copy of the book were fired from their jobs, arrested, or even executed. However, Helper’s ideas did receive support. Not only did his book appeal to poor whites in the South, but it was also used as a propaganda tool by Republicans, who distributed 100,000 edited copies in 1858.

Despite attacks from antislavery supporters, southerners still had a powerful voice in national politics, a power that was reflected in the Supreme Court decision in the *Dred Scott* case. In this case a slave, Dred Scott, argued that since his master had moved him from Missouri to free territory, he was a freeman. In 1857 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that since slaves were not U.S. citizens, they could not sue in federal courts. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote that slaves could be moved anywhere, as they were the property of their owner, and he found the Missouri Compromise, or any other attempt by Congress to limit slavery’s expansion, to be unconstitutional.

Although southerners were jubilant following that court decision, their excitement turned to fear following John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. Brown, a lifelong abolitionist and participant in the struggles of Bleeding Kansas, planned to end slavery through force. With a small band of men, including runaway slaves, Brown took control of the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Ultimately, Brown was hanged for his actions, thus becoming a martyr for the abolitionist movement and proving to southerners the importance of political power.

Relations between North and South deteriorated rapidly after 1859. At the 1860 Democratic National Convention, southerners pushed for a platform that included a federal slave code for the territories. When northern Democrats refused to accept the idea, southern Democrats left the convention, thus splitting the Democratic Party and allowing the Republican candidate for president, Abraham Lincoln, to win the election of 1860.

In December 1860, South Carolina and seven other slave states seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America. In an attempt to appease the eight slave states that remained in the Union, Kentucky Senator John J. Crittenden offered a compromise that stressed the protection of slavery below the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30' and promised

compensation to owners of runaway slaves. Lincoln opposed the Crittenden Compromise, and the measure was defeated. Although Lincoln hoped to appease the remaining eight slave states, his promises not to interfere with slavery or the Confederacy could not stop the war. Soon after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, four more slave states seceded, and only the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware remained, precariously, in the Union.

Whereas the South went to war to protect slavery and southern sovereignty, Lincoln’s initial desire was to protect the Union. Lincoln did not wish to interfere with the institution of slavery, and he even ordered his generals to return any slaves who escaped behind Union lines and to help prevent slave rebellions.

Organized slave rebellions were not, however, common during the war. Instead, many slaves simply refused to cooperate with their masters, especially when the slaveowners went to war and left their wives in control of the plantations. Slaves often took this opportunity to work at a slower pace or to leave their work altogether. Home guards were established to maintain order and to prevent slaves from running away. Since the presence of the Union army led many slaves to cross Union lines to freedom, slaveowners told their slaves stories about the cruelty of Union soldiers in an attempt to frighten the slaves into staying on the plantation.

Many slaves did remain on the plantations out of loyalty or fear of the unknown. Others ignored the warnings of their masters and fled across Union lines, providing the Union army with information about Confederate activities. Although slaves were at first returned to their masters, the confiscation acts of 1861–1862 ruled that slaves who crossed Union lines should be considered contraband of war and freed from slavery. Behind Union lines, the escaped slaves found life to be almost as harsh as plantation life. Those who remained with the Union troops labored with little or no compensation and lived in crowded camps with inadequate shelter, food, and clothing. Others moved into urban areas, where they faced poverty, overcrowding, and disease. Fortunately, the former slaves received some help from sources such as the Freedmen’s aid societies and missionary societies, which provided them with supplies and educational opportunities. At the same time, the escaped slaves formed tightly-knit communities and began to demand equal rights.

The slaves who remained behind played an important role in the Confederate war effort. In the

absence of white workers, slaves were put to work in factories, mines, and on the railroads; others served in home guard units, replacing the white men who went off to war. The use of slaves in the home guard was especially prominent in Louisiana, where slaves formed almost half of the state's population. Slaves also often accompanied the Confederate army to help carry supplies and build forts. This work was unpopular among slaves and slaveowners alike because slaves found it to be particularly difficult work and slaveowners disliked sending their best slaves to the front. Owners thus reserved this work for their most uncooperative slaves.

As the war continued, Lincoln realized the need to redefine the Union's war goals. Although Lincoln's original goal was to preserve the Union, he faced criticism from abolitionists who wished to make the war one to end slavery. He also faced problems abroad as European nations seemed increasingly sympathetic to the South's claims that the Confederacy was fighting for its independence. Fearing that Europe would intervene economically or militarily on the South's behalf, Lincoln realized that freeing the slaves must become a priority. This was a difficult decision for Lincoln, for while he personally opposed slavery, he was not convinced that blacks and whites could ever live together peacefully. However, he believed that emancipation might be the only way to quiet his critics and preserve the Union.

Lincoln began to draft a document that would order an end to slavery but did so secretly since he was concerned that outside observers might take his decision as a sign that the Union was wearing down after a series of Confederate victories. Although not a Union victory per se, the battle of Antietam (or Sharpsburg) repelled a Confederate invasion of the North and provided Lincoln with the opportunity to announce the emancipation proclamation on September 22, 1862. In the final Emancipation Proclamation, which became law on January 1, 1863, Lincoln ordered that all slaves in areas under rebellion were free as of that date. The proclamation did not apply, however, to slaves in the four border states or slaves in areas occupied by Union troops.

Technically, the Emancipation Proclamation did not legally free any slaves, for such an action required a constitutional amendment. Symbolically, however, the Emancipation Proclamation had a significant impact on the northern war effort. It appeased abolitionists, and it also prevented foreign intervention by making it a war for slavery's abolition rather than one of northern aggression against the Confederacy. Moreover, the Emancipation Proclamation encouraged the thou-

sands of slaves who remained in the South, giving them hope that freedom was just around the corner.

Following the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln approved the use of black troops in the Union Army. Although many Union soldiers disagreed with Lincoln's decision, the need for more men was greater than the prejudice of individuals. Sadly, black soldiers were not treated as equals. At first denied the opportunity to fight, when necessity did demand that black soldiers enter battle, they often went in without adequate training or supplies. Until 1864, black soldiers received less pay than their white counterparts and had few opportunities for advancement.

In spite of this discrimination, black soldiers played a vital role in the Union victory. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, formed primarily of northern free blacks, gained fame for their courageous but ill-fated attack on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, on July 18, 1863. Despite losing over 250 men during the attack, the Fifty-fourth went on to participate in other battles in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The First South Carolina Volunteers, which consisted entirely of fugitive slaves, had a reputation not only for bravery and skill in battle, but also for its ability to recruit large numbers of slaves into their regiment. In all, two hundred thousand blacks served in the Union armed forces, making up 10 percent of the total Union enlistment. Of these two hundred thousand black men, approximately one-third gave their lives for the cause of freedom.

When the war ended, Lincoln had met his goal of preserving the Union, but he would not live to see the painful process of the reconstruction. Lincoln also achieved a second goal, one he had not intended: the end of slavery. In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery throughout the United States. This would be the first step on the road to equality for black Americans.

— Jason H. Silverman

See also: Confiscation Acts; Contrabands; Emancipation Proclamation; Lincoln, Abraham.

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HENRY CLAY (1777–1852)

Henry Clay's efforts to defuse sectional tensions earned him acclaim as the "Great Compromiser," but his statecraft made little impact on the elimination of slavery.

At the age of twenty, Clay moved from his native Virginia to Kentucky and emerged a leading politician and plantation owner. Clay first gained national acclaim in 1812 as a leading "War Hawk," concluding that war with Britain was necessary to maintain American commercial and political sovereignty. His primary political concerns were development of the Whig Party and pursuit of the presidency. The Whig Party, formed in opposition to the principles of Andrew Jackson, advocated Clay's "American System" with a national bank, a protective tariff, and the government offering economic aid for internal improvements. His leadership, resulting in five unsuccessful presidential efforts, helped define national policies for over four decades but failed to preserve the solidarity of the Union.

Throughout his career Clay opposed slavery; he argued against it but practiced it on a large scale. He believed slavery was an evil institution and knew slaves lived in physical and mental anguish. Nonetheless, he bought, sold, and leased slaves for his Ashland estate and firmly believed slaves were unprepared to succeed as free men because they lacked education. He concluded that emancipation would be injurious to the slave, the master, and result in a bloody racial war.

His solution was removal of African Americans to colonies in Africa. He also contended that slaveowners must be compensated for their loss of property. From 1836 until his death in 1852, Clay served as the president of the American Colonization Society. Although the effort colonized former slaves in Liberia, it failed to gain support of the state or federal government and Clay turned to politics in an effort to solve the problem.

Though a nationalist and a proponent of a vigorous federal government, Clay deferred to the states on the issue of emancipation. Maintaining public opinion would eventually result in the elimination of slavery, he urged Congress to solve the dilemma with the Missouri Compromise (1820). His proposal resulted in Maine entering the Union as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. Still, sectional strife continued. Southerners argued that Congress had no authority to regulate slavery, and northerners abhorred the introduction of slaves into the areas acquired by the Louisiana Purchase.

In 1844 Whigs nominated Clay for president, but he was defeated by the lesser-known Democratic nom-



Henry Clay, the "Great Compromiser," was instrumental in securing passage of the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850. (Library of Congress)

inee, James Polk. As a result of Clay's opposition to the annexation of Texas, a republic that permitted slavery, the South refused to support his candidacy. During the hostilities between Mexico and the United States, Clay denounced the Polk administration and predicted that any territories acquired from the war with Mexico would challenge the solidarity of the nation. He criticized Polk's prosecution of the "most unnecessary and horrible war," claiming that the war was too costly—in both lives and dollars (Remini, 1991). He also maintained that Polk had exceeded the bounds of the executive office. Aiming for the presidency in 1848, Clay claimed that if he had been elected in 1844, war would have been averted.

Returning to the Senate in 1849, Clay hoped to forge a lasting compromise that would defuse the arguments in Congress regarding the western territories and slavery. Concerned about Senator John C. Calhoun and other intemperate southern politicians who favored disunion if slavery were banned in the territories, Clay drafted a compromise calling for the admission of California as a free state, the organization of

New Mexico as a territory without restrictions on slavery, and the payment of the debts incurred by the Republic of Texas in exchange for a significant reduction of eastern lands claimed by the state. The compromise, however, passed only as separate measures, revealing the disparate interests of North and South. After leaving the Senate, Clay briefly returned home before returning to Washington to speak about the need to curb sectional strife. He did not witness the turbulence of the Civil War as tuberculosis claimed him on June 29, 1852, at his Washington residence.

Clay's compromises in 1820 and 1850 proved inadequate, but remarkably, his principles shaped the nation from 1810 through Reconstruction. Although Clay never enjoyed the public approval of his rival Andrew Jackson, the Republican Party later adopted his vision for the future of the United States, and Abraham Lincoln declared Clay the ideal statesman and his guiding influence.

— *Dallas Cothrum*

See also: Compromise of 1850; Missouri Compromise.

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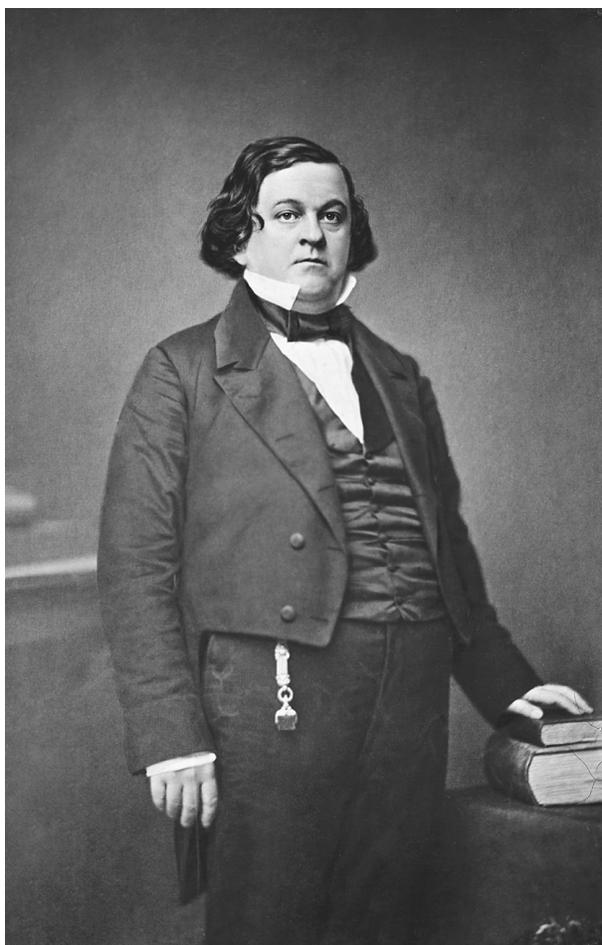
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HOWELL COBB (1815–1868)

A proponent of southern Unionism, Howell Cobb was elected speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1849 and held that position during the hotly debated Compromise of 1850, playing a key role in its passage. Born in Jefferson County, Georgia, Cobb was reared in Athens, Georgia. Attending Franklin College (now the University of Georgia), he graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1834. He studied law for two years and gained admittance to the Georgia bar in 1836. Using the family's political influence, he secured a position as solicitor general of Georgia in 1837. Always attracted to



Howell Cobb was elected Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1849 and held that position during the debate over the Compromise of 1850. (Library of Congress)

politics, he ran successfully for a congressional seat in 1842, representing a pro-Union district in northeast Georgia.

While serving in Congress from 1843 to 1851 and 1855 to 1857, Cobb supported Texas annexation, the Mexican War, and slavery's expansion into the territories. Despite his position on these issues, he was regarded as a moderate among national Democrats. Though a slaveowner, Cobb found the states' rights doctrine and secessionist views of John C. Calhoun anathema. During his tenure as speaker of the House, the debate over California's admission as a free state threatened the Union. Cobb, much to the chagrin of many southerners, supported the Compromise of 1850. Under its provisions, California became a free state, but the South received a stronger federal Fugitive Slave Law.

Passage of the Compromise of 1850 preserved the

Union but created a major upheaval in southern politics that did not spare Cobb's home state. The weakening of the national Whig Party created chaos in Georgia politics, as did a split among Georgia Democrats. Georgia Whigs and Democrats realigned themselves into two factions—the States' Rights Party representing secessionist sentiments and the pro-Union, Constitutional Union Party. Resigning from Congress, Cobb returned to Georgia to lead the forces of the Constitutional Union Party as its gubernatorial candidate in 1851.

Cobb served a successful two-year term as governor, but he had national political ambitions, and campaigned vigorously for the 1856 Democratic presidential nominee, James Buchanan. When Buchanan became president, Cobb won a cabinet appointment as secretary of the treasury. Exerting great influence in the administration, Cobb was once described as “the president as much as if he were sworn in” (Simpson, 1973).

As 1860 approached, Cobb desired the Democratic presidential nomination but failed to win it and instead witnessed the disintegration of the national Democratic Party. He resigned from the cabinet after the election of Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln. Returning to Georgia, he supported the immediate secession of his state from the Union—joining his antebellum political foes and reversing his previous positions on several issues. In February 1861, he presided over a convention of seceded states in Montgomery, Alabama, which created the Confederate States of America. Disappointed at not securing the Confederate presidency, he organized a regiment and fought in several major Civil War engagements in the eastern theater. Following the war he practiced law in Macon, Georgia, until his death in 1868.

—Mary Ellen Wilson

See also: Compromise of 1850.

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CODE NOIR

In 1682, French King Louis XIV's prime minister Colbert appointed a commission to draft a code for the

French colonies, where slaves and free blacks, in something of a legal vacuum, lived at the mercy of owners and local officials. Signed by the king in March 1685, the *Code Noir* became the centerpiece of legislation regulating the status of slaves and freedmen in the French Antilles and, later, Louisiana. Louis made his intentions clear in the preamble, declaring that the Code was to “maintain the discipline of the . . . Roman Church and to regulate the state and quality of slaves in our said Islands.” In proclaiming the supremacy of Roman Catholicism in the colonies, he anticipated the revocation of the toleration espoused in the Edict of Nantes later that year. More importantly for basic material and social conditions, the Code established the legal framework of master–slave relations and the status of freedmen in the French colonies until the final abolition of slavery in 1848.

Slaves were defined as movable property and treated accordingly. As valuable assets necessary for the plantation economy, they were often involved in trials over financial disputes, so the Code outlined legal procedures to be followed. Although the main purpose of these regulations was to safeguard the colonial economy, for example, by preventing the separation of slaves from their plantation during debt litigation, they also provided a modicum of protection for the slaves. Legally seized slave couples and children, for example, could not be separated. Still, slaves enjoyed no civil rights and could own no property. Precluded from public office, they could neither appear as a party nor be admitted as witnesses in court, and slave depositions could only be used to aid judges seek evidence elsewhere.

Discipline for a potentially rebellious slave population was harsh and designed to protect the socioeconomic status quo, though codification perhaps did prevent the most flagrant abuses. First, the Code targeted slave violence. Slaves were forbidden to carry arms and to congregate. Violence against free persons was penalized severely, if necessary by death. Even minor theft was typically punished by beating and branding with the fleur-de-lis. Fugitive slaves were liable to have their ears cut off and shoulder branded; repeat offenders were hamstringed—or executed. In previous regulations, by comparison, runaways had been shot on sight. Second, slaves were forbidden to trade valuable commodities. The sale of sugarcane was expressly forbidden, on pain of whipping for the slave and a 10 livres fine for both his master and the buyer of the cane.

Numerous articles of the Code stipulated minimal standards of care. Slaves were to be given weekly rations of 2 1/2 pots of manioc flour and 2 pounds of salt

beef, or similar provisions, and provided with two outfits of clothes per year. Masters were required to care for physically incapacitated slaves. Torture was outlawed, though chaining or beating was accepted. Masters and overseers who killed would be brought to court. Finally, abused slaves could (in theory) appeal to the royal authorities.

The Code contained liberal provisions for manumission. Masters aged twenty and above were granted complete powers of enfranchisement, and freedmen could not be forced to work for former masters. In theory, at least, freedmen were considered citizens with full civil rights.

The Roman Church was firmly established as an expression of Louis XIV's aggressive Catholic absolutism, exemplified in the watchwords "one king, one law, one faith." Slaves were to be baptized and instructed in Catholicism. All subjects were ordered to observe Sundays and Church holidays. Interracial sexual relations—practically impossible to eradicate in a rude colonial society with a paucity of white women—were highly regulated. Free (married) subjects who had children with slave concubines were condemned; but an unmarried free man might marry his slave concubine in church, legitimizing and enfranchising his wife and children in one stroke. Slave marriages required the consent of the master. However, masters were prohibited from forcing slaves to marry. Masters were responsible for burying deceased baptized slaves in designated cemeteries; unbaptized slaves were buried at night in a convenient field.

The Code also served as a blueprint for the *Code Noir* of French Louisiana (1724). Compared to the original, the revised version significantly tightened the provisions regulating manumission, the status of free blacks, and miscegenation. In the words of Sala-Molins, the original Code's "latent" racism had now become "patent" (Sala-Molins, 2003).

Judging from follow-up legislation, enforcement was difficult, and archival research shows that masters were very rarely condemned in court for having contravened the Code. Furthermore, many of the relatively liberal provisions, for example, for manumission, were largely voided by subsequent regulations. Indeed, by the time of the French Revolution, French planters were known as the most efficient slaveowners in the region. On balance, therefore, the Code was probably motivated less by humanity than by an interest in the maintaining of public order and plantation profitability. Thus articles establishing minimal levels of nourishment were probably intended mainly to prevent theft and illicit trading, and those articles mandating the care of old and infirm slaves appear de-

signed to prevent vagabondage. Even the articles enjoining religious instruction, at least one scholar, George Breathett, has maintained, were intended more to make slaves submissive through fear of damnation than to convert souls. Scholarship then, is divided on the extent of the Code's humanitarianism, as on its implementation, because gauging the real conditions of slave life has been difficult given the variety of actual experiences. George Breathett called it "one of the most significant humanitarian developments in the history of colonial Haiti" (1988); yet Joan Brace argued that "it did almost nothing to improve the slaves' human and civil status" (1983). Sala-Molins termed it quite simply "the most monstrous legal text of modern times."

Briefly abolished with slavery in 1794 (though only on paper, for the French revolutionaries never actually applied the abolition decree), the Code was reintroduced by Napoleon in 1802 and maintained under the Restoration (1814–1848). King Louis-Philippe dismantled part of it, passing legislation during 1830–1832 to guarantee the civil rights of free people of color in the colonies, though slavery itself still remained until final abolition in 1848.

— William L. Chew III

See also: Louisiana.

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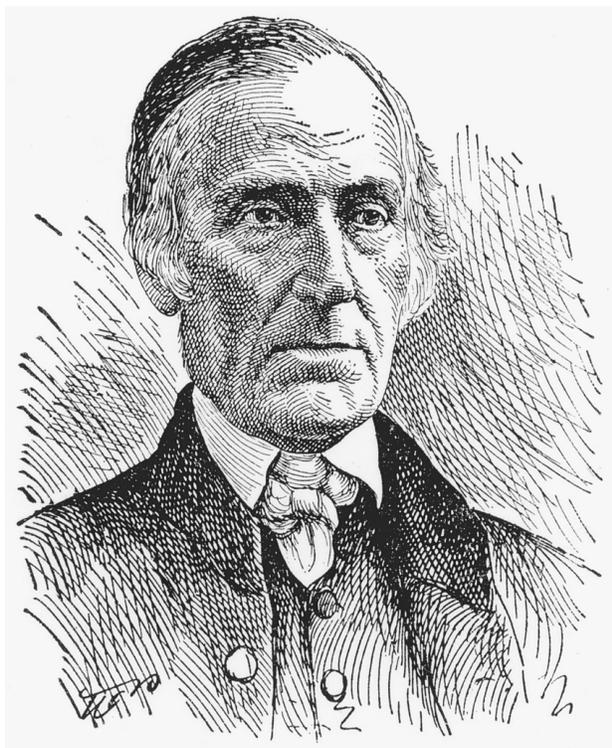
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LEVI COFFIN (1789–1877)

Abolitionist and Underground Railroad operator, Levi Coffin was born and spent his youth in North Carolina where his Quaker family's antislavery views influenced his attitude toward the institution. His views deepened at the age of seven upon observing a coffle of



Levi Coffin was an Indiana Quaker merchant. His home served as a haven for slaves who used the Underground Railroad to escape from the South before the Civil War. (North Wind Picture Archives)

shackled slaves being transported. Later he saw a slave physically attacked without provocation, and at age fifteen he helped liberate a free African American who had been kidnapped into slavery.

In 1821 Levi and his cousin Vestal organized a school for African Americans, but local slaveholders forced its closure. Coffin also helped organize a local manumission society that favored gradual emancipation. When the moderate organization voted to support the forced removal or colonization of freed slaves, Coffin resigned. Like many North Carolina Quakers, he found it difficult to espouse antislavery in a slave state.

In 1826 Coffin and his wife Catherine moved to Newport (now Fountain City) in Wayne County, Indiana. Learning that fugitive slaves occasionally traveled through Newport, where assistance was improvised and sometimes ineffective, Coffin made it known that his home was open to fugitive slaves. Soon he was providing temporary shelter, food, and clothing to fugitives and transportation to antislavery workers further north. He established a network of Underground Railroad workers that served about one hun-

dred refugees per year. None was ever captured. Coffin's position as a prosperous businessman provided a degree of protection since he was open about his anti-slavery activity. While in Indiana he became known as "President of the Underground Railroad."

Coffin also helped African Americans living in the Newport area. He served on a Quaker committee that provided schools for black children, visited their homes, and provided aid as needed. He was also active in the temperance movement, but his abolitionist views were most controversial, even among Quakers. Even though they purged themselves of slavery, many Friends objected to William Lloyd Garrison's call for immediate emancipation, favoring instead a program of gradual emancipation and colonization. In 1843 Coffin helped establish a separate Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. The two yearly meetings remained separate for thirteen years, until a growing northern free soil sentiment made abolitionism more acceptable to conservative Quakers.

In 1844 Coffin and another Quaker abolitionist visited Canadian settlements of former slaves, who had found a haven within the British Empire. There he contacted many whom he had helped on their journey north. The two also visited schools for black children and encouraged refugees to acquire as much education as possible. Although many of the former slaves were in better condition than had been reported, some new arrivals were in desperate need of clothing and other essentials. After returning home, Coffin raised money and collected clothing for the refugees. It was the first of several trips he made to visit black settlements in Canada.

Coffin also played a major role in the free labor movement. As a merchant, he became increasingly uncomfortable about dealing in cotton and other merchandise dependent on slave labor for its production and distribution. Influenced by John Woolman's example of refusing to wear fabrics dyed by slave labor, and by a growing free labor movement among abolitionists, Coffin in 1847 reluctantly agreed to move to Cincinnati to manage a wholesale depository of free labor goods. In his new position, Coffin traveled to eastern cities to observe free labor stores and factories that bought cotton and other supplies from mostly small-scale southern farmers who did not own slaves. Abolitionists purchased a cotton gin and moved it to Mississippi to be operated with free labor. Coffin traveled south to locate cotton planters using only free labor, and there he spoke freely of his antislavery views; his nonconfrontational approach and his southern background enabled him to do so without serious consequences. His free labor business

was highly successful, and the move to Cincinnati proved to be permanent.

Arriving in Cincinnati, the Coffins feared that their Underground Railroad work was over, but they soon learned that it was more needed than ever, for fugitive slaves passing through the city found little aid on which they could count. Coffin quickly organized a similar network as he had established in Newport, and once again his home became the center of such activity. The Coffin home was also the meeting place for the Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, which provided essential clothing for fugitives traveling through Cincinnati. Demands on Coffin's time were especially heavy after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), when increasing numbers of slaves left Kentucky and other southern states, and many of Cincinnati's African Americans fled to Canada to avoid kidnapping.

It was in Cincinnati where Coffin received national attention for his work with fugitives. The character Simeon Halliday, a Quaker abolitionist in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was a composite of Coffin and Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware. Eliza Harris, another of Stowe's characters, was modeled after a fugitive whom Coffin had assisted. Some years after the Civil War, Charles T. Webber depicted Coffin and his wife in the famous painting of the Underground Railroad.

Coffin considered the Civil War divine punishment for slavery. As a Quaker nonresistant, he did not openly support the Union military cause, but he nursed the wounded and provided supplies for those preparing to defend Cincinnati against threatened Confederate raids. He traveled extensively to work with former slaves, called contrabands, within the Union lines. He helped organize the Western Freedman's Aid Commission and traveled to England to raise money for its work. In 1867 he attended an International Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris. Coffin's autobiography, published in 1876, remains one of the more reliable accounts of the Underground Railroad by a participating abolitionist.

Larry Gara

See also: Garrett, Thomas; Quakers; Stowe, Harriet Beecher; Underground Railroad.

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EDWARD COLES (1786–1868)

Edward Coles's role in slavery is intriguing. Born into an Albemarle County, Virginia, slaveowning family, he is best known for his opposition to slavery, and he represented Thomas Jefferson's hope that slavery would be removed in a generation after the American Revolution.

Coles decided slavery was immoral during his education at the College of William and Mary in Virginia (1805–1806). He agonized for over a decade about how to put his belief into effect, and during that time, he conducted a correspondence with Jefferson trying to convince him to lead a campaign against slavery. Coles's conviction that slavery was immoral stemmed from his understanding of natural rights and laws; his perception that Jefferson shared these beliefs, and Jefferson's status, made him the obvious leader in Coles's mind.

Disillusioned by Jefferson's refusal, Coles decided to leave Virginia and free his own slaves. In 1819 he finally went to Illinois, emancipating his slaves along the way. Coles's delay illustrates the practical problems connected with manumission in the United States. He worried about maintaining his own livelihood without a slave labor force, the well-being of his slaves after emancipation, and the economic burden of posting bond for the manumitted slaves. His move to Illinois solved each of these problems.

In Illinois, he took a leading role in the opposition to a movement to allow slavery. In 1824, while governor, he worked to prevent the calling of a constitutional convention that would have written a constitution allowing the introduction of slavery. As part of the Northwest Territory, slavery had been forbidden, but after statehood, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio all debated the legality of introducing slavery. Coles's role in Illinois was important because he threw into the opposition his status as governor and his past relationships with fellow Virginians Jefferson and James Madison. Coles's opposition played a significant part in the defeat of the group that supported a convention, and his actions helped maintain the integrity of the nonslave Midwest.

Coles's beliefs reveal the paradoxes of early nineteenth-century antislavery efforts. Although he opposed slavery for moral reasons, he believed that emigration was the best option for African Americans. He was an early member of the American Colonization

Society, which established Liberia as a removal destination, and as late as the mid-1850s, he was offering to pay the expenses of his former foreman to scout in the Caribbean for a suitable removal site. Coles was shocked when the former slave declined the offer, arguing that he was an American and had no wish to leave. That incident revealed the extent to which antislavery and an acceptance of diversity could be separated. Although professing a belief in the equality of African Americans, Coles was unable to imagine the United States as a multiracial nation.

In 1833 Coles moved from Illinois to Philadelphia, at which point his visible role in the antislavery movement ended. His family split during the Civil War, with one son fighting for the Union and the other for the Confederacy. Coles's life illustrates the essential dilemmas posed by slavery for many white Americans in the nineteenth century.

— Kurt E. Leightle

See also: Jefferson, Thomas; *Notes on Virginia*.

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SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTIONS (1852–1859)

Until 1852, commercial conventions in the South were loosely organized gatherings of economic and political elites who met to discuss ways to strengthen the region's economic infrastructure and to show solidarity for the institution of slavery. Beginning in 1852, the commercial conventions became more organized, and from 1852 to 1859, conventions were held in New Orleans, Baltimore, Memphis, Charleston, Richmond, Savannah, Knoxville, Montgomery, and finally Vicksburg. Convention participants discussed ways to improve the southern economy by promoting the introduction of nonslave industry into the region, while simultaneously maintaining the slave-based economy.

Early supporters, like James Dunwoody Brownson

DeBow, intended to keep the conventions focused primarily on the development of the South's commercial and economic infrastructure and attempted to avoid political debates and sectional rivalries. But with the growing sectionalism between the North and South in the 1850s, and a growing antislavery sentiment in the North, these meetings of the South's economic and political elites increasingly focused on protecting the South's slave economy. The conventions also became the vehicle for a debate over reopening the African slave trade, a debate that grew in intensity as northern antislavery forces and sectional rivalries increased.

At the 1857 convention in Knoxville, delegates focused almost exclusively on discussing the importance of preserving the slave economy and defending the institution from what they believed was a dangerous threat to its existence from northern interests. Radical proslavery interests at the conventions insisted that slavery ensured domestic order, provided a satisfactory economic system, and, most important, was the South's right to maintain.

By the 1859 convention in Vicksburg, all pretense of keeping political questions off the convention floor disappeared. Delegates passed resolutions to repeal federal laws that prohibited the slave trade, to negotiate a treaty with Canada that would provide slaveowners with a way to retrieve runaway slaves, and to promote the protection of slavery in Cuba and Central America. Members of this convention also passed resolutions that emphasized the rights of slaveholders to settle in western territories and, in a move to support the growth of slavery in the new territories, called for slaveholders to move to Kansas to aid slaveholding interests there. The development of the extreme proslavery position of the southern commercial conventions demonstrates how southerners increasingly supported efforts in the 1850s to defend slavery from northern antislavery forces.

— Craig S. Pascoe

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; DeBow, J. D. B.; Proslavery Argument.

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COMMONWEALTH V. JENNISON (1783)

For many scholars, this case represents the proverbial “last nail in the coffin” that buried, and thus abolished, slavery in Massachusetts. A few years earlier, several Massachusetts towns had complained about the state’s constitution because it did not contain an antislavery clause; subsequently, the state constitution of 1780 in a Declaration of Rights declared that “all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights.” The age of revolutionary fervor created an atmosphere that favored freedom over slavery throughout Massachusetts and in many other colonies. Also, because of the early proliferation of white labor in Massachusetts and a numerically small slave population, merchants and farmers had turned to immigrant white labor to meet their labor needs; thus slavery never solidified its economic stranglehold on this state. It is from this historical and economic context that *Commonwealth v. Jennison* was decided.

Quock Walker’s (also known as Quo, Qwack) pursuit of his freedom began when he took flight from one Nathaniel Jennison, who claimed to be Walker’s master. Walker’s flight took him to the nearby farm of Seth and John Caldwell, whose brother was, at one time, Walker’s legal master. Their brother passed away, and his widow married Jennison, thus creating the legal dilemma when her property, that is, Quock Walker, became his.

Seeking to reclaim his property by marriage, Jennison, along with several cohorts, accosted Walker, beat him severely, and returned him to the condition of bondage. The Caldwells, in turn, hired the noted lawyer, Levi Lincoln, who became Walker’s lawyer when Walker sued Jennison for assault and battery. This first case of *Quock Walker v. Jennison* was heard in June 1781 with the jury listening to Levi Lincoln’s argument that the higher law of God almighty should take precedence over the positive law of man. Lincoln strongly urged the jury to understand that man is free within the law of nature, which is also God’s law, and that ethereal law is against slavery. This jury agreed with the line of reasoning and decided in favor of Walker, awarding him 50 pounds sterling, and declared that he was a “Freeman.” When Jennison sued the Caldwell brothers on the grounds that they had “seduced Quock Walker for plaintiff service,” another jury contradicted the first and in *Jennison v. Caldwell*, found in favor of Jennison and awarded him 25 pounds sterling for loss of his slave’s service.

The last case involving these litigants occurred in April 1783, when state authorities indicted and charged Jennison with assault and battery on Walker. In *Com-*

monwealth v. Jennison, the state attorney general, Robert Paine, claimed that one of Massachusetts’s free citizens had been unlawfully attacked. To Paine, Walker was a free citizen because of a verbal contract of manumission made to him by his deceased master, which was renewed by his widow.

Refuting proslavery arguments by Jennison, Chief Justice William Cushing, referring to the 1780 constitutional “Declaration of Rights” and the ideological basis of the American Revolution, which favored freedom, declared that the accused was guilty of assault and battering a free man with “rights and privileges wholly incompatible and repugnant to its [slavery] existence.” Cushing quoted the 1780 state constitution that said “that all men are born free and equal; and that every subject is entitled to liberty and to have it guarded by the laws as well as his life and property.” The jury followed Cushing’s dicta and convicted Jennison of assault and battery. Many citizens of this state including Cushing had accepted African bondage up until the American Revolution; however, as Cushing noted in his decision, “Sentiments more favorable to the natural rights of mankind . . . without regard to complexion . . . have prevailed since the glorious struggle for our rights began.” In favor of freedom rather than slavery defined the American Revolution and created the social and political context for Cushing and his fellow citizens to abolish slavery by sentiment and law. What initially began as a slave case between the Caldwell brothers and Jennison over who would have the rights to the labor of Quock Walker ended up establishing the philosophical basis for antislavery for public opinion and as the public policy of the state of Massachusetts.

— Malik Simba

See also: Black Loyalists; Free Persons of Color.

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COMPARATIVE SLAVERY: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Since the 1980s, scholars have increasingly looked at slavery in the United States as a phenomenon comparable to other forms of unfree labor outside the New World. The appearance of Peter Kolchin's monograph *Unfree Labor* (1987) and Shearer Davis Bowman's monograph *Masters and Lords* (1993) has marked the beginning of a new subfield in comparative slavery studies. Both books compare the antebellum American South with roughly contemporaneous European societies, offering new interpretations of the nature of slavery in the United States and questioning previous assumptions. Indeed, debate has started on the relationship between slavery, serfdom, and capitalism and on the definition of unfree labor in the context of Old World and New World history.

Although Kolchin and Bowman support strikingly different views of American slavery, both—in different ways and degrees—refer to Immanuel Wallerstein's "modern world-system" approach; Wallerstein's studies have been enormously influential in redefining the concept of unfree labor. According to Wallerstein, during the sixteenth century a complex interrelation of factors, most importantly demographic and geographic expansion and price increase, created a European economy that from the beginning was characterized by a capitalist mode of production.

The single most important consequence of this process was the "discontinuity between economic and political institutions" (Wallerstein, 1979). Within the global economy of the capitalist world system, there grew a distinction between stronger regions in the "core" and weaker regions in the "semiperiphery" and "periphery." Core regions and semiperipheral and peripheral regions differed substantially in regard to how labor was "recruited and recompensed in the labor market" (Wallerstein, 1979). In core regions, wage labor was the norm, while in semiperipheries and peripheries, sharecropping and various forms of coerced labor, ranging from serfdom to slavery, were widespread. Therefore wage labor became associated with diversified agricultural and industrial activities within core regions, where workers were employed in the production and trade of finished products. Conversely, unfree labor became synonymous with monocultural agriculture within peripheral regions, where workers were forced to participate in the process of production and exportation of raw materials to core regions.

Wallerstein's model links the emergence of slavery and serfdom to the spread of global capitalism, thereby questioning the orthodox Marxist assumption that

holds that capitalism is based exclusively on wage labor. Historians of slavery have recognized an important implication: the range of societies with which to compare slave systems increases enormously if we follow Wallerstein's suggestions. Conceptualizing these suggestions has been a necessary step in moving away from the idea of strict comparative slavery, and several historians have started looking at New World slavery as one of the many forms coerced labor took in peripheral economies. Not all historians agree with Wallerstein's view, of course, but they have incorporated it in looking for new directions of comparison.

Kolchin's and Bowman's monographs give precise ideas of two different reactions to Wallerstein's model and of two different ways of using it. Since both comparisons involve the American South and Eastern Europe, they explore potentially the same kinds of issues: the rise and demise of unfree labor systems, the ideology of landed elites, and the defense of conservatism from external threats. However, Kolchin's comparison of slavery in the United States and serfdom in Russia focuses on labor relations, control, and management, while Bowman's comparison of the American South and Prussia considers almost exclusively the worldview of elites. Inevitably, both works compare elements considered common to each case with different results in the end. Still, their points of departure are similar: the rise of unfree labor systems in Old World and New World peripheries is clearly linked in both studies to the expansion of the European economy on a global scale.

Bowman's *Masters and Lords* acknowledges its debt to Wallerstein's model by treating the "consolidation of Junkerdom and then planterdom as peripheral landed elites" (Bowman, 1993) actively involved in producing and exporting raw materials to the world's core regions. He considers the American South and East Elbia (in Prussia) as "relatively backward peripheries" that, nevertheless, played an important role in transforming the United States and Germany from semiperipheries to core regions in the nineteenth century.

That view is essential to his central argument, according to which Junkers (members of the Prussian landed aristocracy) and planters functioned as capitalist entrepreneurs engaged in production for the world market. By the first half of the nineteenth century, only a mild form of serfdom existed in East Elbia, making comparison with the American South's slave system difficult to support if Bowman did not share Wallerstein's view on the relation between types of labor and capitalism. In fact, Bowman elaborates this idea, stating that "although capitalist development since the fifteenth century has furthered prole-

tarianization in core areas by promoting greater reliance on free wage labor in conjunction with technological advances, this does not mean that only a free-labor economy qualifies as capitalist” (Bowman, 1993). In other words, the conservative, reactionary, and antimodern ideologies of planters and Junkers rested on different, but related, systems of labor control, which were part of a global capitalist mode of production.

In stark contrast with Bowman’s work, Kolchin’s *Unfree Labor* is heavily influenced by Eugene Genovese’s approach to slavery in the United States. Kolchin’s monograph may be seen as a way of reinforcing the strength of Genovese’s approach by transferring it to a comparative context. Kolchin views American planters and Russian landowners essentially as behaving in a “paternalistic” way toward their subjects. Like Genovese, he sees paternalism as being incompatible with capitalistic production, so that in the end both the antebellum South and pre-1860 Russia share a status as “pre-bourgeois” societies. Interestingly, this general rejection of the link between capitalism and slavery/serfdom does not prevent Kolchin from acknowledging his intellectual debt to Wallerstein.

Although in a milder form than Bowman, Kolchin recognizes that “the concept of a European core versus periphery to the east and west” (Kolchin, 1987) is important in his comparative analysis of the rise of unfree labor systems at the two extreme ends of the European world economy. He sees American slavery as a particular labor system born in a process similar and related to the rebirth of serfdom at the periphery of Early Modern European settlements. Without a hint of the role of the two peripheries in the world market or of the link between this role and the form coerced labor took in the American South and Russia, there is enough to make one wonder how far one can argue—as Kolchin does—that slavery and serfdom are related and comparable phenomena without acknowledging a similarity in origins and structure between the various types of unfree labor employed in the peripheral areas of the world economy.

In fact, following the above suggestion, one can easily envision that one of the next steps in studying comparative slavery will be to engage in a more comprehensive comparison between slavery and other forms of labor control and management that developed outside Wallerstein’s core regions of the world system. In his latest monograph—*Servitude in the Modern World* (2000)—Michael L. Bush provides a sweeping comparative survey of slavery and serfdom in the context of the evolution of different systems of coerced labor, or servitude. Although Bush’s work is but a general

treatment, it hints at very important issues that deserve consideration in future studies of comparative slavery. Among them certainly the most important is the relativity of the definition of unfree labor. Bush goes well beyond the conventional limits of comparative slavery, linking in a sort of historical continuum coerced labor systems as diverse as slavery, serfdom, indentured servitude, and concentration camp labor in an analytical treatment that covers the entire period from the late Middle Ages to the present and its modern forms of servitude.

Bush’s work synthesizes the results of generations of scholarship. At the same time, he shows how the task of historians of comparative slavery has become far more complicated than it used to be, since they can no longer assume that slavery and unfree labor are synonymous categories related to specific working conditions. Indeed, servitude is a category that continues to be subject to scrutiny and redefinition as comparative study of societies based on different types of unfree labor proceeds.

Another, equally important and strictly related, step in the study of comparative slavery is likely to be the inclusion of an increasing number of geographical areas characterized by specific features into the subfield of comparative history of the nineteenth-century American South. Students of comparative slavery have long seen comparative history of the nineteenth-century American South as a privileged field of studies for scholarship at the forefront of historical comparison. Presently, comparative history of the nineteenth-century American South is more than ever at the center of the attention of scholars of comparative slavery, as both Kolchin’s and Bowman’s comparative monographs testify.

Expanding his horizon well beyond the confines of comparison with Czarist Russia that characterized unfree labor, in his latest work—*A Sphinx on the American Land* (2003)—Peter Kolchin has taken the nineteenth-century American South as both a paradigm and an ideal case study in all the topics—above all, slavery—that engage the efforts of comparative historians. Kolchin has also set much of the agenda for future comparative studies, outlining three basic types of comparison that focus on the American South: comparison between the South and the North, or “un-South”; comparison between the “many souths” that form the South; and comparison between the South and other regions of the world, or “other souths.” The third type of comparison not only includes all the studies on comparative slavery, but also implies that there are virtually endless possibilities of comparison between the nineteenth-century American South and

other regions of the world. Naturally, these regions should share some similarities with the American South in regard to either particular features (such as slavery or other forms of unfree labor) or general historical processes (such as emancipation or even nation-building)—a point with which, even though coming from a different perspective, Immanuel Wallerstein would certainly agree.

In this respect, one of the most promising areas of research for comparative slavery studies is comparison between the nineteenth-century American South and the nineteenth-century Italian South, or *Mezzogiorno*, one of several “other souths” with which the American South shared interesting features and from which it differed in a number of important respects. On the one hand, both the nineteenth-century American South and the *Mezzogiorno* were characterized by preeminently agrarian economies and were located at the periphery of Wallerstein’s world system. On the other hand, even though the *Mezzogiorno*—including both Prussia and Russia—had a monarchy and a hereditary nobility, southern Italian peasants were legally free after the beginning of the nineteenth century. This makes the comparison with American slavery particularly intriguing.

Yet, as Enrico Dal Lago points out in his monograph *Southern Elites* (2004), it is in the realm of elite ideology that comparison between the American South and the *Mezzogiorno* yields particularly valuable insights. Although American slaveholders and southern Italian landowners supervised labor forces that were exploited in radically different ways because of the absence of racial slavery in the *Mezzogiorno*, they were equally preoccupied with maintaining their power in a nineteenth-century world that was increasingly dominated by liberal ideas. To this end, they promoted modernization only insofar as it helped them to both justify and strengthen their economic and social privileges, and they supported nationalism only as an ultimate means of resisting state centralization and governmental interference in their authority on local affairs.

Unlike other types of comparative projects that focus exclusively on slavery, comparison between the nineteenth-century American South and the Italian *Mezzogiorno* yields particularly valuable insights in regard to the connection between slavery and the Civil War. This is especially the case when seen in comparative perspective with contemporary European nationalist movements, such as the Italian *Risorgimento*, and the role that the elites played in them. In this respect, it is hoped that an increasing number of studies will

focus not just on comparative slavery, but also on comparison between the Civil War—which culminated with the slaves’ emancipation—and other, equally revolutionary, transformations that occurred in other regions of the world, especially Europe, at approximately the same time.

— *Enrico Dal Lago*

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COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION

Compensated emancipation programs compelled slaveholders to free their slaves but offered them restitution through the labor of the ex-slaves (euphemistically called apprenticeship), monetary payment, or both. Depending on the compensation terms, freedom for the slave could be immediate and unconditional, or gradual with full freedom for the slave, delayed long enough for the owner to recoup as much of his or her investment as possible.

Debates over compensated emancipation focused foremost on whether to free the slaves. After examining the religious, economic, and ideological grounds for emancipation, the debate shifted to the question of compensation. At issue was the protection of slaveowners’ property rights, specifically whether the state had the right to deprive owners of their property without compensation. For those who considered slavery evil, the critical question remained whether slaveowners deserved restitution for participating in an immoral institution.

The total cost and the compensation terms varied from place to place. Some compensated emancipation plans spread the expense between taxpayers, slaveholders, and the slaves, but other programs, seeking to free nonslaveholders and the state from any financial bur-

den, placed the full cost on the owners and the slaves. Slaveowners bore part of the burden of compensation, for they lost the legal right to own the slave's life-long labor. Where governments used state funds to recompense owners, the expense fell on taxpayers, both slaveowners and nonslaveowners. The slaves, typically required to serve years of apprenticeship before receiving complete freedom, paid for a portion of their emancipation with their labor.

Compensated emancipation plans ranged from those that freed only the unborn, leaving all living slaves still enslaved, to those programs that freed and compensated owners for the youngest and oldest slaves while deferring freedom for slaves in their prime years. Typically, compensated emancipation programs offered free-born status to all children born on or after a specified date, with the manumission being either unconditional or delayed until satisfaction of an apprenticeship.

Usually, few of the principal characters involved in compensated emancipation programs—the state, slaveholders, and the slaves—expressed full satisfaction with the policy. Frequently, slaveowners bemoaned the compensation level and many did not receive the promised restitution. Slaves facing gradual emancipation often found the terms unacceptable, and many chose to escape from their apprenticeship. The high cost of financial compensation proved too burdensome for many nations, leading, in some instances, to revised legislation that ended slavery without the benefit of compensation.

The northern part of the United States inaugurated the trend toward compensated emancipation during the late eighteenth century. During the early nineteenth century, European nations instituted compensated emancipation programs in their colonies. Great Britain enacted its policy in 1833, France and Denmark issued compensated emancipation decrees in 1848, and the Dutch followed in 1863. With the exception of Cuba and Brazil, Latin American and Caribbean nations ended slavery and compensated owners during the 1850s and 1860s. Cuba in 1870 issued a free-birth decree and in 1880 passed a law freeing the remaining slaves after an eight-year apprenticeship. In 1871 Brazil enacted a free-birth law that provided both gradual emancipation and compensation for owners.

The case of the United States and Great Britain in its colonies illustrates the varieties of compensated emancipation programs. During the American Revolution, the states in the northern United States enacted laws repealing the legal basis of slavery within their respective state boundaries. Acknowledging the legal rights of owners to their slave property, the gradual

abolition laws freed no living slave; instead they only conferred partial freedom on the future issue of slave mothers and deferred full freedom for these free children until they served apprenticeships that typically lasted till their mid- or late twenties. The plans confirmed owners' property rights to living slaves, relieved the state and nonslaveholder citizens of the financial burden of compensation, and split the fiscal responsibility between the owners (who lost the right to the life-long labor of the free-born children) and free children, who paid for their emancipation with years of unpaid labor.

Amid the chaos of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln attempted to introduce a plan for compensated emancipation. Hoping to remove the cause of dissension and war between North and South and thereby restore the divided nation, Lincoln in 1862 proposed to free the slaves in the remaining slave states in the Union, pay partial compensation to the owners for their property losses, and remove the freed slaves through colonization. Unlike the northern gradual abolition laws, Lincoln's proposal, which never became law, would have used national funds to compensate slaveholders and to colonize the freed slaves.

In the British colonies, taxpayers, slaveowners, and slaves bore the cost of compensating slaveowners. Britain's 1833 Emancipation Act abolished slavery throughout its colonies, freeing all slaves—immediately and unconditionally for children under age six, gradually for the others—and indemnified slaveowners for their loss. The state allocated a fund of £20 million to pay direct monetary compensation to slaveowners. Slaveholders assumed partial costs, for they lost their rights to the life-long labor of their slaves and, as some complained, received less than the full market value for their slaves. Slaves over age six paid a portion of the cost of their emancipation with apprenticeships of up to six years. In 1838, following loud complaints about abuses suffered under the emancipation act, Britain enacted a new law freeing all remaining slaves unconditionally.

— *Patience Essah*

See also: Gradualism; Immediatism; Lincoln, Abraham.

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COMPROMISE OF 1850

The Compromise of 1850 emerged out of President Zachary Taylor's attempt to resolve the problems related to territorial expansion and slavery following the Mexican War (1846–1848). When Taylor was inaugurated in 1849, four compelling issues faced the nation. First, the rush of some eighty thousand miners to California qualified that territory for admission to the Union, but California's entry as a free state would upset the balance between slave and free states in the Senate that had prevailed since 1820.

The unresolved status of the territory acquired from Mexico in the Southwest posed a second problem. The longer the area was left unorganized, the louder local inhabitants called for an application of either the Wilmot Proviso, which prohibited slavery in the newly acquired territories, or the Calhoun doctrine, which protected the extension of slavery. The boundary between Texas and New Mexico Territory was also in dispute, with Texas claiming lands all the way to Santa Fe. This claim increased northern fears that Texas might be divided into five or six slave states. A third problem was the existence of slavery and slave trading in the nation's capital, one of the largest slave markets in North America. Fourth, southerners resented lax federal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 and called for a stronger act that would end the protection northerners gave runaway slaves.

President Taylor attempted to sidestep the conflict over slavery in the territories by inviting California and New Mexico to bypass the territorial stage and apply immediately for statehood, presumably as free states. The residents could then decide the slavery question for themselves without embarrassment to Congress. Southerners, seeing that California had already prohibited slavery and expecting New Mexico to do the same, realized that Taylor's plan was as effective as Wilmot's Proviso in keeping slavery out of that area. When they protested, Taylor drew a firm line, threatening to use force if necessary to preserve the Union.

The southerners decided that Taylor had betrayed them, and in late 1849, sixty-nine congressmen and senators from the South convened a special caucus in Washington, D.C. John C. Calhoun emerged as leader of the caucus and accused the North of committing numerous "acts of aggression" against the South. According to Calhoun, and the forty-eight congressmen

who eventually signed the caucus petition, the North was out to destroy the South's way of life. As proof he cited the laws prohibiting slavery in various territories and the problems southerners were having in recapturing fugitive slaves in the North. Calhoun insisted that the only way out of the impasse was to restore to southerners their Fifth Amendment property rights, which he interpreted as meaning that slaveowners should be able to take their slaves anywhere in the United States and should be afforded adequate legal assistance in repossessing escaped slaves.

The main spokesman for northern antislavery forces was William H. Seward of New York. Seward and those who sided with him in the long and heated debate insisted that the former Mexican territories should not be surrendered to slavery, that the Fugitive Slave Law could not be enforced, and that the agitation in the North against slavery was impossible to suppress. With disunion threatening, the aged Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky, author of the famous Missouri Compromise of 1820, offered a compromise that he hoped would settle for good the territorial crisis and other disputed issues between the two sections of the country. Clay's plan, which was introduced in Congress in January 1850 as an omnibus bill, contained five key provisions: immediate admission of California as a free state; organization of the rest of the area acquired from Mexico into two territories, Utah and New Mexico, without restrictions on slavery, the matter to be decided by the constitutions of the territories; assumption of the Texan national debt by the federal government; abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and a tough new Fugitive Slave Law. When Clay's package of compromise measures came to a vote, opponents of the individual measures defeated it. His bill and his health in ruins, Clay withdrew into retirement.

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois assumed Clay's place in steering the compromise through Congress. Douglas devised a new strategy of introducing Clay's measures separately, relying on sectional blocs and a few swing votes to form majorities for each of the separate laws, which became known as the Compromise of 1850. The first was the Texas and New Mexico Act of September 9, 1850, which established the borders of Texas and a payment of \$10 million to that state. The act provided that when New Mexico entered the Union, the state would make its own decision on slavery. The Utah Act of September 9, 1850, provided that this territory, too, should decide for itself the legal status of slavery within its borders. On that same date, California was admitted as a free state. The District of Columbia Act of September 20, 1850, abolished the

slave trade, but not slavery, in that area. The slaveholders won their most cherished victory with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in September 1850. This act, far more stringent than the 1793 law, authorized slaveholders to pursue runaways into other states and imposed heavy fines on people who aided runaway slaves.

The immediate response to the Compromise of 1850 was an enthusiastic welcome with celebrations held in many cities, but events soon revealed that the compromise had settled nothing at all. Rather, it had only delayed more serious sectional conflict. In its aftermath, political parties appeared to realign more along sectional lines. In addition, northerners, in response to the Fugitive Slave Act, increased Underground Railroad activity and passed personal liberty laws, which prohibited the use of state officials and institutions in recovering fugitive slaves.

— *Michael Washington*

See also: Clay, Henry; Douglas, Stephen A.; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Wilmot Proviso.

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CONFISCATION ACTS (1861–1862)

Congress passed the confiscation acts during the Civil War, and this legislation authorized military authorities to appropriate permanently any property owned by Confederate citizens, including slaves. The two confiscation acts were the first small steps taken to erode the legal foundations of slavery in the United States.

Union forces advancing southward immediately confronted the problem of what they could legally do with captured Confederate property. Since Lincoln's administration insisted that Confederates were rebellious insurgents rather than foreign belligerents, the laws of war giving nations the right to seize enemy aliens' property might not apply. Some specific legislative act was necessary in order to allow the North to legally seize and retain the South's war-making matériel. On August 6, 1861, Congress therefore passed with little debate the First Confiscation Act allowing military forces to keep any rebel war-making property.

Did this "property" include slaves? If so, the first Confiscation Act might easily become a *de facto* emancipation proclamation. Southerners certainly un-

derstood it as such. Angrily referring to the northern law as an emancipation act, they passed their own harsh confiscatory legislation to exact revenge against what they saw as the Union's poorly concealed declaration of war against their slave "property."

Slaves performed essential military service throughout the Confederacy, and some northerners like General Benjamin Butler believed that slaves should be considered "contraband of war that had been seized and kept, with the same justification the Union army might use to keep a captured Confederate musket or cannon. The First Confiscation Act's authors therefore specifically provided that slaves directly employed in aiding the Confederate military effort could be confiscated, but it made no provisions for deciding whether these individuals might subsequently be emancipated. As a result, the army was flooded with thousands of runaway slaves whose legal status remained in limbo.

The ambiguity of this and other provisions caused Congress to pass a Second Confiscation Act in July 1862. This act authorized the government to seize any property owned by rebellious southerners. Sponsored by more radical antislavery congressmen, many northerners understood it to be a first step toward total emancipation, treating the slaves of rebel owners as "captives of war" and unequivocally declaring them "forever free."

The Second Confiscation Act did not resolve the basic legal confusion over whether the Confederates were rebels or foreign enemies. It referred to rebels as "traitors," implying they were simply wayward U.S. citizens who might nevertheless possess certain basic rights in a court of law, such as a hearing to determine whether their property might be taken from them. But using the phrase "captives of war" to describe confiscated slaves suggested that Confederate slaveowners were waging a war as foreign belligerents. This afforded the Confederacy indirect legal recognition as a foreign nation, a status Lincoln's administration very much wished to avoid conferring on the South.

Lincoln had so many doubts about these and other matters that he took the unprecedented step of sending a message to Congress stating his objections to the bill and indicating he would veto it if certain changes were not made. He believed the law incorrectly implied that Congress could end slavery in a state, and he suggested that the wording should be altered to give the national government ownership of confiscated slave "property" prior to freeing those slaves. Lincoln took pains to indicate that he had no objections to liberating slaves as such. Even as he wrote this opinion, he was working on a preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Congress took Lincoln's suggestions for changing the bill's wording, and it became law in fall 1862. In the final analysis, both the First and Second Confiscation Acts were relatively ineffective with regard to slavery, for just six months after passage of the second act, Lincoln freed the slaves using his powers as commander-in-chief. Yet the laws set certain precedents. They marked the first congressional attempt to address the issues of emancipation and slavery's legal status during the Civil War, and they implied that such issues were national rather than local in scope. The Confiscation Acts are best remembered for their symbolic value, as milestones on the difficult road northerners took from fighting a war for the Union to fighting a war to end slavery.

— *Brian Dirck*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Civil War; Contrabands; Emancipation Proclamation; Lincoln, Abraham.

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CONSTITUTION.

See United States Constitution.

CONTRABANDS

In a general sense, warriors throughout history have recognized all goods and property seized during a conflict to be the contraband of war if such items are deemed to aid and abet the enemy's ability to continue

to make war. The Civil War is a unique conflict because often the assets that were considered contraband included human beings as southern plantations were liberated by advancing Union forces and as many slaves sought self-emancipation by rushing toward the advancing Union lines. The question of what to do with these individuals, ostensibly the chattel property of Confederate sympathizers, and also the status of these liberated persons, were perplexing issues that often faced Union commanders in the field. The mixed signals and miscues between the Lincoln administration and the U.S. Army suggest that no clear policy regarding former slaves as contrabands had been developed at the onset of the Civil War and that the formulation of such policy was a work in progress during the first months of the conflict.

Since Abraham Lincoln did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation until September 22, 1862, a carefully crafted veil of discomfiture shrouded the question of emancipation during the first year and a half of the conflict. Faced with the dilemma of keeping the proslavery border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware in the Union, the Lincoln administration believed that any rash action toward wholesale emancipation might drive these states toward secession, thus augmenting the Confederacy and extending its ability and resources to make war. In such a world of high-stakes realpolitik, all policies regarding the status of slaves as contrabands of war were viewed as profound decisions that could affect the conduct of the war.

On May 24, 1861, only six weeks after the opening shots were fired at Fort Sumter, Union General Benjamin F. Butler reported to authorities in the War Department that he had put a group of fugitive slaves to work at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. In his dispatch, Butler described the fugitives as "contraband of war," and stated that some were employed on construction projects while others picked cotton.

Although the fugitive slaves were not considered to be legally emancipated, they were effectively free, and they did receive a small wage (usually 25 cents per day plus rations) from the federal treasury for the labor that they performed for the Union forces. Among northern abolitionists the catchphrase "contraband of war" became almost synonymous with emancipation. This practice became increasingly common after Congress passed the First Confiscation Act on August 6, 1861. This measure authorized the freeing of slaves in areas that were already under Union army control and who had previously been employed to aid the Confederate cause.

Even with these policies in place, President Lincoln still proceeded very cautiously on the issue of emancipa-



Contrabands, slaves who sought refuge with Union troops during the Civil War, accompanied William Tecumseh Sherman's march through Georgia. (Library of Congress)

tion. In September 1861, he ordered General John C. Frémont to revise a proclamation of martial law that he had issued. Frémont's initial proclamation had freed the slaves of all disloyal slaveowners in Missouri. In December 1861 Lincoln convinced Secretary of War Simon Cameron to delete several controversial passages in his annual report to Congress. It was Cameron's wish to urge emancipation as a wartime necessity and to advocate the use of former slaves as military laborers and as soldiers. Shortly after Cameron submitted the revised report, Lincoln removed him from the War Department by naming him minister to Russia.

For many former slaves, their role as "contraband of war" was part of the transition from slavery to freedom. The role of emancipation and contrabands was always closely linked, and when freedom finally came to the slaves in the South, Union lines swelled as tens of thousands of the newly free joined the camps and eventually the ranks of their liberators. Coping with the demands of vast contraband camps that were teeming with displaced persons was a taxing obligation to the War Department and represents one of the first social welfare efforts sponsored by the U.S. government. The provision of basic supplies of food, shelter,

and clothing, the furnishing of rudimentary health services, and the establishment of schools were not skills traditionally associated with the military. As the war progressed, however, efforts to assist the wards of the government in the contraband camps became more systematic. Not surprisingly, when the Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in March 1865, the agency was placed under the auspices of the War Department, and General Oliver Otis Howard was appointed its first director.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Confiscation Acts.

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ANNA JULIA COOPER (C. 1858–1964)

Anna Julia Cooper became a controversial educator who demanded standards of excellence as well as equal opportunity for black schools. Late in life she headed one of the first community colleges, Freylingshuysen University in Washington, D.C. An early black feminist, Cooper lectured widely on behalf of the “doubly enslaved” black woman, while insisting on a right to higher education for all women. In the nineteenth century, she became a founder and supporter of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs and other organizations. As a crowning achievement, her 1925 Sorbonne doctoral thesis expressed a seminal interpretation of international slavery and its repercussions (L’Attitude de la France a l’egard de l’esclavage pendant la revolution [Slavery and the French Revolutionists]).

Anna Cooper’s mother was Hannah Stanley, a slave, the property of Dr. Fabius J. Haywood. Haywood was Cooper’s owner and probably her father. Along with Mary Church Terrell and Ida A. Gibbs, Cooper stood among the first women to receive the bachelor’s degree from Oberlin College; in 1887 she received the master’s degree. Thirty-eight years later she received the doctorate from the Sorbonne in Paris, France.

In 1892 Cooper published her first book, *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. In this feminist work she discussed the discouragements she had encountered in growing up in the post–Civil War South. For much of her life she wrote and lectured on women’s rights and on justice for the former slaves. For many years she taught Latin and Greek and mathematics to students at the M Street Colored High School in Washington, D.C. A gifted linguist, she later translated from ancient to modern French a classic epic, *Le Pelerinage de Charlemagne* (The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne).

Cooper’s least known and probably most important work is her study of the relations between the assemblies of the French Revolution and the slaves of France’s richest colony, San Domingue (Haiti). Cooper believed that slavery anywhere affected slavery everywhere, that it encapsulated a world labor problem, that slave labor thus became a matter of international concern. She thought that denial of freedom to the slaves of San Domingue severely limited the freedom of the French and that it negated hope of democratic progress through the French Revolution. She thus showed the inevitable involvement of darker peoples with the Western world. Cooper wrote this study in French when she was sixty-seven years old, and the Sorbonne published it. Until 1988 it was never published in any language in her native land, but to-

ward the end of her 105 years, Cooper lived to see major scholars advance the issues that she had raised in her scholarship.

—Frances Richardson Keller

See also: Education; Literature.

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COTTON. *See* Long-Staple Cotton; Short-Staple Cotton.

COTTON GIN

The cotton gin is a device for separating cottonseed from the fiber. In the United States, the first profitable variety of cotton produced consisted of long fibers grown in the Sea Islands and coastal South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Introduced for cultivation in 1786, the cotton gin made cotton’s black seeds easier to separate from its lint. This made it cost-effective for landowners to use African and African American slaves to process the fiber. Environmental factors, however, prevented this variant’s inland cultivation.

In the southern uplands, a plant with short fibers and green seeds grew abundantly, but the extreme difficulty of extracting the seeds from the fibers made it unprofitable to process. Gins used for separating black seeds from the long-staple cotton proved ineffective when applied to the shorter fibers. Those gins were patterned on a device used for centuries in India consisting of two grooved wooden rollers that rotated conversely when turned by a handle. The grooves captured the seeds of the long-staple cotton as it was pulled through the rollers, thereby cleaning it for spinning. The seeds from the upland variety, however, clung so tightly to the fiber that the rollers could not remove them.

Planters in Georgia brought this problem to the attention of Eli Whitney (1765–1825), a mechanically in-



The cotton gin, introduced in 1793, is a device for separating cottonseed from the fiber. Its development made it cost-effective for landowners to use African and African American slaves to process the fiber. (Library of Congress)

clined graduate of Yale University from Massachusetts. In 1792 Whitney accepted a position as tutor for a family in South Carolina. On his journey south, he met Catherine Littlefield Greene (1755–1814) and accepted an invitation to stay at her plantation in Georgia. Following discussions with Greene and others regarding the problems of ginning upland cotton, Whitney chose not to proceed to South Carolina. Instead, he remained at Greene's plantation and worked on a means of separating green seeds from the upland cotton.

Whitney constructed a model for a cotton gin in ten days in November 1792 and then spent six months building a working machine, which he finished in April 1793. Whitney based his design on the gins used in cleaning lowland cotton, but his apparatus consisted of one roller with iron pins attached that pulled the lint through a metal grid, which caught the seeds and dropped them into a box below. A second cylinder rotated a brush that removed the fibers from the toothed roller. Supposedly, it was Greene who sug-

gested employing the brush, which solved the problem of how to prevent the lint caught in the pins from accumulating and choking the gin.

Whitney's device cleaned fifty times more fiber than could be accomplished by hand and made it profitable to put slaves to work picking short-staple cotton, thereby encouraging the expansion of slavery throughout the southeastern United States. The gin also enabled the United States to become the world's leading producer of cotton by 1825. The boom in the production of cotton encouraged white southerners to demand the removal of Native Americans from their lands so that planters could acquire more land for cultivation.

Whitney profited little from his invention. Although he and a business associate received a federal patent, other mechanics easily varied the basic design, which allowed for the proliferation of gins while making it nearly impossible for Whitney to collect either damages or royalties.

— Dan R. Frost

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HANNAH PEIRCE [PEARCE] COX (1797–1876)

As an abolitionist and a partner in operating the first Underground Railroad station in Pennsylvania, Hannah Peirce (variously spelled Pearce) Cox is considered one of America's premier abolitionists. She grew up on her family's farm in Pennsylvania, part of the fifth generation of her family to be born in America. Her Quaker upbringing shaped her sympathy for people held captive by slavery, and her marriage to John Cox, a like-minded Quaker, served to reinforce her antislavery beliefs.

Hannah Cox was reportedly stirred by reading William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* and by attending a lecture at which John Greenleaf Whittier's poem "Our Fellow Countrymen in Chains" was read. She became an ardent supporter of immediate emancipation and felt the idea of a gradual extermination of slavery to be ridiculous. She agreed with fellow abolitionists like Garrison that gradual release of slaves was "to tell a man to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher, or tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire" (Smedley, 1969). The burning of Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hall in 1838 by proslavery advocates further spurred her activity in the antislavery cause.

Hannah and John Cox eagerly joined the Underground Railroad, providing their home as the first station north of Wilmington, Delaware, on the way to the Canadian border. Their children also aided in the almost nightly activities: feeding everyone, clothing those who needed clothes, conveying people to the next safe house along the route, or giving them directions for their flight northward. The Coxes carried on these duties quietly and for many years. Slaves were not the only people welcomed at the Cox home. Fellow abolitionists Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah Pugh, Abby Kelley, Lucy Stone, John Greenleaf Whittier, and many others always found comfort at the Cox homestead.

Over the years, Hannah and John Cox were fre-

quently chosen as delegates to antislavery state and national conventions, and from the antislavery movement, Hannah Cox went on to support many other social causes. She died in her home in Pennsylvania, the same house where she had been born and lived her entire life.

— Maria Elena Raymond

See also: Underground Railroad.

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WILLIAM (1827–1900) AND ELLEN (C. 1826–1890) CRAFT

William and Ellen Craft gained national attention because of the circumstances of their escape from slavery in 1848. The two married in Macon, Georgia, while both were slaves, and later decided to flee the South in search of freedom. William, a cabinetmaker whose master allowed him to work independently, used his earnings to buy disguises and to pay for travel costs, and the two obtained passes to leave Macon during the Christmas season.

Ellen, the daughter of a former master, wore dark glasses and a muffler to hide her face while posing as an elderly and ailing master, with William playing the part of a faithful servant. With her right arm in a sling, the illiterate Ellen was able to avoid signing hotel registers or other documents. They traveled by train and steamer without incident until they reached Baltimore, Maryland, the last slave city on their journey. Maryland law required masters to sign and post bond for slaves accompanying them to the North. William's plea for his master's urgent need of medical care persuaded the railroad agent to waive the requirement. On the train they met a free African American who directed them to a Philadelphia abolitionist.

After resting briefly in Philadelphia, the Crafts continued to Boston accompanied by former slave and abolitionist William Wells Brown. They had a second wedding in Boston, where they remained for two years.

There William worked as a cabinetmaker and Ellen trained as a seamstress, and they were both active in the antislavery movement. In October 1850, when agents of their masters appeared in Boston with warrants for their arrest under the new Fugitive Slave Law, the Crafts fled the United States. Assisted by other abolitionists they went first to Nova Scotia, then to Britain.

The Crafts attended British antislavery meetings and attracted attention upon visiting the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. Their five children were born in Britain, where they lived until after the Civil War. In 1868 they returned briefly to Boston and then moved to Georgia to manage an industrial school financed by British and American abolitionists. After the Ku Klux Klan burned the school, the Crafts supervised a similar project located on a Bryan County, Georgia, plantation. That site later became the Craft Family plantation.

The Crafts frequently spoke publicly about their dramatic escape, which relied solely on their ingenious plan. While in Britain they told their story in the book *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom, or the Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (1860). Their use of the Underground Railroad was typical of many other escapes from slavery. Although they eventually received valuable assistance, it was only after reaching the North that they received any help beyond their own resources.

—Larry Gara

See also: Brown, William Wells; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Underground Railroad.

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PRUDENCE CRANDALL (1803–1889)

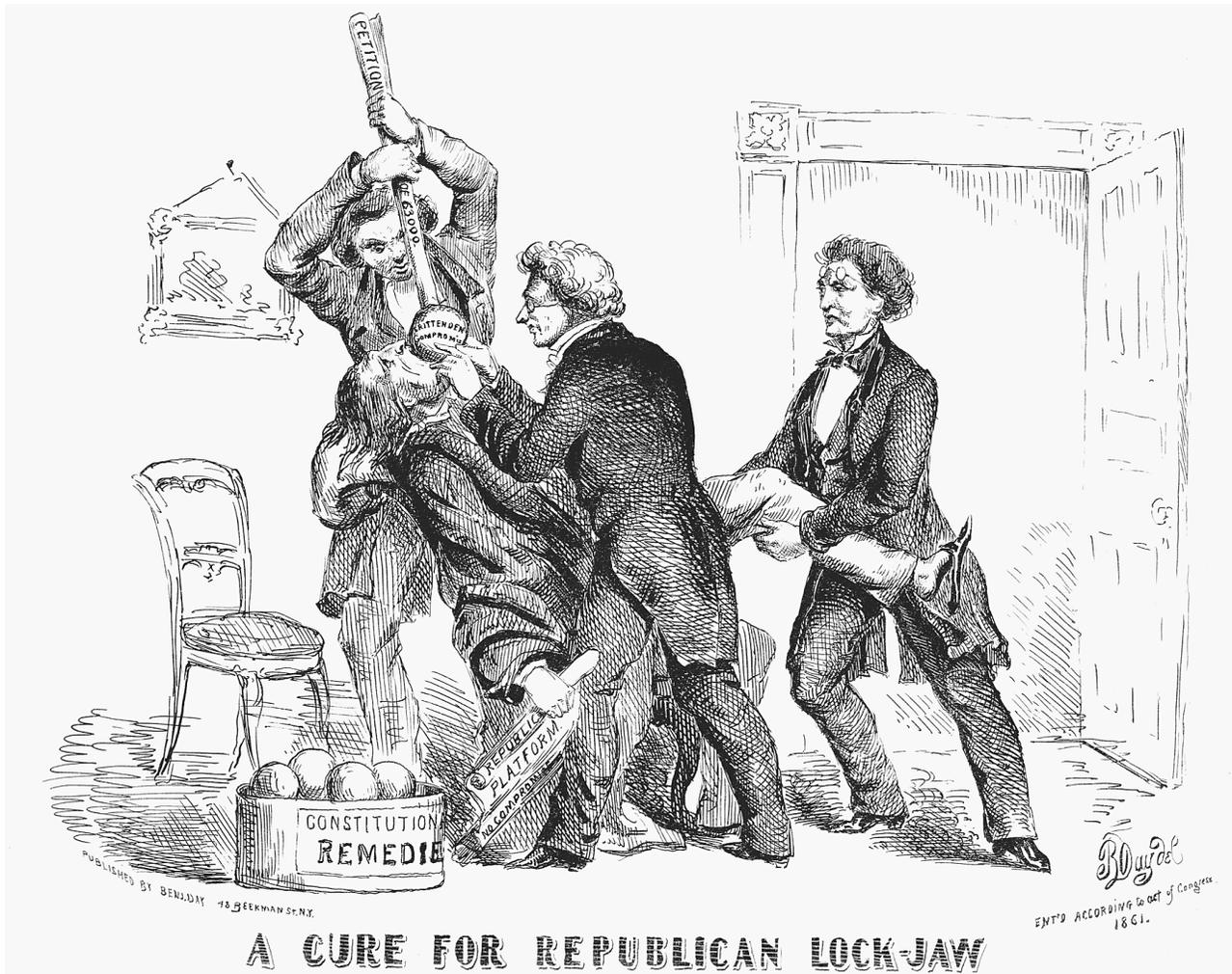
Prudence Crandall became famous in 1833 when she defied northern racial prejudice by accepting black stu-

dents into her Canterbury, Connecticut, female boarding school. Abolitionist leaders seized on Crandall's action and Connecticut's violent reaction as a means of promoting antislavery and demonstrating to white northerners the danger slavery and prejudice posed to their own civil liberties. When Sarah Harris, the daughter of a local black farmer and abolitionist, asked to attend the all-white school so that she could learn enough to teach black children, Crandall could not say no. The school's board of visitors demanded that Crandall remove Harris; if she did not, they would remove the white pupils. Crandall refused and then took her stand against racism further: she dismissed the white students and announced she would take only black students. The school for black girls opened on April 1, 1833.

The town's attack proceeded on two fronts: in the courts and the state legislature and through intimidation. Urged by a prominent member of the board of visitors, the Connecticut state legislature passed a "black law" in 1833 requiring local approval for schools to admit out-of-state black students and instituting onerous fines for those who violated the new policy. The authorities arrested Crandall, and when she would not post bond, the town was forced to jail her, an action abolitionist leaders eagerly publicized. Her trial in August 1833 ended in a hung jury, but she was found guilty in October by the state supreme court. That decision was overturned on appeal because of a technicality.

All this time Crandall continued her school, which endured boycotts by the town's storekeepers, churches, and doctors. Townspeople smashed windows and dumped manure in the well; they insulted Crandall and the black students on the street; and they threw manure and dead animals at them. One student was arrested for vagrancy and threatened with public whipping. The terrorism continued after the court decisions—including an arson attempt while Crandall, her husband, and the students were sleeping, and a midnight attack on September 9, 1834, by a mob that smashed windows and downstairs rooms with clubs and iron bars. The mob attack convinced Crandall that the danger was extreme, and she reluctantly closed the school.

After Crandall gave up her school, she dropped from the public eye. In the mid-1870s a regiment of black soldiers raised money to assist her, and several of her black students did become teachers. Although her antislavery stand occurred during only a small portion of her life, Crandall's principles and her sufferings on behalf of those principles placed her in the community of martyrs who were admired and publicized by aboli-



Crittenden Compromise: The seven amendments that made up the Crittenden Compromise were proposed during the 1860–1861 session of Congress by Kentucky Senator John Crittenden. The compromise was a last-ditch attempt to avert the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

tionist speakers and newspapers throughout the antebellum period.

— *Andrea M. Atkin*

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CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE

On December 18, 1860, in an effort to avoid destroy-

ing the United States over the unresolved issues of slavery and states' rights, Kentucky senator John Jordan Crittenden presented several proposals to the U.S. Senate, including six possible amendments to the Constitution and four resolutions.

Crittenden's proposals included the following stipulations. One, in lands already in the possession of the United States (or yet to be acquired north of 36°30'), slavery would be prohibited; south of the line, slavery would be protected as property. Two, Congress could not abolish slavery in areas under federal control in the slave states. Three, Congress could not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without compensation to the owners and the consent of the states of Maryland and Virginia. Four, Congress could not interfere with the interstate transportation of slaves. Five, Congress would have to compensate owners of fugitive slaves.

And six, Congress should not have the power to interfere with slavery where it already existed by the passage of constitutional amendments that would alter the Fugitive Slave Law or interfere with slavery in the states.

Crittenden's compromise also included the following four resolutions. First, the Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional, and therefore it should be enforced. Second, any state laws (personal liberty acts) that conflicted with the Fugitive Slave Law were to be null and void and should be repealed by the states. Third, Congress should amend the Fugitive Slave Law to remove certain passages that were offensive to northern citizens. Fourth, Congress should enforce and further strengthen laws forbidding the foreign slave trade.

The Senate appointed a committee of thirteen, and the House a committee of thirty-three to review Crittenden's plan. On December 22, 1860, the Senate committee rejected the plan because President-elect Lincoln and the Republicans refused to compromise on the extension of slavery into the territories. In February and March 1860, Congress passed a resolution to prohibit interference with slavery in the states by the federal government, but it was not ratified by the states.

The rejection of these proposals was a terrible blow to those hoping for a peaceful solution to the nation's problems. Crittenden received approbations from many Americans for his efforts to reach an agreement between North and South, and moderates from both sections of the nation earnestly hoped for an acceptable alternative to the specter of disunion. A convention of the states of the Upper South held in Washington, D.C., on February 4–27, 1861, endeavored to modify the Crittenden Compromise but failed to satisfy either section of the country and eventually only added to the confusion and distrust between the two regions. The Crittenden Compromise was a desperate effort to salvage a disintegrating Union. By rejecting that effort, the U.S. government faced the grim reality of not only the breakup of the Union but, ultimately, civil war.

— Ron D. Bryant

See also: Peace Convention (1860–1861).

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JAMES DUNWOODY BROWNSON DEBOW (1820–1867)

James D. B. DeBow is well known among historians of the Old South as a proslavery advocate and eloquent editor of *DeBow's Review*—the only antebellum southern commercial magazine. Historians consider him one of the prominent “fire-eaters,” a label assigned to those outspoken southerners who were engaged in a “persistent advocacy of southern independence” (Walther, 1992). In defending the institution of slavery, proslavery ideologues commonly denied not only the logic but also the existence of modern industrial relations in the South's racial structures. Compared to other proslavery advocates, DeBow was more “liberal” in his outlook on the South's economic development based on the progress of commerce and industry.

DeBow was a respectable journalist both in the South and among commercial and publishing enterprises in New York and Boston. Thus he was better informed about the political and economic issues of the nation than many of his colleagues. Since he tried to establish *DeBow's Review* for all southerners, not just for particular groups or individuals, he was in a good position to receive and consider different opinions from diverse sections of the South. From its early days, the magazine claimed “active neutrality” in politics. Its editorial policy and viewpoints on politics and economics were moderate except for DeBow's personal belief that the North could not really understand the South and its perspective on slavery. By the mid-1850s, DeBow could no longer keep silent about the intensified sectional conflict, especially as it concerned questions of slavery and southern states' rights. From then on, DeBow actively disseminated proslavery arguments and ideas, pushing commercial conventions for reopening the African slave trade and, after Lincoln's election in 1860, spearheading the secessionist movement. After Fort Sumter, DeBow was appointed to the Produce Loan Bureau of the Confederate government. The task of the bureau was to secure revenue for the Confederacy through sales of commodities loaned to it by planters.

DeBow was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on July 10, 1820. Educated exclusively in South Carolina, first in Charleston public schools and later at the Cokesbury Institute of the Methodist Church in Charleston, he graduated from the College of

Charleston as valedictorian of his class in 1843. DeBow then read law and was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1844. Dissatisfied with practicing law, he found a new career in journalism and remained a journalist throughout his life. At the age of twenty-five, after serving briefly as assistant editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, DeBow moved to New Orleans and started his own magazine, *Commercial Review of the South West*, later to be better known as *DeBow's Review*.

He was one of the founders of the Louisiana State Historical Society in 1847, which eventually merged into the Academy of Science. In 1849 DeBow was appointed professor of political economy at the newly founded University of Louisiana; in the same year, he was appointed head of the Bureau of Statistics in Louisiana. Four years later, he became superintendent of the Seventh Census of the United States. After the Civil War, he resumed publication of *DeBow's Review* but only until 1867.

In 1853 DeBow married Caroline Poe of Mobile, Alabama, who died in 1858. They had two children, Mary and James Dunwoody Brownson. James died as an infant; Mary died at sixteen. In 1860 DeBow married Martha E. Jones of Nashville, Tennessee, and this marriage produced four children. He died of pleurisy in New Jersey on February 27, 1867, at the age of forty-six.

DeBow was a good example of a southern intellectual whose ideas were shaped and informed by the increasingly hostile social systems within the antebellum United States. As a good southerner, he embraced the radical proslavery ideology in the final period of sectional conflict, believing that slavery, as ordained by God, was an institution that was suitable for the South. The typical argument among southerners was that blacks as a naturally inferior race could exist in an advanced society only through “union with whites in an unequal relation.” In order to defend the slave system successfully, he needed to show that there was no fundamental conflict between slavery and the economic development of the South. In so doing, he adjusted and modified classical political economy to suit the conditions of the Old South, proposing that slave labor could become efficient industrial labor.

DeBow's early proslavery ideas were based on biblical arguments and Enlightenment philosophy that maintained that slavery was a “natural” institution. His later proslavery ideas were influenced by the increased North-South sectional conflict and expanded to incorporate the scientific and racial arguments that defended slavery as the best state of social organization.

DeBow believed that given its natural resources and a slave labor system under the guidance of enlightened

masters, the South could regain its dominance in national politics and improve its economy based on agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. With a strong and progressive economy, the South could defend its institutions, especially slavery, from northern attacks. His economic ideas were basically informed by the economic ideas of merchant capital: progress and the prosperity of society were based on commodity exchanges rather than on the production process.

Proslavery ideas conveniently allowed southern intellectuals to place blacks in a barbarous stage in a linear social development and to justify their guidance and protection by civilized men and societies. Accordingly, slavery brought blacks into the modern world order and also perfected and harmonized the natural hierarchical social order. Ultimately, southern intellectuals defended slavery as a social system that was ordained by God and justified by history as the most suitable system for an inferior and unequal race.

DeBow's economic ideas stressed the “industrial revolution” of the South and the sustainability of slavery, which resulted in his arguing for the reopening of the African slave trade. For southern political economists, the security of the institution of slavery depended on a prosperous and strong South, which, in turn, relied on its capability to diversify its economy based on a balance of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. For these economists, the successful defense of slavery presupposed an adequate rate of economic growth. DeBow was aware that the single-crop agriculture of the South was inadequate to sustain the rapid growth of the South's economy in the competitive world market, so his advocacy of an “industrial revolution” in the South was a logical outcome of his peculiar economic theory.

Like other southern political economists, however, DeBow's ideas on the promotion of manufacturing, and the diversification of surplus slave labor, were contradictory and impractical. His vision of industrialization was grounded on a view of society as functioning like a working body or organism and the idea that men were responsible for each other. This made possible the unity between capital and labor on the condition that the labor system would consist exclusively of black slaves while capital was owned by white southerners. Ultimately, he denied the existence of class conflict within the South and on the eve of the Civil War argued that nonslaveholders also benefited from having slavery as a main labor system in the South. For him, economic development was a precondition for a defense of slavery. The paradox of DeBow's economic ideas thus lay mainly in his commitment to the defense of slavery.

— *Thanet Aphornsuwan*

See also: Fire-Eaters; Proslavery Argument.

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MARTIN R. DELANY (1812–1885)

Martin R. Delany was the son of a free mother and a slave father. Throughout his lifetime, he always claimed that he was descended from West African native chieftains. In 1822 his family moved to Chambersburgh, Pennsylvania, and in 1831, Delany left Chambersburgh for Pittsburgh where he spent the next twenty-five years of his life. Upon his arrival in Pittsburgh, he worked first as a barber while attending a school run by the Reverend Lewis Woodson, a black Methodist minister. During his time in Pittsburgh, Delany participated in the abolitionist movement, newspaper editing, moral reform, and the practice of medicine.

From 1843 to 1847 Delany edited *Mystery*, one of a few black newspapers of the period, and from late 1847 until the middle of 1849 he coedited the *North Star* with Frederick Douglass. In 1852 he published one of the most important books to be written by a free black in the nineteenth century—*The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered*. This is the text that established Delany's later reputation as the "father of black nationalism." During the Civil War years and thereafter, Delany served as a major over "colored troops." In that capacity, he actively recruited blacks into the Union army. Later he was appointed subassistant commissioner of the Bureau for the Relief of Refugees, Freedmen, and of Abandoned Lands.

Delany's *Condition* is a compelling text for any number of reasons, not the least of which is the context that produced it. Published only two years after

passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, *The Condition* represents a direct response to the political ramifications of that law. Prior to the 1850s, moral suasion had been the primary political strategy for defeating slavery. In fact, Delany himself had been a great proponent of moral suasion. The logic was that if blacks could demonstrate—through education, industry, and thrift—that they were capable of citizenship with whites, then that fact would, over time, make possible the end of slavery. That was the popular ideology of the 1830s and 1840s. However, passage of the Fugitive Slave Act confirmed that whites and the government had not been acting in good faith. It was not the condition of black people that kept them from being considered the equals of whites, it was race and racism.

Delany's *Condition* is a rhetorically sophisticated and politically astute response to that realization. The text outlined and argued for the tenants of emigration (which Delany had taken great pains to distinguish from colonization—a policy of the proslavery forces begun in 1817 to colonize blacks outside the United States). The book also argued for black self-determination, which was dependent on black economic independence. That aspect met with sharp opposition from the black churches, which believed in providential determinism, but the rhetorical sophistication of Delany's argument for materialism as sanctioned by God is noteworthy. Delany was aware of the complexity of the discursive terrain he was embarking on in the text. That awareness is one of the qualities that makes the book one of the most interesting and important documents written by a free black in the United States.

Fusing an unusual blend of black self-determination with the contemporary black emigration movement, Delany favored the concept of "a nation within a nation." He worked actively to establish an African American nation in Africa and saw this move as the cornerstone of the liberation and elevation of black people. Although the mass of blacks never adopted Delany's rather elitist ideas for racial uplift or his campaign for African emigration, twentieth-century thinkers such as Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey were deeply influenced by his philosophy.

Although Delany is still widely regarded as the "father of black nationalism," historian Floyd Miller was among the first to take issue with this appellation. Miller contends that it was Lewis Woodson, Delany's teacher in Pittsburgh, who was the real father of black nationalism and who served as the source of Delany's emigrationist and nationalistic ideology. In a 1971 essay, "The Father of Black Nationalism: Another Contender," Miller demonstrates that most of Delany's ideas about emigration and racial uplift were first published as

letters by Lewis to the *Colored American* in the July 1, 1837, issue under the pseudonym “Augustine.”

The years 1859–1862 saw the first publication of Delany’s work of fiction, *Blake, or the Huts of America*. The first attempt to publish the novel in serial form was made in the *Anglo-African Magazine* from January–July 1859. For unknown reasons (though perhaps because Delany went out of the country), publication was halted after twenty-six chapters had been printed. It was not until 1861–1862 that the entire novel was printed in the *Weekly Anglo-African*—from November 26, 1861, until May 24, 1862. The novel differs from much of nineteenth-century African American literature in two important respects: first, the hero of the text was an unapologetic black revolutionary thinker; and second, the hero was also a man of unmixed African blood, “a pure Negro,” and not a tragic mulatto figure as in the works of William Wells Brown, Charles W. Chesnutt, and James Weldon Johnson. In many respects, Delany’s hero is much like the author himself—a thinker and a man of action who was proud of his heritage.

— Dwight A. McBride

See also: American Colonization Society, Brown, William Wells; Douglass, Frederick; *North Star*.

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Democratic Party was one of the two major political parties in the pre–Civil War United States. Although historians debate whether the party came into being to protect the interests of slaveholding southerners, by 1860 the party had become identified as the staunch defender of slavery. The Democratic Party, which for so long had supported the right of slaveholding southerners to move their property into the disputed western territories, wound up a casualty of

the sectional discord that engulfed the nation in 1860. In that year, the party split into two wings, northern and southern, with each wing running its own presidential candidate. The last national political party, and the last bond of union between the sections, had broken into two.

The Democratic Party came into being around 1826. Its principal architect was the veteran New York politician Martin Van Buren, and the principal reason for the creation of this party was to elect Andrew Jackson president in 1828. In lining up newspaper editors in various states, which offered Jackson the opportunity to spread his message to potential voters, Van Buren laid the groundwork for the first mass political party in the United States. Though not explicitly formed to protect slavery, this new party, with a Tennessee slaveholder as its first presidential candidate did not offend any slaveholder, nor did it threaten the right to hold slave property; Democratic Party ideology reinforced this sense of security among slaveholders. The party carried on the Jeffersonian tradition by advocating a national government limited in the scope of its powers, promoting states’ rights, and making the primary tasks of the national government the maintenance of order and the protection of private property. The Democratic Party, particularly its southern wing, viewed the ownership of slaves not only as the right to own constitutionally protected property but also as an example of liberty for whites.

From 1830 to 1860, the Democratic Party upheld the rights of slaveholders as the abolitionist movement gained strength in the North. In 1835 President Jackson responded to the burning of abolitionist literature that had been seized from a South Carolina post office by instructing Amos Kendall, his postmaster general, not to forward this type of material to the South. Jackson viewed such abolitionist tactics as threats to the sanctity of the Union. In 1836 the Democratic Party-controlled House of Representatives approved the gag rule, which laid aside, without opportunity for debate, abolitionist petitions sent to Congress. The gag rule lasted until 1844, when the House repealed the measure. Thus, to a large degree, the politics of slavery negated freedom of speech and the right to petition one’s representatives.

In 1846 the first sign of a split in party unity appeared. During the Mexican War, David Wilmot, a freshman representative from Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution that would have forbidden the introduction of slavery into any territory acquired from Mexico as a result of the war. Although the House repeatedly passed the proviso, the Senate never approved the measure, and so Wilmot’s proposal died in Con-

gress. The Compromise of 1850 resolved the issue, though neither satisfactorily nor for very long. With the admission of California as a free state, the North now had numerical superiority in both houses of Congress, and the South became a political minority within the Union.

The issue of the expansion of slavery into the territories introduced a North-South sectional division not only into American politics generally but also into the Democratic Party. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 proved to be highly unpopular in the North and strengthened the abolitionist movement. In 1854 Congress approved the Kansas–Nebraska Act, the brainchild of Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. This act effectively repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Slavery could now spread to the territories if the residents of a territory, through popular sovereignty, decided to allow slavery in that territory. A sense of outrage swept across the North, and in 1854 voters in that section elected not to return most Democrats to the House of Representatives. The number of northern Democrats in the House fell from ninety-one to twenty-five. As a result, southern Democrats dominated the party in the national government, and northerners began increasingly to identify the Democratic Party as the party of the South and slavery.

New political parties that favored the exclusion of slavery from the territories, such as the American (Know-Nothing) Party, the Free Soil Party, and the Republican Party, fostered such a policy through their campaign rhetoric, while abolitionists and their political allies accused northern Democrats who supported southern interests of being tools of the slave power. By 1860 the breach between the two wings of the Democratic Party had become irreparable, and the party split at the conventions held in Charleston, South Carolina, and Baltimore, Maryland, with each section running a candidate agreeable to its position on slavery. The northern wing ran Stephen A. Douglas while the southern wing nominated John Breckinridge. The divided Democratic vote allowed Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party to emerge victorious in 1860.

— James C. Foley

See also: Douglas, Stephen A.; Free Soil Party; Whig Party; Wilmot Proviso.

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JAMES DERHAM (B. 1762)

James Derham, the first registered African American physician in the United States, began life as a slave, bought his own freedom, and went on to establish a successful medical practice in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Derham was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, but very little is known of his early years, except that he was a slave of Dr. John Kearsley who taught him to compound medicines and to assist in treatment of patients. After Kearsley's death, Derham was sold possibly several times, eventually becoming the slave of Dr. George West, surgeon of the Sixteenth British Regiment during the American Revolution, who gave him additional training in medicine. At the end of the war, New Orleans physician Dr. Robert Dove bought Derham and made him an assistant in his practice.

In 1783 Derham purchased his freedom from Dr. Dove for 500 pesos, a practice known as *coartación* in Spain's New World colonies. In the act of emancipation, written in Spanish, Derham was given his freedom, as well as all rights and privileges with respect to buying and selling, appearing in court, entering into contracts, and performing acts, judicial or otherwise, that free persons might perform. Self-emancipation in the Spanish New World had its roots in Spain's *Siete Partidas*, which regulated slavery in Spain and became a part of the *Código Negro Español* in the Americas. Once the process of *coartación* began, it took precedence over the relationship between master and slave and despite an owner's objections could not be revoked. The number of slaves taking advantage of *coartación* in Louisiana increased steadily during the Spanish colonial period (1763–1800), with approximately two hundred slaves in New Orleans purchasing their freedom during the first decade of Spanish rule. Over time, New Orleans's free people of color population included teachers, musicians, artists, skilled workers, inventors, and writers.

Speaking English, French, and Spanish, Derham established his own medical practice, specializing in

throat disorders and diseases related to climate. By 1800 he had become a well-known New Orleans physician serving people of all races, and is said to have netted an annual income of \$3,000 from his work. Like the majority of individuals who entered medicine at the time, Derham's preparation had come through apprenticeship rather than university education.

On a trip to Philadelphia in 1788, Derham met Dr. Benjamin Rush, noted physician, author, and signer of the Declaration of Independence. In commenting on James Derham to the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Benjamin Rush wrote: "I have conversed with him upon most of the acute and epidemic diseases of the country where he lives and was pleased to find him perfectly acquainted with the modern simple mode of practice on these diseases. I expected to have suggested medicines to him; but he suggested many more to me" (Miller, 1916).

Details concerning Derham's date of death and burial are unknown. In his honor, New Orleans established the James Derham Middle School in 1960.

— Claude F. Jacobs

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THOMAS RODERICK DEW (1802–1846)

Thomas Dew grew up in a planter family in the Tidewater region of Virginia, taught at the College of William and Mary from 1826 to 1846, and gained wide influence with his essays on public issues. He gained particular notice in the early 1830s with his essays on slavery, in which he proclaimed the institution's merits and rejected as impractical the Virginia General Assembly's enactment of any kind of legislation designed to end slavery in the Old Dominion.

In the 1831–1832 legislative session, the Virginia House of Delegates conducted a searching debate as to whether, in the wake of Nat Turner's slave uprising in Southampton County in August 1831, the state should inaugurate some program of gradual emancipation of slaves, coupled with the deportation of black Virginians. Dismayed by the debate, Dew rushed a lengthy essay, "Abolition of Negro Slavery," to publication in the *American Quarterly Review* of September 1832. He also published an expanded version, *Review of the De-*

bate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832 (1832). That work reached a wide readership at the time and was selected after Dew's death for inclusion in *The Pro-Slavery Argument as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States* (1852).

Dew lectured in *Review of the Debate* against "the crude, undigested theories of tampering legislators." Politicians' "passion for legislation" against slavery, he warned, intruded upon "dangerous and delicate business" and threatened to do "irretrievable" damage to Virginia. Dew sought to demonstrate why no good, and much evil, would come from legislative interference.

Dew demonstrated "the impossibility of colonizing the blacks." How could deportation be financed, he asked, and where would the emigrants go? Drawing on historical analogies, such as Europeans migrating to the Caribbean or to North America, he contended that African Americans, if they went to Africa, would die of disease in droves and would occasion great hostilities with their neighbors. No matter how conceived, the costs of forced colonization would be too great for everyone affected.

Nor could emancipation be accomplished without deportation. Virginia's slaves, whether from nature or nurture, were unfit for freedom in Virginia, he claimed. They would work only under compulsion. And white Virginians, with their customs and prejudices, would not permit black freedom in Virginia. Dew rejected, as irrelevant to Virginia, the models of successful abandonment of slavery in Europe or the North. The North had had few slaves to free, and European societies had developed a middle class that could gradually absorb slaves as free people. The South had far too many slaves for its middle class to absorb and, unlike European societies, had an unfree population that differed in physical appearance: A black southerner, said Dew, "forever wears the indelible symbol of his inferior condition."

Dew saw three options, two of which—emancipation and deportation—he rejected. Having disposed of the arguments for emancipation, whether with or without deportation, he proceeded to adopt a proslavery stance—"to demonstrate . . . the complete justification of the whole southern country in a further continuance of . . . slavery." He denied that most slaves suffered from either discontent or poor treatment: "A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe than the negro slave of the United States." For Dew, Nat Turner better symbolized why whites should desist from collective action than why they should feel an urgency to act: "But one limited massacre is recorded in Virginia history; let her liberate her slaves," and it "will

be almost certain to bring down ruin and degradation on both the whites and the blacks.”

As one support for his position, Dew reached for a biblical justification of slavery. In the Old Testament the “children of Israel were themselves slave-holders,” and in the New Testament, though slavery in the Roman Empire was “a thousand times more cruel than slavery in our own country,” Christ himself never challenged slavery.

According to Dew, slavery rather than being incompatible with republican liberty, was basic to it, for slavery fostered “the perfect spirit of equality so prevalent among the whites of all the slave-holding states.” Even more important, Dew could not compromise on the sanctity of property, regardless of whether it was in slaves. He called on “Western Virginia and the non-slave-holders of Eastern Virginia, not to be allured” by arguments that the state could properly interfere in such property holding. For Dew, the French Revolution demonstrated why no legislature should be so wantonly foolish as to “tamper” with “the fundamental relations of society.”

Then, however, Dew’s rhetoric veered from proslavery to antislavery. If only the legislature would leave slavery alone—and especially if it would foster improvements in transportation, whether roads, canals, or railroads—Virginia would emulate Maryland in gradually abandoning slavery through social and economic evolution. Towns would emerge in rural eastern Virginia, and plantations would become farms. Let the slave trade to the Deep South continue. Free labor would replace slave labor in Virginia, as white immigrants displaced black emigrants.

Looking far down the road, Dew could envision an all-white, free-labor Virginia. Not only was a legislative emancipation scheme incapable of accomplishing such an outcome, but it would make things far worse for everyone rather than any better for anyone. “In due time,” Dew forecast, “abolitionists will find” that this natural process was “working to their heart’s content, increasing the prosperity of Virginia, and diminishing the evils of slavery without those impoverishing effects which all other schemes must *necessarily* have.”

The political economist Dew, a devotee of free trade but not of *laissez faire*, assigned government at each level, national and state, a particular role as regarded slavery. He blamed the federal government and its high tariff, not slavery, for the South’s economic malaise. The federal government’s tariff policies damaged Virginia; so would the state if it embraced an emancipationist scheme. The state government should protect, not challenge, wealth invested in slaves, and its actions should foster economic growth and devel-

opment through banking and transportation improvements.

Dew died young, in the 1840s, so he did not live to observe or write about later developments in the struggle over slavery. The challenges to legislating the system away had seemed to force Dew to conclude that the system must persist for the foreseeable future. Subsequent proslavery theoreticians built on Dew’s work, but they ignored his talk of “the evils of slavery.” Similarly, historians have tended to characterize Dew as proslavery, when in fact his writings reveal a powerful ambivalence regarding the institution.

— Peter Wallenstein

See also: Proslavery Argument; Virginia’s Slavery Debate.

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DIASPORA. See Atlantic Slave Trade, Closing of; Illegal Slave Trade; Middle Passage; Triangular Trade.

DIET

One of the most significant factors in the life and labor of slaves in the United States was the quantity, quality, and variety of the foodstuffs they consumed. Generally speaking, the slave’s diet was ordinarily low in protein and just barely contained the minimum daily needs of vitamins, caloric intake, and fiber. As a result, most slaves were not necessarily malnourished, but they were undernourished, and this contributed to a host of problems including fatigue, dizziness, weakened immunity to disease, and lower-than-average life expectancies as compared to free blacks and whites.

Since slaves were largely beholden to their owners for the provision of foodstuffs, and owners sought to keep overhead costs down to maximize profits, the quality and quantity of food provided for the slave diet

was marginal at best. Meat was generally provided to the slave in the form of salted pork, and it always consisted of the lesser-cuts. Slaves generally received a ration of corn meal each day. Occasionally, various types of beans and peas provided additional nourishment in a carbohydrate-rich diet. Some slaves found ways to supplement their rations through theft, but most supplemented their diet by cultivating personal “provision grounds”—small patches of produce grown for their own consumption.

The primary function of the provision ground was to grow enough produce to sustain or to supplement the slave’s diet. The slave gardens usually included corn, okra, beans, squash, sweet potatoes, onions, and various types of “greens” (mustard, collards, and turnip). Aside from the beans that were grown, there was very little to add protein to the slave’s diet, and the foodstuffs grown in the provision grounds were heavy in carbohydrates and limited in dietary fiber. It was rare to find slaves who regularly attained the 2,000 calorie per day minimum regimen deemed necessary to sustain health. The slave’s limited diet and lack of medicine and healthcare made slavery all the more brutal.

Few slaves were permitted to keep livestock, which limited the likelihood that meat would constitute an extensive part of their diet. On occasion some slaves tried to trap or kill small game in order to supplement their diet and add variety to their foodstuffs. Slaves commonly ate rabbit and squirrel, and less-favored game, including racoons and opossum, were also trapped in order to expand the dietary menu. When slaves had access to livestock—or to discarded carcasses of cattle or pigs—they regularly seized upon the find to make secondary and sometimes tertiary cuts, leaving nothing to go to waste. The dietary practice of eating beef tripe, chitterlins, and all imaginable pork remnants has its cultural antecedents in the days of slavery. Such practices are a reminder that “necessity is the mother of invention” and suggest the extent to which individuals will respond when faced with the perils of hunger.

A limited diet was especially dangerous for pregnant slave women. Having to sustain oneself was difficult on meager rations, and the burden of pregnancy only exacerbated this situation for women of childbearing age. The death of women during a difficult childbirth was not uncommon, and the burdens of nursing newborn children weakened already marginally nourished mothers. Not surprisingly, infant mortality rates among slave populations was high during the antebellum era.

The slave’s limited diet was one of the primary factors leading to the cultural development of cooking

known as “soul food” within the African American community. It became common to use spices and herbs to enhance the taste of otherwise bland nutrients. Family recipes, some dating back to slavery days, are a cultural reminder of how the slaves managed to sustain themselves and their kin within so desperately wretched a system.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Provision Grounds.

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DISQUISITION ON GOVERNMENT (CALHOUN)

John C. Calhoun began writing his *Disquisition on Government* in spring 1845. It was the first of his two major philosophical inquiries into the nature and character of representative government in general and on the United States government in particular. The *Disquisition* was to have been a preliminary “inquiry into the elements of political science, preliminary to a treatise on the Constitution of the U. States” (Spain, 1951). The second work was *A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*. He did not live to see either book in print.

The underlying themes of both works was how best to secure and safeguard the interests and the way of life of a minority against the will of democratic majorities. It was in his *Disquisition* that Calhoun redefined and developed his doctrine of the “concurrent majority,” which he first described during the Nullification Movement of the late 1820s.

It was Calhoun’s hope that his political works would be considered among the great philosophical books of his century. In the *Disquisition* he argued that the nature of man was such that he was a social being. Mankind was physical and moral, and Calhoun assumes that man is inherently self-centered. This self-centeredness led to self-preservation and,

therefore, “implies an unusual excess of the individual over the social feelings” (Post, 1953). He further concluded that man cannot exist without government of some sort and that representative government is the best government.

He argued that true representative government would be sympathetic to all points of view and thus must provide adequate protection for every minority: region, district, class, and economic level. It was the ideal of the protection of the minority that underscores the philosophy of the present work. It was here that Calhoun’s ideas were fully developed. He believed that the Framers of the Constitution so worried about the tyranny of the majority that they insisted on the Bill of Rights. He was trying to carry that concept to a higher level.

The actual impact of the *Disquisition on Government* is difficult to measure. The book itself was largely ignored by a country on the brink of Civil War. Although Calhoun’s views on southern politics and particularly his views on economics and slavery were well known and documented, some of the views expressed in this writing were less known. The most important result seems to have been its use in a conference on reforming Maryland’s constitution held during the winter of 1850–1851, where delegates from the Eastern Shore (which was the strongest slaveholding district in the state) claimed that the state’s constitution was a compact. They used Calhoun’s views as expressed in the *Disquisition* to show that the compact was designed to protect the minority from the “ruthless actions of the majority” (Green, 1930). Calhoun would have agreed with those delegates that the compact idea made more sense than the fundamental law theory, which was being hotly debated at the time.

The principal value in Calhoun’s *Disquisition on Government* lies in its defense of the minority, an argument that goes well beyond that of any of his contemporaries and one in which recent history sees as becoming increasingly important in a democratic society.

— Henry H. Goldman

See also: Nullification Doctrine.

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DISEASES AND AFRICAN SLAVERY IN THE NEW WORLD

Diseases played a pivotal role in the economic history of African slavery in the Americas as well as in the experiences of Europeans in both Africa and the New World. The trade in African peoples caused the unforeseen exchange of pathogens that changed the path of history. The Old World pathogens brought to the Americas by both Africans and Europeans irreversibly changed the disease environment across the various climatic and geographic regions of the New World.

Diseases evolved in specific environments and locations, and humans residing in those environments developed resistance, both innate and acquired, to pathogens native to their locales. Evolutionary biology indicates that human populations that have survived for generations and millennia in a specific disease environment will be less susceptible to the diseases that predominate in their region and be more susceptible to diseases from different areas. Populations that lived in distinct locations endowed with different climates and geographies would develop different genetic endowments.

Diseases cull from populations those individuals whose genetic inheritance makes them susceptible to diseases that exist in their homelands. Genes that confer relative resistance to the pathogens of a location give humans that possess them a better chance of reproducing and, consequently, passing their genes on to future generations. The result is that those genes become more frequent in the population. An increased exposure to a variety of pathogens leads to greater genetic (inborn) resistance to a larger number of diseases in the population. In addition to developing innate resistance, endemic diseases result in acquired childhood immunities in the afflicted populations. Consequently, people of different origins have disparate reactions to a given pathogen because they have different acquired and innate immunities to diseases native to their places of birth and residence.

The nature of diseases and the reasons for their differential impact on different peoples were not understood during the centuries that the African slave trade and African slavery existed in the New World. Upon contact with peoples of other origins, Africans and people of African descent were less susceptible to

pathogens that were “African” (endemic to Africa) and more susceptible to pathogens that were “European” (endemic to Europe). Conversely, Europeans and people of European descent were less susceptible to European pathogens and more susceptible to African pathogens. When people of African (European) descent were exposed to disease pathogens endemic to Europe (Africa), they experienced substantially higher rates of morbidity and mortality than did people who were native to that disease environment.

A number of diseases affected the economic history of Africans and Europeans in the Americas and Europeans in Africa. The “European” diseases that played an important role are regarded today as primarily cold-weather and/or childhood diseases such as upper-respiratory lung infections, tuberculosis, chicken pox, measles, mumps, pleurisy, influenza, pneumonia, and whooping cough. The important “African” diseases are primarily of tropical West African origin. They are malaria, yellow fever, dengue fever, hookworm, schistosomiasis, and other fevers and worm infections. Smallpox, which probably affected the greatest number of people, is in a class by itself.

Europeans involved in the slave trade came into contact with pathogens for which they had little or no prior exposure. Their susceptibility to pathogens from tropical West Africa (the area that supplied the vast majority of African slaves to the Americas) was so extraordinarily high that the papal ambassador to Portugal considered it a death sentence, and a violation of the concords that the papacy had with the Portuguese, if Catholic prelates were sent into exile there. Since Africa was a “white man’s graveyard,” direct contacts and trade in African slaves, especially in the interior of Africa, were carried on by African intermediaries, people of mixed African and European backgrounds, and the few hardy and lucky Europeans who survived the onslaught of African pathogens.

We have a number of reliable estimates for European mortality in Africa during Europe’s involvement in the African slave trade. These estimates during the Europeans’ first year in residence in tropical West Africa in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries range from a low of 540 deaths per thousand per year to a high of 667 deaths per thousand. The estimated mortality rate for European sailors during the loading of African slaves off the coast of Africa in the late eighteenth century is 238 per thousand sailors per year; the comparable estimate for the enslaved Africans during loading is only 45.3 per thousand Africans. Estimates of the annual mortality rates for European troops in the British army stationed in West Africa during the early nineteenth century range from 483 to

683 per thousand European troops; the comparable estimate for African troops in the British army stationed in West Africa is only 32 deaths per thousand African troops. The reason for these mortality differences is the ethnically disparate reactions to diseases.

We have no reliable historical data for morbidity before the middle of the nineteenth century. However, present-day data on morbidity combined with historical data on mortality and our knowledge of the disease environment allow some well-founded conjectures about morbidity rates in the past. Some diseases, such as malaria and hookworm, had low case mortality rates but were virtually hyperendemic in Africa and parts of the New World. This means that the mortality rate would be an unrealistically low estimate for the incidence of these diseases. People were sickened by hookworm and malaria, but they were not killed by them.

The migrations of Africans and Europeans to the Americas set in motion interchanges of human and nonhuman organisms that fundamentally altered the ecology of the various climatic and geographic regions of America. Prior to contact with the Old World, the Americas were relatively disease free; after contact, the disease environments of the various climatic and geographic regions of the New World resembled their Old World counterparts. The imported diseases decimated the Amerindian populations who had little resistance to Old World pathogens. Tropical America became infested with pathogens from tropical West Africa, while the temperate regions of the New World were infested with the diseases of temperate Europe. The regional specificity of pathogens also affected the patterns of settlement in the New World. The eventual predominance of Africans in the tropics, and their greater relative numbers in the semitropical areas of the New World, and the predominance of Europeans in the temperate regions, were due to the altered biological environment.

Once the diseases reached beyond a critical threshold, the New World regional environments began to change. As one traveled further north in the Northern Hemisphere, or further south in the Southern Hemisphere, the disease environments evolved into one of predominantly cold-weather European diseases. Further south in the Northern Hemisphere (or further north in the Southern Hemisphere), the disease environment evolved into a mixture of cold-weather European and warm-weather African diseases. In the American tropics, the disease environment became “African,” and, relative to Europeans, Africans lived longer and healthier lives in the tropics of the Americas. This made African labor economically more valuable than European labor in the tropics because it in-

creased its lifetime productivity relative to Europeans. Over time, Africans and their descendants became the predominant source of unskilled agricultural labor in tropical America.

Once European pathogens became endemic to the temperate regions of the Americas, relative to Africans, Europeans lived longer and healthier lives there. This increased their lifetime productivity in the temperate regions, making European labor more economically valuable than African labor in those regions. Accordingly, Europeans and their descendants became the predominant source of unskilled agricultural labor in the temperate regions. In the American South, Europeans lived longer but less healthy lives than Africans. Africans were less susceptible to malaria and hookworm (both warm-weather diseases) relative to Europeans. These diseases struck during the economically critical (for agriculture) warm-weather months. Thus Africans were more productive and more valuable to planters in the U.S. South the longer the summer weather prevailed. The changed disease environment in the South created an environment that led to the concentration of African slavery there.

The growth of African slavery as a predominant source of labor in the South during the eighteenth century indicates that substantial differences in regional productivity between Africans and Europeans emerged during this period. Estimates of the mortality rate for Africans and African Americans (blacks) and Europeans and Euro-Americans (whites) indicate that blacks lived shorter and less healthy lives the further north they resided in the British mainland colonies. In Philadelphia, estimated annual mortality rates are 67 deaths per thousand for blacks and 46 deaths per thousand for whites. In Boston, the rates are 80 deaths per thousand for blacks and 32 deaths per thousand for whites. In the summer months in Philadelphia however, estimated annual mortality rates are 36 per thousand for blacks and 60 per thousand for whites. Mortality estimates for only cold-weather diseases are 88 per thousand for blacks and 47 per thousand for whites. For only warm-weather diseases, estimated rates are 59 deaths per thousand for blacks and 52 deaths per thousand for whites. Estimated mortality rates for troops in the British army stationed in the Caribbean during the early nineteenth century show similar ethnic differences. Again the reason for the differences is the disparate reactions to diseases.

A somewhat paradoxical result of African slavery is that it cursed both the enslaved Africans and the European migrants to the Americas. It was only after a significant African slave trade was established that the New World disease environment began to resemble

that of the Old World. The changed environment made the American South a pesthouse and the New World tropics a graveyard for Europeans.

— *Philip R. P. Coelho and Robert A. McGuire*

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DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE

The domestic slave trade in the United States was the internal movement of slaves from the Upper South and eastern seaboard states to the cotton- and sugar-producing regions of the old Southwest. The trade's golden age followed the abolition of the international slave trade by Britain in 1807 and by the United States in 1808 and the subsequent expansion of the cotton region following the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States. From the 1790s through the 1820s, there was a gradual increase of slave trading southward from the Chesapeake Bay area and the Carolinas, with transportation of forty to fifty thousand slaves in the 1790s and one hundred fifty thousand by the 1820s.

As the South's slave system expanded into the old Southwest, the domestic trade moved south and west to accommodate it. Some states, and regions within states, changed from being net importers to net exporters of slaves. Georgia, which had imported slaves until the 1830s, became a net exporter of slaves in the 1850s. The 1830s through the 1850s witnessed further expansion of the trade, averaging nearly a quarter of a million movements, or 10 percent of the Upper South's slave population, each decade. Over 1 million American-born slaves were transported via the domestic trade.

The mechanisms for the domestic trade were well developed. Slave-trading firms (e.g., Franklin and Armfield) specializing in mass purchases of slaves operated throughout the South, but professional slave traders, operating independently of the trading firms, purchased either individually or in small groups most of the slaves transported in the trade. After purchasing



A father is separated from his family after being sold into slavery. (Library of Congress)

slaves in summer and early autumn, traders usually transported them south during fall and put them on the market in early winter at New Orleans, Louisiana, and Natchez, Mississippi, the major entrepôts for trade into the old Southwest. En route to their new homes, most slaves were transported in overland coffles, some containing three hundred slaves. In addition, an active water-borne trade flourished between the eastern seaboard ports (Baltimore, Alexandria, Norfolk, Richmond, and Charleston), and along the Mississippi River and its tributaries to the New Orleans and Natchez markets.

The domestic trade was one of the most hotly debated issues of the antebellum period. Abolitionists attacked the trade and its destruction of slave families as the penultimate evil of the South's slave system. They charged that the change from tobacco to wheat cultivation in the Chesapeake Bay region had revealed the unprofitable nature of slavery and led slaveowners in the Upper South to switch from plantation agriculture to slave breeding. Proslavery apologists countered that plantation owners treated their slaves paternalistically and encouraged the formation of slave families; most

interregional movements of slaves resulted from planter migrations west to more fertile lands; planters sold slaves only when economic hardships required them to do so; the trade was unprofitable; and most important, slave traders were pariahs within southern society.

Historians' examinations of the trade have challenged the abolitionists' contention that the Upper South was a breeding ground for slaves. Since most slaves were sold after age eight, it was unprofitable, and thus unlikely, that slaveowners bred their slaves solely for the purpose of selling them. However, abolitionists were correct in arguing that the trade destroyed slave families: in fact, nearly 20 percent of all slave marriages in the Upper South were destroyed by it. In addition, the number of slave families sold and transported as a unit accounted for less than 2 percent of the total trade. Between 1820 and 1860, slaveowners in the Upper South sold 10 percent of that region's teenage slave population to slave traders, the very age group necessary for the formation of slave families.

The proslavery defense of the domestic slave trade has not withstood the scrutiny of historical inquiry, as is demonstrated by Michael Tadman's *Speculators and Slaves* (1996). Tadman contends that the scale of the domestic slave trade destroyed black families more than any paternalistic sentiments toward encouraging families could have hoped to accomplish. The proslavery argument that most slaves were part of planter migrations was also specious; from the 1810s and 1820s on, 60 percent of the slaves transported to the Lower South were sold to slave traders. In addition, slaveowners willingly speculated in the domestic slave trade. Tadman argues that only 4 to 5 percent of slaves sold to traders were sold out of economic necessity. He notes that from the 1830s on, the sale of slaves to traders resulted in windfall profits for the seller, while profits from the resale of slaves often made traders some of the wealthiest men in their communities. As such, slave traders gained positions of influence, power, and respect within southern society and were hardly the pariahs proslavery apologists contended they were.

Historians continue to grapple with the significance of the domestic slave trade in the United States. Several historians, including Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, in *Time on the Cross* (1974), have discounted both the scale and significance of the trade, but Tadman's groundbreaking work convincingly argues that the domestic slave trade was a central characteristic of the antebellum South's slave system and offers profound insight into the functioning of that system.

—John Grenier

See also: Breeding of Slaves; Franklin and Armfield; Paternalism.

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DOUGHFACES

During the antebellum era in the United States, the Democratic Party was the only true national political party that had broad-based appeal in both the North and the South. Both the Whig Party and the Republican Party, the respective rivals of the Democrats in consecutive periods, were largely recognized as regional political groups with singular interests. Whigs tended to be pro-commerce in their orientation as they ascribed to Henry Clay's "American System," and they supported the national bank, protective tariffs, and the use of federal dollars to support the internal improvements needed to fashion a commercial and industrial infrastructure for the young nation. When the Republican Party formed in 1854, it adopted the commercial provisions of the Whigs but combined this with a free soil view—a clear denunciation of supporting the spread of slavery into the newly acquired western territories.

Southern Democrats were unapologetic supporters of the institution of slavery, and they fought all congressional measures that might halt or limit the institution's existence and potential expansion. Although northern Democrats were less vociferous in their support of slavery, they did fear that the issue was so divisive it might tear the Union asunder. As a result, they generally voted with their southern brethren to defeat measures that might negatively impact the institution of slavery. For these reasons, Democrats, both southern and northern, supported the imposition of the infamous congressional "Gag Resolution" that effectively silenced debate on slavery concerns for eight years (1836–1844). The coalition did seem to break in 1846 as Congressman David Wilmot, a freshman Democrat from Pennsylvania, introduced a measure that would

have prevented the expansion of slavery into any western lands that might be acquired from the then-ongoing war with Mexico. The Wilmot Proviso was never enacted, but it was a strange admixture of southern Democrats and so-called cotton Whigs alike who came together to oppose the measure.

The pejorative term *doughface* was used during the antebellum era to identify those northern politicians, particularly northern Democrats, who tended to have southern sympathies with respect to the issue of slavery. Reputedly, the term derived from statements that Virginia senator John Randolph of Roanoke made during the congressional debate concerning passage of the Missouri Compromise (1820). Randolph minced no words in decrying the pliable nature of his colleagues who supported the admission of Missouri as a slave state.

Historian Leonard L. Richards has identified more than three hundred northern congressmen who consistently voted with proslavery tendencies, thus exhibiting doughface leanings. The vast majority of this group consisted of northern Democrats. Although the term was used to identify *any* northern politician who held such views, the nickname was most often applied to the northern Democrats who served as president of the United States—especially Martin Van Buren, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan. Even Millard Fillmore, a northern Whig, was identified as a doughface for his support of the Compromise of 1850, which included passage of the notorious Fugitive Slave Act (1850).

When Congress approved the Compromise of 1850 legislation, the abolitionist poet Walt Whitman published "Song for Certain Congressmen" in the *New York Evening Post*. The poem was later published with the revised title of "Dough-Face Song." Whitman included the scathing lyrics:

*"We are all docile dough-faces,
They knead us with the fist,
They, the dashing southern lords,
We labor as they list."* (Whitman, 1892).

In 1856 the Republican supporters of John C. Frémont sang the raucous campaign song, "We Loathe Your Doughface Fillmore," to criticize the former president who was then seeking to return to the presidency as a candidate of the American (Know-Nothing) Party. Slavery had become such a politically charged issue by the mid-1850s that Fillmore's presumed pro-southern, proslavery leanings could not escape attention during the heat of the political campaign. Unfortunately, in an odd twist of fate, the 1856 campaign produced the election of James Buchanan—a more blatant doughface than Fillmore had ever been.



In 1854, Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the important Committee on Territories, used the concept of popular sovereignty as the basis of the controversial Kansas–Nebraska Act. The act allowed individual territories to determine whether or not they would allow slavery. (Library of Congress)

The proslavery tendencies of presidents Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan were readily apparent during the debate and passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854) and the subsequent unrest in “Bleeding Kansas” as factions did battle during the popular sovereignty campaign that would determine the status of slavery within the territory. Buchanan’s eventual endorsement of the proslavery Lecompton Constitution demonstrated clearly that he favored the expansion of slavery into the formerly free territory of Kansas. During the final months of Buchanan’s presidency, the southern states began to secede from the Union and the nation drifted toward civil war.

During the 1850s many abolitionists and their sympathizers began to charge that there existed a “Slave Power Conspiracy” in the United States that held undue power and influence within the highest

reaches of the government. Adherents of this view believed that the northern doughface politicians had lost touch with their regional sensibilities and been swayed to accept an institution that was anathema to American national values. Although the charge of an organized conspiracy was dubious, it is certainly true that proslavery interests were well-served by the consistent voting patterns of those northern politicians who found it easier to condone slavery than to confront it.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Buchanan, James; Compromise of 1850; Democratic Party; Gag Resolution; Whig Party; Wilmot Proviso.

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STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS (1813–1861)

Despite his small stature, Stephen A. Douglas cast a long shadow in the tumultuous political period before the American Civil War. Intelligent, charismatic, and politically astute, Douglas believed in the indissolubility of the U.S. Constitution, and the importance of political compromise in order to preserve the Union placing him at the forefront of the debate over slavery in the United States.

Born on a farm in Brandon, New York, on April 23, 1813, Stephen Arnold Douglas had a very typical childhood for youth of the period, even though his father, a physician, died shortly after Stephen’s birth and his mother was forced to move in with her brother. As a child, he did farm chores, attended the local common school, and aspired to a better, more secure future. At fifteen, he apprenticed himself to a local cabinetmaker, a trade he practiced for two years before physical disability and a love of politics led him in new directions. He entered the Canandaigua Academy in 1830 and obtained a classical education at his own expense. He began to read law, recognizing that that profession was the traditional route to political office, but stringent

requirements for the New York bar and rumors of opportunity in the West led him to Illinois in 1833. Once there, he was quickly admitted to the bar and became active in Democratic Party politics.

An avid Jacksonian, Douglas was more adept at politics than at law. In rapid succession, he was elected a state attorney, legislator, secretary of state, and superior court judge, and all the while, he honed his oratorical skills and strengthened his political connections. Elected to the U.S. Congress in 1843, he soon became a powerful force in national politics. He was dubbed “the little giant,” a dual reference to his powerful oratory and his small stature. Douglas’s most common political theme was popular democracy: he fervently believed in the ability of the people to make proper decisions through the electoral process. By the end of the Mexican War (1846–1848), he realized that slavery’s westward expansion was the most volatile issue in American politics. In 1846, he voted against the Wilmot Proviso, which would have banned slavery in territory acquired from Mexico, because he believed that the question of whether or not to exclude slavery would be best made by voters through their territorial legislatures. This, according to Douglas, was the most democratic and least divisive way to cope with the issue.

Thus popular sovereignty, as the concept was called, came to dominate, and in some ways to haunt, Douglas’s political philosophy for the rest of his life. Initially, this position gave him widespread popularity, as many voters and politicians were ambivalent on the issue of slavery expansion and appealing to the democratic ethos of the electorate seemed to be the best and least divisive solution. In 1854 Douglas, as chairman of the important Committee on Territories, used this principle as the basis of the controversial Kansas–Nebraska Act, which allowed each individual territory to determine its slave status. Although the debates surrounding the bill were bitterly divisive, the Kansas–Nebraska Act passed by a narrow margin. Through this important legislation, Douglas repealed the Missouri Compromise, which had regulated slavery’s expansion since 1820. Douglas argued that popular sentiment, not accidents of geography, should determine the future of slavery in a newly admitted state.

That faith in democracy worked well in theory but poorly in practice. Nebraska voted to remain free, but Kansas erupted in civil war. The conflict in Kansas between free and slave-state advocates resulted in the destruction of property, many deaths, and two different constitutions. Slavery proponents produced the controversial Lecompton Constitution, which legalized slavery in Kansas, and soon gained the support of President James Buchanan and southern Democrats in

Congress. Douglas, however, opposed the Lecompton Constitution, believing correctly that it did not represent the majority of Kansans. This stand tarnished Douglas in the eyes of many southern Democrats.

Although the crisis in Kansas occupied much of his time, Douglas faced political opposition at home. Free soil Democrats criticized Douglas for what they perceived as a willingness to sacrifice morality in pursuit of higher office. To them, popular sovereignty was a veiled mechanism to protect slave interests. In Illinois, the Republican Party quickly gained political power after 1856, uniting former Whigs and Free Soil Democrats to fight slavery’s expansion, and Douglas became the target of the Republicans during the legislative race of 1858. The Senate seat, which the legislature would fill, became an important campaign issue, and candidates actively sought the office. This unusual campaign for the seat pitted Republican Abraham Lincoln against Douglas, and the issue of slavery defined the race. In a series of seven debates, the two candidates offered opposing views of slavery and slavery expansion. Lincoln favored restricting slavery’s westward movement, realizing that the institution would eventually die out. Douglas held firm to the theory of popular sovereignty as the most democratic means to address slavery expansion. Although Lincoln condemned slavery on moral grounds, Douglas refused to do so, hoping to revive his reputation among disaffected southern Democrats. Douglas returned to the Senate, but the issue remained in the forefront of his activities.

In 1860 Douglas sought the Democratic presidential nomination. His opposition to the proslavery Lecompton Constitution made southerners suspicious of his true beliefs, however, and so they nominated John C. Breckinridge for the presidency while northerners backed Douglas. This sectional split destroyed Democratic hopes and allowed the Republican Abraham Lincoln to win the election. Douglas’s belief in popular sovereignty as a remedy for slavery expansion, while true to his belief in popular democracy, dashed his hopes for national office. He died in 1861, shortly after Lincoln’s inauguration.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Kansas–Nebraska Act; Lecompton Constitution; Lincoln–Douglas Debates; Popular Sovereignty; Wilmot Proviso.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS (C. 1817–1895)

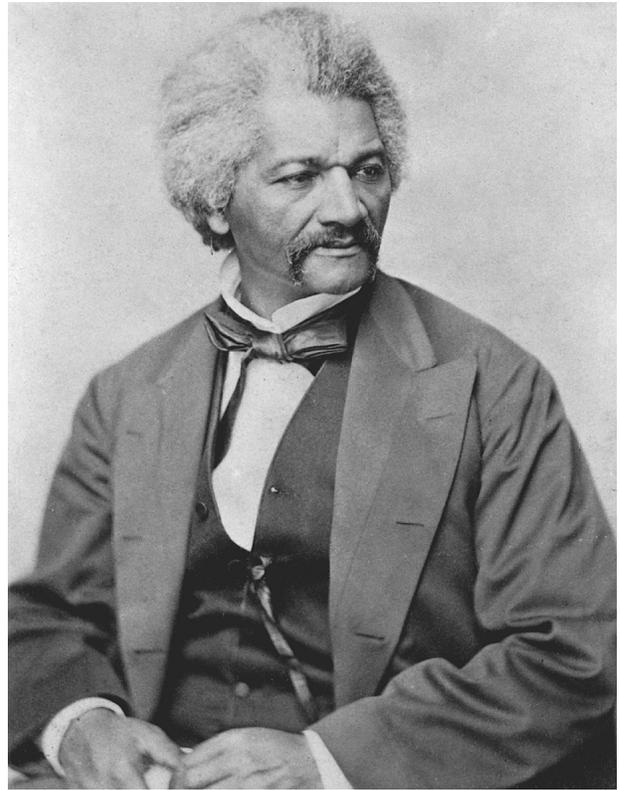
The most famous and influential former slave in the United States in the nineteenth century, Frederick Douglass rose from being a slave in Maryland to being a popular abolitionist lecturer, narrator of slavery, newspaper publisher, president of the Freedmen's Bank, and author of *Lessons of the Hour* (1892), a denunciation of lynching. The story of his confrontation with a "slave-breaker" is a classic moment in the literature of southern slavery, but Douglass's greater importance lies in the work he did after fleeing bondage in 1838.

Neither the fame nor the power could have been predicted from Douglass's origins as Frederick Bailey, house slave. But when he learned to read, while serving in a Baltimore home, he was inspired by a dialogue in the *Columbian Orator* that denounced the injustice of owning human beings. Determined to win his freedom, even while he was a fieldhand and caulker who was obliged to turn over his wages to his master, the intrepid "Fred" borrowed the free papers of a black sailor and went to Massachusetts. There, he was joined by his wife, took a new name, and joined the abolitionists around William Lloyd Garrison.

Though admired, Douglass was always controversial. His assurance and intelligence angered some whites—later, he and Garrison would be estranged by political differences—and he tangled with the "holiness" militant, Sojourner Truth, on religious grounds. Outstanding among fugitive and former slaves for his literary skills and the power of his address, Douglass was even charged with faking the role of former slave. These attacks persuaded him to commit his life story to print as the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave: Written by Himself* (1845).

With the publication of the book, Douglass grew famous but endangered. He sailed to Great Britain, where his power and insights were acclaimed, to lecture in England, Ireland, and Scotland. In 1846 English friends purchased Douglass from his legal master so that he could continue his campaign to establish racial justice in the United States. A year later, Douglass returned to the land of his birth and began a publishing career with the help of fellow activist, Martin Delany.

In Douglass's newspaper—first called the *North Star*, after the astronomical signpost to the free states, and later *Frederick Douglass' Paper*—the country's most famous former slave excoriated the practice of owning and trading in human beings and advocated women's rights. He also stoutly opposed the exclusion of blacks from white churches and the segregation of public



Frederick Douglass, a former slave, became the most influential African American leader in the abolitionist movement. (Library of Congress)

schools in the United States and analyzed the theory of separate accommodations for blacks and whites. In 1855 he rewrote and expanded his life story as *My Bondage and My Freedom* in order to distance himself from the white "handlers" who had limited his participation in the abolitionist cause.

Too brilliant to go unnoticed, Douglass was attacked for the *Narrative's* harsh words about the Christianity of slaveholders; his dark view of racial justice in the United States, both before and after the slaves were freed; and his second marriage, to a white woman, in 1884. Verbally gifted and tirelessly dedicated, Douglass rode out such attacks to become the century's most feted black man. His important essays include "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" (1852), which has been called the greatest abolitionist address, and "The Claims of the Negro, Ethnologically Considered" (1854).

Persuaded of the need for violent resistance by passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Douglass was privy to John Brown's plans to initiate insurrection in the slave states. Douglass welcomed the onset of civil war and helped to recruit black troops with essays like

“Men of Color, To Arms!” (1863). Two of his four children served in the famous Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Regiment, but Douglass would come to scorn the injustices that the Union army meted out to black volunteers. “No war,” he demanded, in 1864, “but an Abolition war; no peace but an Abolition peace; liberty for all, Chains for none; the black man a soldier in war, a laborer in peace; a voter at the South as well as at the North; America his permanent home, and all Americans his fellow-countrymen” (Foner, 1964). In August of the same year, Douglass proposed that black federal agents infiltrate the slaveholding states in order to incite the bolder slaves to revolt. Lincoln was apprized of the scheme, but it was never tried.

Douglass continued to fight for social reforms following emancipation. In the essay “We Are Not Yet Quite Free” (1869), he informed Americans: “We have been turned out of the house of bondage, but we have not yet been fully admitted to the glorious temple of American liberty. We are still in a transition stage.” He concluded, “and the future is shrouded in doubt and danger” (Foner, 1964). Douglass defended the new rights of blacks during Reconstruction, remonstrated with Andrew Johnson for his pro-South policies, and cheered the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave black men the right to vote.

Douglass served as marshal of and recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, minister-resident and consul-general to Haiti, and chargé d'affaires for Santo Domingo when its annexation to the United States was under discussion. In 1892 Haiti appointed him to represent the country at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and he used the opportunity to distribute copies of the pamphlet he cowrote with Ida B. Wells, “Why the Colored American Is Not in the World’s Columbian Exposition.” At the end of his life, when Douglass was asked what course young black Americans should follow, he replied: “Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!”

— Barbara Ryan

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Autobiographies; Brown, John; Delany, Martin R.; Garrison, William Lloyd; Narratives; *North Star*; Truth, Sojourner.

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DRED SCOTT V. SANDFORD (1857)

Universally condemned as the U.S. Supreme Court’s worst decision, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* emerged amid deep political crisis. Renewed sectional conflict over slavery’s extension shattered the relative calm that accompanied the Compromise of 1850. With Kansas erupting into bloody conflict and South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks viciously assaulting Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, spring 1856 saw the slavery issue flare up once again and threaten the nation. In this political setting, the Supreme Court heard the first of two oral arguments in the *Dred Scott* case. In response to heightening tensions, Chief Justice Roger Taney sought to impose his own judicial solution to the problems posed by slavery’s extension.

The case centered on whether a slave named Dred Scott became a free man by residing in free territory, and whether he had standing as a Missouri citizen to make that claim in federal court. What the case represented was something much different: The Court’s 7-2 decision came to symbolize the danger of judicial ambition exceeding its grasp and reminds us that not all constitutional conflicts are amenable to judicial resolution.

The lawsuit arose from two series of events: the travels of Dred Scott with his owner, Dr. John Emerson, and congressional efforts to prevent slavery’s expansion into western territories. Buying Scott in 1833, Emerson, an assistant surgeon in the U.S. army took him from St. Louis, Missouri, to Fort Armstrong in Illinois, a free state, where Emerson was stationed. Emerson, who complained repeatedly of his physical ailments and his military postings, was transferred to Wisconsin territory, in what is now Minnesota. Because of the Missouri Compromise (1820), the Wisconsin Territory (later called the Iowa Territory) was free of slavery.

During his stay in free territory, Scott married Harriet Robinson, but subsequently followed Emerson to Louisiana, and then back to Minnesota, as Emerson continued requesting transfers. Emerson married Eliza Irene Sanford in 1838 during his brief sojourn to Louisiana. In 1840 Mrs. Emerson, along with Dred and Harriet Scott, returned to St. Louis while her husband served in Florida during the Seminole War. Emerson’s duties lasted two years before he was honorably discharged. Returning north, he tried establishing a private medical practice in Iowa but died shortly after leaving the army, possibly of syphilis.

In 1846 Dred and Harriet Scott first filed suit for freedom against Mrs. Emerson in St. Louis, claiming that their travels and residence (on two occasions) in

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**“Natural History of the Prognathous
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ORIGINALLY WRITTEN FOR THE NEW YORK DAY-BOOK.

—

THE GREAT WANT OF A BRIEF PAMPHLET, containing the famous decision of Chief-Justice Taney, in the celebrated Dred Scott Case, has induced the Publishers of the DAY-BOOK to present this edition to the public. It contains a Historical Introduction by Dr. Van Evrie, author of “Negroes and Negro Slavery,” and an Appendix by Dr. Cartwright, of New Orleans, in which the physical differences between the negro and the white races are forcibly presented. As a whole, this pamphlet gives the *historical, legal, and physical* aspects of the “Slavery” Question in a concise compass, and should be circulated by thousands before the next presidential election. All who desire to answer the arguments of the abolitionists should read it. In order to place it before the masses, and induce Democratic Clubs, Democratic Town Committees, and all interested in the cause, to order it for distribution, it has been put down at the following low rates, for which it will be sent, free of postage, to any part of the United States. Dealers supplied at the same rate.

Rather than settle the sectional debate on slavery and its possible expansion into the territories, the *Dred Scott* decision intensified sectional animosity. (Library of Congress)

free territory had removed the condition of slavery. Legal precedent existed in Missouri to support their argument, and in 1850, after initial legal wrangling, a state judge declared Dred Scott (and by extension, his wife) free. But by this time, Mrs. Emerson had moved to Massachusetts, leaving her affairs in the care of her brother, John F. A. Sanford. Sanford appealed the ruling to Missouri’s Supreme Court that overturned the lower court in 1852.

Shortly thereafter, Scott filed another suit, this time in federal court, against Sanford, claiming diversity ju-

risdiction because of Sanford’s residence in New York. (The case is entitled *Dred Scott v. Sandford* because a clerk misspelled Sanford’s name in the court records.) Sanford’s attorneys claimed that Scott had no standing to sue in federal court quite simply because, being a slave, he was not a Missouri citizen. The judge ruled that Scott had standing to sue, but the jury nonetheless returned a verdict against him. Scott appealed the verdict to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The issues present before the Supreme Court were threefold: the question of Dred Scott’s citizenship; the status of slaves living on free soil; and the constitutionality of federal legislation prohibiting slavery in the territories. Clearly, Taney did not have to rule on all three; he could have narrowly interpreted these issues and confined his ruling to Scott’s standing to sue in federal court. But Taney wanted to impose a judicial solution on this intractable political problem. He hoped to resolve the constitutional status of slavery in the territories by deciding the issue in favor of southern interests, but in doing so, he solved too much and established the logical framework for the Civil War.

What, then, did Taney rule? First, he declared that blacks were not citizens of the United States, nor could states bestow U.S. citizenship on them. In a gross historical distortion, Taney claimed that blacks never had been citizens, nor could they ever become citizens. According to Taney, blacks, whether free or slave, were not part of the original popular sovereignty that created the United States. At the founding, wrote Taney, only whites were citizens. Moreover, states could not expand their definitions of citizenship to include free blacks because naturalization was a federal responsibility. Accordingly, no black had standing to sue as a U.S. citizen in federal courts.

This ruling, alone, ended Dred Scott’s claim, but Taney, propelled by a need to resolve larger political issues, continued. He ruled, second, that slavery was a property right recognized by the Constitution. Therefore, Congress could not outlaw slavery in territories, nor could territories exclude slaveholders. As a consequence, the Missouri Compromise (1820) was unconstitutional. In short, all territories were slave territories. They were, Taney ruled, the common lands of the United States and therefore their governments must recognize the property rights of all U.S. citizens, including slaveholders.

Taney’s decision drew on two important impulses within American political ideology: a doctrine of racial superiority and a doctrine of limited government. The first dimension of Taney’s decision is obvious, but the second merits further attention. Taney argued that Congress cannot destroy through legislative action property

that is recognized as legitimate throughout much of the nation. Because congressional powers are limited, their scope cannot be exceeded without violating the Founders' first concern, the protection of liberty. A government of limited powers is a government that protects liberty, but Taney transformed that doctrine by linking it with the defense and preservation of slavery. A popular sovereignty committed to slavery at the local level necessarily meant slavery at the national level if congressional powers were as limited as Taney claimed they were. For Taney, slavery was a necessary outcome of the conjunction of popular sovereignty and congressional limitations, and that linkage soon spurred major historical events.

Taney's decision lit a fire in the North. It dramatically fueled the Republican Party's growth and convinced its members that slavery, in addition to being morally wrong, was an assault on the North and the cause of liberty. Rather than resolving the contradiction between slavery and liberty that lay at the heart of the American founding, Taney's decision propelled the nation headlong into a bloody struggle to redefine the terms of that bitter compromise. In the wake of the Civil War, the nation overturned Taney's decision by ratifying the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, which ended slavery throughout the United States, explicitly created national citizenship, and provided for the equal protection of the laws for all persons.

John F. A. Sanford died in an insane asylum less than two months after the decision came down, and Dred Scott was manumitted shortly thereafter. He lived only sixteen months as a free man, before dying of tuberculosis.

— *Douglas S. Reed*

See also: Brooks–Sumner Affair; Compromise of 1850; Missouri Compromise; Taney, Roger B.

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SYLVIA DUBOIS (C. 1768–1889)

Known for her quick tongue and aggressive behavior,

Sylvia Dubois secured freedom from slavery through physical resistance, an avenue rarely available to women. Her militant stance against slavery demonstrates the multiple forms of resistance employed by slave women. In addition, her experience in slavery suggests the dynamic relationship between African American women slaves and their mistresses.

Dubois was born a slave on New Jersey's Sourland Mountain sometime between 1768 and 1789. Her mother, Dorcas Compton, purchased her freedom with financing from Dominicus Dubois when Sylvia was two years of age. When Compton failed to repay the loan, however, she and her children became Dubois's slaves. In her efforts to secure her freedom, Compton was forced to leave her children with Dubois in Great Bend, Pennsylvania, as she sought work elsewhere.

Left without her mother's protection, young Sylvia suffered incredible abuse from her mistress, Mrs. Dubois, who used a variety of tools to abuse the young girl. Sylvia asserted, "She'd level me with anything she could get hold of—club, stick of wood, tongs, fire-shovel, knife, axe, hatchet, anything that was handiest" (Larison, 1988). Yet, after enduring years of torture, Sylvia maintained her will and eventually triumphed over Mrs. Dubois.

As a young girl, Sylvia determined to defend herself physically from her mistress's abuse when she became older and stronger. Sylvia finally seized her opportunity when Mrs. Dubois struck her publicly. Sylvia recognized the advantage offered by an audience and struck her mistress in return. Both Mrs. Dubois and the onlookers were stunned by her action. Sylvia then warned the crowd against attacking her, declaring, "I smacked my fist at 'em, and told 'em to wade in if they dared and I'd thrash every devil of 'em" (Larison, 1988). Sylvia realized the crowd would be cautious of a black woman who was courageous, or insane, enough to strike her mistress in public. The fact that she was not attacked and escaped to the next town proved her surmise correct.

When Sylvia's master learned of her resistance and flight, he summoned her back to Great Bend and freed her on the condition that she take her child and leave the area. She moved to Flagtown, New Jersey, and worked until she inherited land on Sourland Mountain upon her father's death. She died on the mountain in 1889.

Although the date of Sylvia's birth is unclear, she was an expressive and articulate centenarian when she related her life story to Dr. Cornelius Wilson Larison in 1883. Sylvia Dubois related her experiences in humorous language that displays her ability—common

to many slave women—to view and represent past experiences with wit and levity. Unfortunately, many depictions of slave women produced by white writers are absurd and so hold slave women up to ridicule and diminish their humanity. Contrarily, DuBois’s narrative humor substantiates her authority and celebrates resistance. Rather than detract from the seriousness of the situation, this humorous attitude reinforces her agency and triumph, and allows readers to laugh with, rather than at, black women.

— Do Veanna S. Fulton

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W. E. B. DUBOIS (1868–1963)

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was the first professionally trained African American historian to examine slavery “scientifically.” He devoted his life as a historian, sociologist, editor, and polemicist to explaining slavery’s long-term negative influence on blacks and whites and race relations in the United States.

Raised among only a handful of blacks in western Massachusetts, as a youth W. E. B. DuBois had little firsthand contact with ex-slaves, their history, or their culture. It was when he was studying at Nashville’s Fisk University in the 1880s that he became familiar with and intrigued by the folk traditions of the former slaves. After studying historical methods at the University of Berlin (1892–1894), he finished his doctorate at Harvard University under Albert Bushnell Hart, completing what became his landmark dissertation, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870*, in 1896. The dissertation was the first volume published in the series, Harvard Historical Studies.

In that study, DuBois argued that the white Founding Fathers, both northern and southern, never were seriously committed to ending the Atlantic slave trade in 1808. Driven by economic self-interest and racism, whites imported more than two hundred fifty thousand Africans into the United States between the congressional prohibition on slave importations and 1862. The 1808 prohibition, DuBois noted with sarcasm, was “probably enforced as the people who made it wished it enforced.” Coastal slave patrollers performed their tasks loosely, especially in the 1850s when some southern partisans were lobbying to reopen the At-



African American historian W. E. B. DuBois examined slavery and its long-term effects on blacks, whites, and on race relations in the United States. (Library of Congress)

lantic slave trade. According to DuBois, the lax control of slave smuggling was part and parcel of white Americans’ persistent “bargaining, truckling, and compromising” with slavery and its proponents.

Although DuBois exaggerated the number of Africans brought surreptitiously into the United States after 1808 and undervalued the natural rate of reproduction among slaves, his use of West African port records and other primary sources set a high standard for later studies of the transatlantic slave trade. He was also the first scholar to emphasize the broad panic that Toussaint L’Ouverture’s 1791 Haitian slave revolt caused throughout the Atlantic rim. Alone among contemporary works, DuBois’s path-breaking *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade* sympathized openly with the plight of the expatriated Africans. He viewed with scorn white racism and the complicity of white officials at every level in the transatlantic slave trade.

In his many other writings, DuBois both explored particular features of American slavery and underscored slavery’s direful legacy for race relations in the

United States. In *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), he remarked that the powerful, polygamous slave family, “with all its shortcomings,” provided more protection for black women than “the promiscuous herding” of the U.S. slave plantation.

In an article published in *Southern Workman* in 1901, DuBois uncovered important connections between African building design and technology and the first homes of American slaves. They shared an essential form, he insisted, which meant windowless huts with woven walls and thatched roofs positioned around four posts. As “the cold brutality of slavery” increased, however, the slave cabins came to reflect the harshness of the institution.

In his classic work, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), DuBois analyzed the African contributions to African American slave religion. The slaves, DuBois explained, drew upon “the resources of Heathenism”—exorcism, witchcraft, Obi worship, spells, and blood sacrifices—to resist their captivity. The slave drew upon religion as a weapon to resist “the dark triumph of Evil over him.” The slave preacher, according to DuBois, provided a vital cultural link between the slaves’ African background, their ability to survive the hardships of slavery, and their preparation for the afterlife. The slaves, DuBois said, also drew upon their African-derived cultural forms, especially music, to withstand the horrors of enslavement.

In his popular book *The Negro* (1915), DuBois also championed the cultural achievements of past and contemporary Africans in art, industry, political organization, and religion. Three years later, DuBois attacked Ulrich B. Phillips, who then reigned as the master of slave historiography. According to DuBois, Phillips’s *American Negro Slavery* (1918) was “curiously incomplete and unfortunately biased.” DuBois attacked Phillips both for his inability to treat blacks as “ordinary human beings” and for his unwillingness to see growth and change in blacks from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries.

In later books, articles, and editorials, DuBois missed few opportunities to identify slavery as the source of the “veil” of racism that envelops society in the United States. For over six decades, DuBois eloquently and powerfully condemned slavery for denying the descendants of the slaves true freedom and justice.

— John David Smith

See also: Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell.

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JOHN MURRAY, FOURTH EARL OF DUNMORE (1730–1809)

On November 14, 1775, Virginia governor John Murray (fourth earl of Dunmore) offered freedom to slaves and indentured servants willing to desert rebel masters and join “his Majesty’s troops . . . for more speedily reducing the Colony to a proper sense of their duty” (Selby, 1977). The proclamation was tactical, not humanitarian. Lord Dunmore needed soldiers and hoped to awe colonists into obedience; he did not wish to enact general emancipation.

Nonetheless, hundreds of slaves sought and obtained liberty by responding to his call. Dunmore reinforced the slaves’ belief that a British victory provided the best hope for liberty. Consequently, his actions galvanized slave resistance on the eve of the American Revolution and alarmed and angered slaveholders. Like no previous measure, it alienated the southern colonies and spurred their drive for independence from Great Britain.

The decision to arm slaves itself reflected the collapse of imperial authority in Virginia, which Dunmore had exacerbated by seizing gunpowder from the public magazine in Williamsburg in April 1775 and weeks later taking refuge on a man-of-war stationed in the York River. Dunmore had exploited the colonists’ fear of a slave revolt during the crisis by threatening to arm blacks and Indians if colonists resisted British rule and by receiving on board his fleet nearly one hundred escaped slaves in the fall of 1775.

After defeating colonial militia at Kemp’s Landing outside of Norfolk on November 14, Dunmore published his proclamation, declaring the colony in rebellion and calling upon all Virginians, including the rebels’ slaves, to rally to the King’s standard. Three hundred slaves joined Dunmore within a week of the proclamation; he may have recruited as many as fifteen hundred in succeeding months. The threat of punishment and the difficulty of reaching the flotilla from land discouraged others. Most who reached Dunmore were employed as soldiers in his “Ethiopian Regiment,” with many dressed in uniforms bearing the inscription Liberty to Slaves.

The Ethiopian regiment met a tragic end. Defeat at Great Bridge in December 1775, where black soldiers composed nearly half of his troops, drove Dunmore to the James River, away from provisions and access to loyalists. Smallpox then decimated Dunmore's troops in the spring and summer of 1776 at Tucker's Point and Gwynn Island. The 300 remaining black troops went with Dunmore to New York in 1776, and some emigrated as free persons to Nova Scotia and England in 1783.

Dunmore's initiative had varied consequences. In arming slaves, the governor had acted on his own, and the controversial measure never received official approval, although slaves would figure significantly in British military strategy in the American Revolution. Commanders later granted liberty to slaves who defected from rebels, and more than ten thousand escaped to British lines during the American Revolution. They were then employed as pioneers and military laborers, and the British army honored some of the fugitives' claim to freedom at the conclusion of the war.

In 1782, after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Dunmore and British offices in South Carolina proposed to recruit 10,000 black troops for service in the low country areas of coastal Georgia and the Carolinas and the Floridas. The British government, however, would not authorize the establishment of black regulars until the Haitian Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars more than a decade later.

— *Christopher L. Brown*

See also: American Revolution; Black Loyalists.

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ANDREW DURNFORD (1800–1859)

As the son of a white man and a free woman of color, Andrew Durnford held a complex place in the society of antebellum Louisiana. In 1828 he purchased a large piece of property in Plaquemines Parish on a bend of the Mississippi River about 33 miles from New Orleans and built the St. Rosalie sugar plantation. St. Rosalie would become the home of Andrew; his wife Marie Charlotte Remy, a free woman of color; their

children, Thomas, Rosema, and Andrew, Jr.; and more than seventy-five black slaves.

The notion of a black slaveholder in antebellum Louisiana strikes us today as an oddity, but in reality it was not that uncommon. In one parish in Louisiana there were eight black planters who owned a total of 297 slaves, and in that region of the state in 1830 one out of every four free black families owned slaves. The free black population in Louisiana was rather sizable, but of those who did own slaves, most tended to own only one or two, and these were often members of their own family. Few had the relative wealth that Durnford had.

Very little is known about Durnford's early life, and most of what we do know of him is derived from letters written to his friend and mentor John McDonogh, a wealthy white businessman who held, for his time, enlightened views regarding race and slavery. McDonogh was a close friend of Thomas Durnford, Andrew's father, and when Thomas died, his friendship was extended to Andrew. Through McDonogh, Durnford remained informed of the American Colonization Society's activities and was introduced to the British abolitionist Elliot Cresson. Durnford's letters to McDonogh are numerous and provide information about St. Rosalie's operations and insights into the psychology of a man who disliked the institution of slavery, yet maintained and profited from his position as a mulatto plantation master.

Although there is every indication that Durnford was relatively humane in the treatment of his slaves, he was first and foremost a businessman, and his letters reveal the pressures of successfully operating St. Rosalie. Durnford mentions an occasion when he severely threatened his slaves in order to get them to do their duties. He also revealed anger over a runaway slave and the flogging of another. Although Durnford appears to have been conscientious in seeing to his slaves' material needs, he was not above using coercion to ensure the plantation's profitability.

Perhaps in order to come to grips with his place in society, Durnford developed an interest in philosophy. A letter to McDonogh dated January 12, 1844, provides this telling statement on Durnford's view of society: "I think society is made up of two distinct parts. On the one hand wolves and foxes, and on the other hand lambs and chickens providing food for the former. In the forest a lion recognizes another lion, tiger does not make another tiger its prey" (Whitten, 1981). Believing the abolition of slavery to be an unattainable goal in his lifetime, Durnford suppressed his idealism and used the existing system for his own benefit.

— *Mark Cave*

See also: American Colonization Society; Black Slave-owners; Louisiana; Mulattoes.

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EDUCATION

On the issue of slave education, southern whites were of divided mind. Prominent leaders such as James Henry Hammond and John C. Calhoun warned of dire consequences for white southern society if slaves were taught to read and write. Despite these warnings, and for various social, economic, and religious reasons, some whites chose to teach their slaves. Slave education, perhaps more than any other issue, represented the ideological duplicity of the South's slaveowning class. Slaves themselves recognized the importance of education, perhaps because it was normally kept from them. For those in bondage, knowledge represented empowerment and a type of freedom they did not enjoy in their daily lives.

Organized efforts at slave education began as early as the seventeenth century. A minority of masters, realizing that a literate slave would be more useful and worth more in the event of sale, took a keen interest in teaching slaves to read and write. Others had more altruistic motivations. Christian missionaries, usually Anglicans, believed that education was a key component of a slave's religious salvation. Unless slaves were educated, they could not read the Bible, understand and appreciate the liturgy, and never be truly saved. Through organizations like the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Anglican missionaries established schools, trained slave teachers, and taught hundreds of slave students basic literacy and the tenets of the Christian faith. Such efforts met with some success. One such school in Charleston had

an enrollment of seventy slaves in 1755 and enjoyed the support of several prominent leaders despite legal prohibitions against such activities. Other denominations shared Anglican views on slave education. Puritans in New England and Quakers in Pennsylvania agreed that literacy was a key component in the religious indoctrination of slaves and made some organized attempts to educate them. Therefore, before the American Revolution, some masters and religious leaders called for the education of slaves, but these whites were definitely in the minority.

Still, the majority of slaveowners thought such efforts were at best a waste of time because they believed that slaves lacked the ability to absorb formal education. African slaves were viewed as ignorant, primitive, and unworthy to receive formal education, and by educating them, masters believed they were acknowledging that slaves were more than chattel to be bought and sold like livestock. Slaves, in their view, were meant for work and little else, and a life of the mind was unnecessary in the rice, cotton, and tobacco fields. Moreover, many people feared that literacy would make slaves more difficult to control, for it was feared that educated slaves would become leaders in the slave quarters and would use their skills to foment rebellion.

The 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina led to severe restriction of slave activities in that colony. The colonial assembly passed laws that prohibited slaves from assembling, traveling without written permission, possessing firearms, and engaging in other actions that were, from the perspective of many whites, threatening. Teaching slaves to read and write was also outlawed, though this section of the law was enforced only sporadically. Georgia enacted a similar law against slave education in 1770, and all southern states had followed suit by 1803. In some ways, whites were justified in fearing the effects of educated slaves on the social order. Many of the future leaders of slave rebellions, such as Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, were literate, and literate slaves often held positions of responsibility on plantations and elsewhere.

Slaves themselves thirsted for knowledge and the intellectual liberation literacy provided, but relatively few slaves were afforded the opportunity to learn to read. Masters most frequently taught favorite slaves, usually house servants, and often they taught their own mulatto children. White children, who received instruction from private tutors or at local academies, might also impart their newly found knowledge to slave playmates. Such cases were the exception, however, as only about 5 percent of the southern slave population was functionally literate. Usually, slaves were educated if it was in the master's economic interest to

do so. This small cadre of educated slaves provided ministers, artisans, and other leaders to the slave community. In some cases, slaves kept account books, tracked crop production, and managed plantations, tasks they were delegated because of their literacy. After 1865, these educated slaves emerged as the first generation of black politicians.

Despite the relatively small number of literate slaves, virtually all desired to learn to read. Religion was one of the most important forces driving this quest for literacy. Religion, as historians such as Eugene Genovese and John Blassingame have demonstrated, was one of the key elements of life in the slave community. Although slave preachers were sometimes literate, many were not, and they wanted to be able to read the Bible so as to better minister to their congregations. The laity wanted to read the Bible for themselves in order to partake of God's word firsthand. Literacy allowed blacks to free themselves from a theology imposed by whites and to interpret the Scriptures for themselves.

There was more to slave education than basic literacy. More slaves acquired vocational skills as a result of the work their masters assigned them. Male slaves became forge operators, blacksmiths, woodworkers, tanners, and stockmen as well as other skilled and semi-skilled trades. Women had more limited opportunities, but many became seamstresses, weavers, or midwives. This type of vocational education allowed some slaves to earn cash with which to purchase their freedom, and to develop trades that would help them adapt to harsh economic realities following emancipation.

— Richard D. Starnes

See also: American Missionary Association; Hammond, James H.

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STANLEY M. ELKINS (B. 1925)

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1925, Stanley M. Elkins earned his Ph.D. at Columbia University in

1959 and published one of the most provocative works on slavery, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, in the same year. The book stimulated debate among historians of slavery throughout the 1960s.

Influenced by the pathbreaking works of Gilberto Freyre and Frank Tannenbaum, and dissatisfied with Kenneth M. Stamp's method in *The Peculiar Institution* (1956), Elkins presented a richly comparative, analytical, and thought-provoking book. In his opinion, "Stamp, locked in his struggle with Ulrich Phillips," proved unable "to disengage his mind from the debate of which he, Phillips, and [James Ford] Rhodes, were all a part and which they had taken over from the proslavery and antislavery debaters of ante-bellum times." Distancing himself from the old debate, Elkins looked beyond questions of slavery's morality and racial inferiority and considered what he deemed slavery's deleterious psychological damage on African Americans. To do so, Elkins used interdisciplinary approaches, including comparative history, role psychology, and interpersonal theory.

Elkins argued that slaves in Spanish and Portuguese America experienced a milder, more "open" enslavement than those in British America. This difference resulted, he said, from the Catholic and hierarchical traditions of Latin America as contrasted with the Protestant, locally autonomous, and "unrestrained" capitalist orientation of British America. Slaves in British North America lived in a "closed" system, one in which "virtually all avenues of recourse for the slave, all lines of communication to society at large, originated and ended with the master."

So oppressive and so brutal was slavery in British America that slaves there often developed "Sambo" personalities. White southerners defined "Sambo" as "docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; his behavior was full of infantile silliness and his talk inflated with childish exaggeration."

In one of his more controversial statements, Elkins argued that the slaves' "Sambo" personality was analogous to behavior exhibited by Nazi concentration camp inmates during World War II. In his opinion, both slaves and death camp dwellers suffered psychic shock and became both dependent and infantilized. "The individual, consequently, for his very psychic security, had to picture his master in some way as the 'good father,' even when, as in the concentration camp, it made no sense at all. But why should it not have made sense for many a simple plantation Negro whose master did exhibit, in all the ways that could be expected, the features of the good father who was really 'good?'"

Elkins's provocative *Slavery* sparked much criticism in the 1960s, criticism that was directed at the author's method and conclusions. Though richly theoretical, suggestive, and imaginative, the book lacked thorough grounding in the blacks' day-to-day lives and variety of responses to their enslavement. Elkins also failed to recognize that slaves might have had more than one significant person in their lives. Nor did Elkins come to grips satisfactorily with the notion that what he deemed "Samboization" might have been the slaves' simple manipulation of the system that kept them in chains. Stamp, for instance, remarked in 1952 that "there were plenty of opportunists among the Negroes who played the role assigned to them, acted the clown, and curried the favor of their masters in order to win the maximum rewards within the system" (Lane, 1971).

But it was Elkins's concentration camp analogy that drew the most fire. According to the historian John W. Blassingame, Hitler's death camps "differed significantly from the plantation." "If," he added, "some men could escape infantilism in a murderous institution like the concentration camp, it may have been possible for the slave to avoid becoming abjectly docile in a much more benign institution like the plantation" (Lane, 1971). Still other critics faulted Elkins's thesis that Latin American institutions protected the slaves from the victimization that sealed their fate in British North America.

The debate over Elkins's book ignited a spirited discourse that, according to Peter J. Parish, represents "the supreme example of a book which has exercised a profound influence, not by the persuasiveness of its arguments, but above all through the questions it raised, the massive critical response it elicited, and the new work it stimulated" (Parish, 1989). Determined to refute Elkins, many historians of the 1970s examined the various slave responses to oppression, including overt and covert resistance, community formation, familial solidarity, and folk and cultural expression, and some scholars probed the nature of slave treatment by examining other comparative systems of unfree labor. Elkins's book, then, redirected the attention of historians away from the behavior of the masters toward the ways the slaves withstood and overcame their captivity.

— John David Smith

See also: Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell; Sambo Thesis; Stamp, Kenneth M.

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WILLIAM ELLISON (1790–1861)

A cotton-gin maker and southern planter, William Ellison was born April Ellison in South Carolina. His mother was a slave and his father a white man, probably his first owner, Robert Ellison. For the first twenty-six years of his life, April was a slave. Perhaps because of his parentage, he was apprenticed to a trade rather than sent to the fields, and the training he received making and repairing cotton gins served him well. During his apprenticeship, which extended over fourteen years, April learned to read and write and acquired basic bookkeeping and managerial skills.

In April 1816, April Ellison appeared in the Fairfield District Courthouse with his owner to formalize his freedom, purchased with money he saved while working for the cotton-gin maker to whom he had been apprenticed. Shortly after his emancipation, Ellison moved to Stateburg, South Carolina, and established his own cotton-gin business. Within a year, Ellison had purchased the freedom of his wife and daughter; their subsequent children were born free. In 1820 April Ellison legally changed his name from April to William, symbolizing his passage from slave to freeman.

Also in 1820, William Ellison purchased the first of his many slaves. Ownership of slaves attached him and his family to the dominant class of the South and helped to preserve his family's greatest asset, their freedom. By becoming a planter and a slaveowner, William Ellison was conforming to the ways and norms of that particular era. His slaves were said to be the worst fed and worst clothed in the vicinity, and he had a reputation as a harsh master. Evidence strongly suggests that Ellison sold young slave girls, probably because they were of little use to his cotton-gin business, to raise the money needed to buy more adult slaves and additional land. He employed slave-hunters to recapture escaped slaves, and he never freed any of his slaves. Interestingly, all of Ellison's slaves were listed in the records as black; none was ever listed as mulatto, creating a distance between his family and his slaves. Color differentiated the master from his slaves.

William Ellison ruled his extended family with complete patriarchal authority. All four Ellison children brought their spouses home to live in their father's

household. In 1850 the sprawling family compound contained sixteen family members spanning three generations. His sons did not own the houses they lived in or the shops where they worked. William Ellison gave his sons only a token of economic independence; they had little opportunity to accumulate their own wealth. Although the children expected to inherit their father's wealth, until then they lived and worked almost entirely under their father's direction.

When William Ellison died on December 5, 1861, he was the wealthiest free black in South Carolina and one of wealthiest free blacks in the South. Indeed, by 1835, Ellison was prosperous enough to purchase the home of Stephen D. Miller, former governor of South Carolina, which Ellison named Wisdom Hall. Ellison owned approximately sixty-three slaves and more than 900 acres of land. He had gained the respect of his white neighbors, symbolized when the Church of the Holy Cross permitted the Ellison family a pew on the main floor of the church, behind the rows of white worshipers and below the gallery where other free blacks and slaves sat.

During the American Civil War, the Ellisons made efforts to prove themselves loyal to the Confederate cause. They converted their land entirely to food production, offering corn, fodder, and bacon to the Confederate army. They purchased treasury notes and Confederate bonds. In 1863 William Ellison's grandson, John Wilson Buckner, enlisted in the Confederate army. He was wounded in action on July 12, 1863 at Battery Wagner.

For the Ellisons, emancipation resulted in the loss of their labor supply and slave capital. This loss affected them much as it did white southern planters. The subsequent breakdown of the plantation system further impacted members of the Ellison family and they never recouped their losses or regained their prosperity or stature after the war. In 1879 the Ellisons harvested a mere six bales of cotton. The value of their land plunged, and they were forced to sell off much of their once large landholdings.

— Sharon A. Roger Hepburn

See also: Black Slaveowners.

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1864 engraving of the “Proclamation of Emancipation” had an eagle and U.S. flags over a portrait of Abraham Lincoln and a composite of seven slavery scenes. President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. (Library of Congress)

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EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in territories still rebelling against the federal government of the United States. The decision to proclaim slaves of the Confederate States free took years of agonizing deliberations and debates. In fact, from the onset of the Civil War, there were speculations about the possibility of emancipating slaves. Abolitionists, black and white, who supported the Republican Party's antislavery platform, envisaged the abolition of slavery, but northern Democrats proved hesitant and reluctant. Despite his antislavery sentiments, Lincoln himself was not enthusiastic about making slavery the fo-

cus of a war he saw as essentially meant to protect and preserve the Union. Cautious about emancipation, he was also uncertain if his executive authority gave him jurisdiction over slavery. And, too, he was concerned about the loyalty of such border states as Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Consequently, Lincoln prevaricated, and opposed and reversed decisions of Union officers who had emancipated the slaves who flocked to their command.

When Lincoln eventually decided on emancipation, he proposed two plans. The first was for gradual emancipation with compensation to slaveowners for their property losses. The second was a plan to colonize free blacks, believing that the two races could not coexist on the basis of equality and freedom. In fall 1861 Delaware rejected Lincoln's plan for gradual emancipation with compensation. In spring 1862 he sent a resolution to Congress recommending government cooperation with, and assistance to, any state willing to adopt a gradual-emancipation-with-compensation plan. He pleaded unsuccessfully for the support of congressional delegates from Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri.

In April 1862 Lincoln recommended emancipation in the District of Columbia, with limited compensation and a provision for voluntary colonization of free blacks in Haiti or Liberia. This recommendation became law, and \$100,000 was earmarked for colonizing blacks of the District of Columbia. That same month, Lincoln summoned a delegation of prominent blacks to discuss colonization. The outcome is unclear, but Lincoln indicated that the delegates seemed favorably disposed toward his plan. On June 17, 1862, Lincoln signed a bill freeing slaves who joined the Union side. Two days later, another bill abolished slavery in the territories. Between July 21 and 22, he presented the cabinet with the draft of a proposal freeing all slaves, to take effect from January 1, 1863.

Public opinion developed in favor of emancipation. White abolitionists urged Lincoln to regard emancipation as the consummation of his party's antislavery platform. Prominent black leaders, including Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany, implored him to adopt emancipation on moral, humanitarian, and military grounds. In fact, both Delany and Douglass, on different occasions, met with Lincoln and tried to persuade him that proclaiming universal emancipation would guarantee a speedy crippling of the rebellion. But others advised waiting for an opportune moment. The Union victory at Antietam on September 17, 1862, finally prompted Lincoln to act. Five days later, he issued a preliminary draft, suggesting the possibility of compensated emancipation with voluntary coloniza-

tion. The draft proclaimed that with effect from January 1, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any state or, designated part of a state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United State, shall be, thenceforward, and forever free," and pledged government support for protecting the freedom of such persons. The government also promised not to do or act in any manner that would jeopardize such persons in the exercise of their freedom.

The draft enraged many northerners, who felt that it committed the nation to a cause that was not the war's original intent. Abolitionists, however, applauded it. The presentation of the draft prompted debates and suggestions for modification in the months ahead, and Lincoln held several deliberative and discursive sessions with his cabinet before completing the final draft on the morning of January 1, 1863. He immediately signed it into law.

Lincoln underlined the proclamation's strategic importance. He issued it "upon military necessity" because it was "a fit and necessary war measure" designed to end the rebellion. He had come to realize how vital slaves were to the South's economy and war efforts. In fact, by January 1863, the southern economy was heavily dependent on slave labor, and rebels were also tapping into slave resources to carry out noncombatant war tasks such as fortifications and constructions. Emancipation provoked widespread jubilation and celebrations among blacks across the nation. As one authority argued, "the newly emancipated slaves inherited a variety of slave holiday rituals, which they drew from in molding their freedom celebrations . . . from somber, religious thanksgiving to exuberant, carnal good times Some slaves chose to celebrate the news of their freedom with religious thanksgiving. . . . In east Texas, the slave ancestors of Mr. Booker T. Washington Hogan celebrated their initial Juneteenth in 1865 with religious songs and prayers of thanksgiving" (Wiggins, 1987). Blacks in the North hailed the emancipation, and celebrated with prayers, barbecues, and thanksgiving. For blacks January 1, 1863, has since remained a defining moment in their struggle for equality. For the entire nation, the proclamation was a milestone in the tortuous journey toward obliterating the cancer of slavery and racism.

Despite the applause and celebration it evoked, the proclamation did not free all slaves. It affected only slaves of the rebellious territories and left untouched the more than eight hundred thousand slaves in the border states; thirteen parishes of Louisiana, including the city of New Orleans, the state of West Virginia; and seven counties in eastern Virginia, including Norfolk and Portsmouth. The proclamation had the de-

sired effect of crippling the South's war effort, however. The Confederates almost immediately lost control of their slave population, and there were mass desertions.

The proclamation transformed the war from a struggle to preserve the Union to a crusade for human freedom. It gave the Union cause a moral and humanitarian complexion, which generated worldwide support, and it established Lincoln's reputation among blacks as "the Great Emancipator." It has since given an added significance to New Year's Day, and many blacks celebrate January 1 as a day of commemoration by reading the proclamation. Reaction to the document today is mixed. As one authority suggested, "Even when the principles it espoused were not universally endorsed and even when its beneficiaries were the target of mistreatment of one kind or another, the Proclamation somehow retained its hold on the very people who saw its promises unfulfilled" (Franklin, 1995). Many blacks and whites continue to view the proclamation positively as a shining example of the nation's accomplishment, while others remember it differently as a living testimony to the unfulfilled national aspiration. During the 1960s, many statesmen and politicians invoked the Emancipation Proclamation as proof of the nation's commitment to freedom and equality and as a reminder of its "unfulfilled promises." Such sentiments fed the flames of the civil rights movement.

— Tunde Adeleke

See also: Douglass, Frederick; Juneteenth; Lincoln, Abraham.

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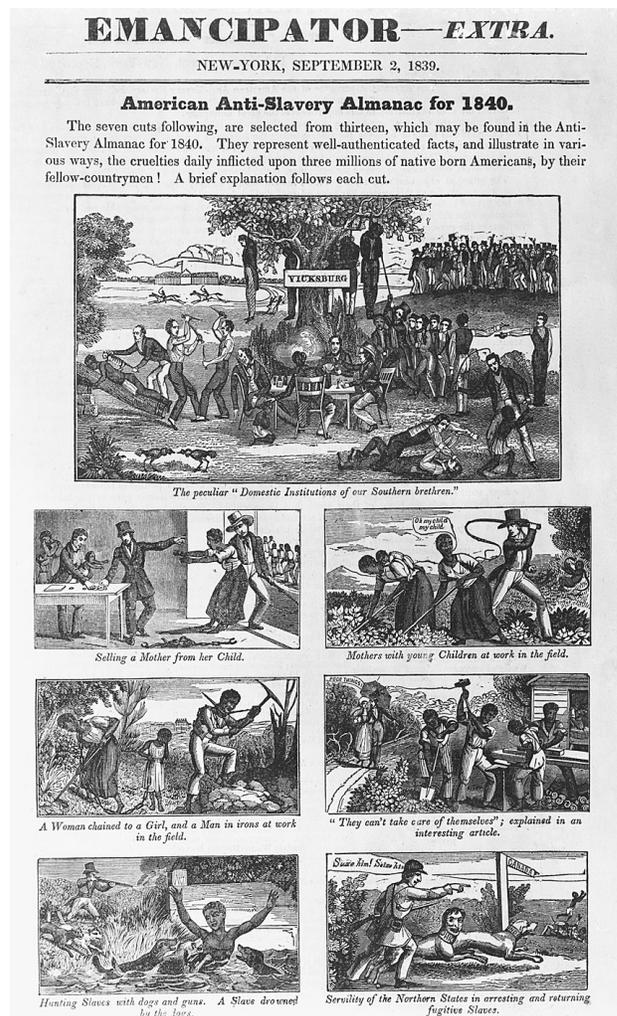
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THE EMANCIPATOR

Published monthly in Jonesborough, Tennessee, from April to October 1820, the *Emancipator* was the second newspaper in the United States devoted solely to the abolition of slavery. The paper was a one-man effort,



Illustrated front page of an 1839 issue of the *Emancipator*. (Bettmann/Corbis)

written by and funded by Quaker Elihu Embree (1782–1820), but its subscription list of over two thousand carried it beyond Tennessee. It succeeded Embree's earlier weekly, *Manumission Intelligencer*, established in Jonesborough; *Manumission* was probably the first American antislavery periodical and had ceased publication in December 1819. With Embree's death, combined with the fiscal difficulties of the iron businesses in which he had been involved, the *Emancipator* ceased publication. Another abolitionist newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, might not have been published had Embree's father, Thomas, been successful in convincing abolitionist editor Benjamin Lundy to continue publishing the *Emancipator* after Elihu's death.

In the *Emancipator*, Embree sought to encourage manumission by applying Christian principles and exposing the behavior of slaveowners. Embree advocated

neither immediate manumission nor the use of violence; instead he urged gradual emancipation and colonization. He distributed the paper to legislators, advised antislavery voters to use the ballot, and encouraged petitions. He also celebrated the slaveowners who had freed their slaves; published pertinent letters from one individual to another; traced the history of slavery, declared that northern farms were more prosperous than southern farms; published the speeches of people who opposed slavery; and argued that slavery was not economically advantageous, that it destroyed family ties, and that it fostered unrepugnant attitudes among slaveowners and the general populace.

Embree complained that unsympathetic postal workers interfered with distribution of his paper. When he sent complimentary copies to several southern governors, for example, the copies were returned in a manner that required him to pay postage. Embree had his detractors: Governor George Poindexter of Mississippi, for one, denounced him as a paid stooge of northern agitators.

Embree resigned from the Manumission Society of Tennessee because he believed that its constitution might interfere with the publication of his paper. The eleventh article of the society's constitution required that an inspection committee approve the publications of members, but the irregular gatherings of the society would have made it difficult for Embree to publish his writings regularly. Ironically, Embree had written the society's articles in 1815 to ensure consensus decision making. Despite his resignation, he regularly published the society's addresses, proceedings, and tracts. Above all, he believed that God would punish the unjust. In the second issue of the *Emancipator* he declared: "My creed is universal and equal liberty," and I "endeavor to know what is right, and do it, dreading no consequences."

In 1813 or 1814, Embree was converted to abolition after having been compelled to sell a family of slaves to cover a debt, but he remained a slaveowner until his death. In his will, he freed his "faithful servant and slave black Nancy together with her children Frames a yellow boy or young man Abegil & Sophea her two black daughters and Mount her yellow daughter and John her son nearly black" (Blassingame and Henderson, 1980). Not only did he free Nancy's children, but he made provisions for their education as well.

Charles D'Aniello

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EMPLOYMENT. See Hiring of Slaves.

STANLEY L. ENGERMAN (B. 1936)

Stanley L. Engerman's most influential book, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974), coauthored with Robert William Fogel, ignited a crucial historical debate over the nature of slavery. Critics initially responded to the first volume with favorable comments. The ensuing dialogue, which centered on the nature of antebellum slavery and spanned more than two decades, would call into question Fogel and Engerman's methodology, their conclusions, and even their personal intentions. The avalanche of responses came from critics in every corner of the United States and as far away as Finland, Sweden, Holland, Russia, and France.

Fogel and Engerman provided a new methodological paradigm. They followed a tradition—begun by Alfred Conrad and John Meyer in the late 1950s—that used statistical evidence to examine slavery's profitability and sparked a debate over southern growth rates and the importance of slavery to the southern economy. No longer could historians intuitively interpret documents without facing serious criticism. Fogel and Engerman's statistical methods, fully explicated in their second volume, *Time on the Cross: Evidence and Methods—A Supplement*, offered a more systematic approach to large bodies of quantifiable data in the hopes of producing some definitive answers to historical questions. They sought to correct previous interpretations concerning the slave economy of the antebellum South and described the ten most common misconceptions about slavery in their prologue.

Their statistical evidence suggested that slavery had been a flexible, highly developed form of capitalism. The future of this productive, efficient, and profitable system looked bright in the eyes of slaveholders and could only have been destroyed by some event as devastating as the Civil War. They argued that slavery stimulated economic growth in the South and provided slaves with a measure of economic security not enjoyed by many free urban, industrial workers in the North. Twenty-five percent of slaves held skilled or semiskilled jobs and received goods and food as compensation,

placing them above the subsistence level. Capitalist developments made slavery ever more profitable, and they simultaneously encouraged slaves to become achievement-oriented, hard workers. Moreover, Engerman and Fogel argued that slave families were relatively stable and headed by husbands, and it was from these families that slaves cultivated a distinctively black culture.

Some critics claimed that Fogel and Engerman were self-righteous racists bent on resurrecting old notions about slavery's benevolent qualities. Historians like Herbert G. Gutman chose to focus on the authors' selection and use of quantifiable data questioning their calculations, samples, and assumptions. Gutman, in *Slavery and the Numbers Game* (1975), charged them with underrepresenting the large plantations, incorrectly calculating data, and then making erroneous assumptions based on their misinterpretation of the evidence. More generally, he insisted that they completely ignored racism and that they asked and answered the wrong historical questions. Gutman countered Fogel and Engerman's assertions of stable slave families by arguing that they were fragile at best and not merely because of the selling of family members.

Other critics, like Richard Sutch, Paul A. David, and Peter Temin, followed suit, suggesting that Fogel and Engerman had underestimated the issues of general welfare, psychic well-being, and brutality in slave life. Some things, according to this view, could not be understood in numerical terms, and these critics recognized the limited usefulness of statistics.

Engerman and Fogel, both together and separately, have replied to critics in writings following *Time on the Cross*. It is significant that historians continue to address the arguments and methodology presented in their two volumes. Yet Engerman has also made new and important contributions to slave history, including his work on the growth of the world economy and the Atlantic slave trade with books like *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1992) and *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere* (1975), coedited with Joseph Inikori and Eugene Genovese, respectively. In addition, Engerman has delved into the slave history of other colonies, including the West Indies in *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion* (1996), coedited with Robert Paquette.

— Debra Meyers

See also: Historiography.

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THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The single most important philosophical development of the Enlightenment was, perhaps, that of “natural rights” discourse. In the eighteenth century, when much of learned European and American society was consumed with the systematization and structure of knowledge, the rise of empiricism, Denis Diderot's *Encyclopedia* project, and the measure and quantification of the world as a way of knowing it, it is not surprising that attention would turn to one of the most discussed, volatile, and morally important issues of the day—slavery. All of the rhetorical and philosophical force of the Enlightenment came to bear on the question of African humanity, which lay at the center of the question of slavery itself. There had to be a way of justifying slavery that made it morally permissible. Otherwise, Charles Louis Montesquieu's prophecy would return to haunt the slaveowners: “If they [African slaves] are, indeed, human, then we [whites] are not Christian” (Tiainen-Anttila, 1994).

Literacy was a very important issue in discussions of slavery during the Enlightenment era. Proslavery advocates argued that Africans were suited to be slaves because they could not reason. The visible sign of reason during the Enlightenment, as Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1987) has argued, was the ability to read and to write (especially creatively). Since blacks were unable to produce poets and artists, they were not considered to be of the same variety of humanity as whites. Of course, the literary accomplishments of figures like Phillis Wheatley, Jupiter Hammon, and George Moses Horton flew in the face of such racist claims and went far to demonstrate that Africans shared the same “natural rights” as whites.

Hence, any consideration of the Enlightenment and slavery must necessarily take into account the circulation and influence of the language of “natural rights” and “natural laws” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Robert M. Cover, in *Justice Accused: Antislavery and the Judicial Process* (1975), analyzes the ways in which the judicial and political discourses of the period (particularly the decisions of justices sitting

on the bench) aided and abetted the system of slavery. He begins his analysis with a discussion of “natural law” and “natural rights.” These concepts have sources as disparate as Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* (1651), Montesquieu’s *The Spirit of the Laws* (1752), Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Discourse on Inequality* (1761) and *The Social Contract* (1762), Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man* (1791–1792) and Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–1782), among others.

Concomitant with the rise of natural rights philosophy and rhetoric was the development of the “master–slave dialectic.” The dominant articulations of this idea can be traced most usefully, perhaps, through the philosophy of Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), Karl Marx’s *Grundrisse* (1850), and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche’s *Beyond Good and Evil* (1885). Each of these works provided a discussion of the relationship between master and slave that influenced the intellectual and public debates surrounding slavery well into the nineteenth century.

Similarly, since the primary progenitors of these discourses of natural rights that so profoundly influenced social and political thought in Britain and the United States were French (primarily Montesquieu and Rousseau), it is important to remember that these discourses also animated the discussions of French slavery and colonialism. The support that American intellectuals like Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Paine offered the French Revolution is well documented.

Jefferson, for example, spent much time in France; in fact, he was there in 1787 when the U.S. Constitution was drafted. Not only was he greatly influenced by John Locke’s philosophy of knowledge (especially his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [1690]), but also by the natural rights philosophies of Montesquieu and Rousseau.

Thomas Paine was involved in revolutionary activity in the United States, France, and England. In fact, he was in London in 1775 when he met Benjamin Franklin, whose letters of introduction allowed Paine to go to Philadelphia where he worked as a journalist. It was during that time that Paine wrote his attack on U.S. slavery, “African Slavery in America” (1775), and the anonymously published *Common Sense* (1776), which encouraged American colonists to declare independence from Britain. *Common Sense* was enormously successful in both the United States and France. While back in London in 1791, Paine joined the pamphlet war over the French Revolution with his *Rights of Man* (1792), written in response to Edmund Burke’s conservative *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790).

Such transatlantic concern and writing led to the political debate between the recently defeated British and the Americans over the rights of man, with Burke and Paine squaring off as the representative interlocutors. This kind of political and intellectual cross-fertilization again demonstrates the need to recognize the triangular relationship among the three nations which framed the political and moral philosophical discourses that gave rise to the Enlightenment and later ushered in romanticism. In light of such compelling evidence, the connections between slavery and the Enlightenment are undeniable.

— Dwight A. McBride

See also: *Notes on Virginia* (Jefferson); Romanticism and Abolitionism; Wheatley, Phillis.

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EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The history of the American Episcopal Church and slavery is conflicted. Although some church leaders denounced the institution and fought for its abolition, others remained silent as many wealthy slaveholders, dependent on the economic status quo, were Anglican or Episcopalian. The church took virtually no stand on the issue at the national level.

The history of slaves and the Anglican Church began in the early colonial era. Most black Christians in America were Anglicans because most slaveowners in the middle and southern colonies belonged to the Church of England and church leaders viewed captive peoples as fertile ground for missionary work. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, established in England in 1701, made a concerted effort to convert slaves. Although the society enabled many slaves to learn to read and write, to acquire instruction in catechism, and to marry in the

church, blacks were usually segregated into slave galleries or even separate buildings during worship services. Religious instruction was almost always under the control of a white priest or bishop.

After the American Revolution, the Church of England in the United States was reorganized, becoming the American Episcopal Church in 1787. Instructing and evangelizing slaves became prominent issues from this time until the Civil War. Slaveowners paternalistically felt it their Christian duty to provide religious instruction, arguing that Christianized blacks were more honest, truthful, moral, well-behaved, and devoted to their masters than those who were not so instructed. Slaveowners believed that providing religious instruction to slaves would convince northerners that the slave system was not so evil after all and argued that the effect of the black preacher—who often acquired influence independent of the slaveowner—must be minimized by “proper” religious teaching. Slaveholders who argued against providing religious instruction feared that separate black churches, though necessary in places where white church buildings were overcrowded, might incite insurrection. They also feared that slaves could misinterpret the gospel message itself—“freedom in Jesus” might be interpreted as political freedom and opposition to slavery.

Abolitionist forces in the United States pressured Christian leaders, including Episcopal slaveholders, to dismantle the system. Although few U.S. bishops were on this side of the issue—a Bishop Onderdonk of New York did address the Episcopal Convention in 1843 in powerful antislavery language—several Church of England bishops did speak out, and their abolitionist sermons were distributed widely in North America.

Meanwhile, many blacks sought to establish themselves as Africans within the church. Absalom Jones, born a Delaware slave, eventually bought his own freedom and became a leader of Philadelphia’s free black community, the largest urban community of former slaves in the postrevolutionary period. Jones became the first minister of St. Thomas’s African Episcopal Church in 1794 and, with his ordination to the priesthood in 1804, the first black Episcopal priest.

In Jones, the Episcopal Church found one of its few eloquent spokesmen against slavery. In 1797, he helped organize the first petition of African Americans against slavery, the slave trade, and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. From the pulpit, he preached pride and self-respect to blacks, especially newly enfranchised males. Jones taught in schools established by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and helped found the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality.

During the Civil War, southern bishops formed a group that was welcomed back into the national church at the war’s end, and southern black Episcopalians had the unfortunate choice of acquiescing to this arrangement or leaving the church. Most left and became aligned with Methodist or Baptist congregations. By this time, blacks had already been leaving the Episcopal Church for several reasons: exclusion from membership, the ministry, and convention proceedings; the church’s rejection of African and evangelical traditions; and literacy requirements related to the Episcopal/Anglican liturgy and catechism.

In recent years, priests and laypeople of the Episcopal Church have labored to combat the tragic legacy of slavery and its ugly offspring, racism. The Union of Black Episcopalians, founded in 1968 as the Union of Black Clergy and Laity, is dedicated to justice and the ministry of blacks in the Episcopal Church. In 1940 the church published the first denominational hymnal to contain a hymn of African American origin, “Were you there when they crucified my Lord?” In 1981 the official hymnal supplement, *Lift Every Voice and Sing: A Collection of Afro-American Spirituals and Other Songs*, was published and is now in use throughout the country. The hymnal’s title derives from the hymn of the same name, written by James Weldon Johnson and his brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, in 1900 and known widely as the black national anthem.

The consecration in 1989 of Barbara C. Harris as suffragan (assistant) bishop of Massachusetts was historic not only because she was the first woman bishop in the Anglican Communion (and in any of the liturgical churches worldwide in modern times), but also because she was the direct descendant of a slave. Twenty years earlier the Diocese of Massachusetts had made history by electing John Burgess as the first black bishop to head an Episcopal diocese in the United States. When he was first consecrated in 1962 as suffragan bishop in Massachusetts, Burgess became the first black anywhere to serve as an Episcopal bishop of white congregations. In 2002 Bishop Harris retired and was succeeded by another African American woman, Gayle E. Harris.

The battle against the effects of slavery continues. In 1994 the church’s bishops felt the need to issue a strong pastoral against racism. Currently, only 3.4 percent of priests in the United States (excluding bishops) and 4 percent of bishops are African American. The church is making progress, but it still has a long way to go.

— Valerie Abrahamsen

See also: African Methodist Episcopal Church.



This commemorative montage depicts the May 19, 1870, parade in Baltimore that celebrated the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. The amendment was adopted by the U.S. Congress on February 26, 1869, and protected the voting rights of African American men. (Library of Congress)

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FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1870, represents one portion of the unprecedented legislation passed by the radicals in Congress during Reconstruction guaranteeing every male citizen the right to vote. Many people considered this amendment the culmination of the work begun by the radicals with the Fourteenth Amendment, which focused on establishing equal civil and political rights for freedmen by limiting the authority of state governments with the threat of federal intervention. Congress thought it necessary to initiate the later legislation because, at least in part, it saw

the political advantage of ensuring black male suffrage that the Fourteenth Amendment had merely encouraged.

In 1868, when Republican Ulysses S. Grant garnered 3 million popular votes compared to Democrat (and former New York governor) Horatio Seymour's 2.7 million, it became clear just how valuable the Republican black vote could be. Republican leaders recognized that black suffrage had won them several states and they had lost others when states denied freedmen the right to vote. Most southern states, under federal pressure during Reconstruction, ratified the new amendment quickly, as did the northern states.

The Fifteenth Amendment further abridged states' rights, a process begun by the Fourteenth Amendment, by prohibiting disenfranchisement based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," with the threat of federal enforcement if states chose to ignore the new provisions. With this amendment (supplemented by the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871), Congress sought to prevent states from encroaching upon the federal rights of black men, but it did nothing to prevent individuals, like Ku Klux Klan members, from injuring, killing, or destroying the property of black Americans. To address that problem, Congress passed an unprecedented act in April 1871, aimed at Klan members, that called for placing individuals under federal jurisdiction if a state failed to punish their criminal acts of terrorism.

With the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, many reformers, like William Lloyd Garrison and members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, felt their job was done. Having grown weary of Reconstruction in general and believing they had accomplished their goals by ensuring the black man's political participation, and thus his ability to protect himself against exploitation, Americans focused their attentions on other issues.

Ex-Confederate leaders gained political power during the 1870s, and Democrat "Redeemers" sought to reestablish white supremacy in the South. Their success meant a dramatic decline in black rights. Property qualifications, poll taxes, and literacy tests, not specifically prohibited in the Fifteenth Amendment, effectively disenfranchised southern black men. Subsequently, southern states passed Jim Crow laws, which stripped the freedmen of their right to vote while legalizing racial segregation, and thus effectively nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment.

— *Debra Meyers*

See also: Fourteenth Amendment.

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FILIBUSTERS

The U.S. acquisition of the vast Southwest after the Mexican War (1846–1848) led many expansionists to advocate the conquest or liberation of other foreign territories, and the idea was directly related to the slavery issue. During the 1850s, thousands of citizens openly defied the Neutrality Act (1818) by participating in several private military expeditions against Mexico and other Central American or Caribbean nations. These adventures were popularly known as "filibusters," a term derived from the Dutch *vrijbouter* (freebooter), which was first applied to Caribbean buccaneers.

The major filibustering expeditions of the era were Narciso Lopez's forays against Cuba in 1850–1851 and William Walker's invasions of Mexico, Nicaragua, and Honduras between 1853 and 1860. Motivated by the aggressive spirit of manifest destiny and the lure of adventure, many filibusters were also influenced by the rising controversy over slavery, as many southern expansionists believed that the acquisition of new territory would maintain the political balance of power between slave and free states.

The conspiracy of Mexican War hero and former Mississippi governor, John A. Quitman, to invade Cuba between 1853 and 1855 was largely influenced by southern fears that Spain planned to abolish slavery on the island. In 1853 Juan de la Pezuela, a known abolitionist, was appointed captain-general of Cuba. He issued orders freeing all Africans imported illegally from the United States since 1835, permitting marriage between black women and white men, and allowing freedmen to serve in the militia.

Pezuela's measures alarmed southern expansionists who dreamed of bringing Cuba into the Union as new slave territory. Furthermore, the island's proximity to the Gulf Coast states led many southerners to regard Cuban emancipation as a direct threat to southern society and institutions. Many were convinced that news of Cuban events would spark slave rebellions throughout the South.



Filibusters associated with William Walker rest in their quarters after a battle in Nicaragua in 1856. (Library of Congress)

Backed by Cuban associates of the ill-fated Narciso Lopez, Quitman, an ardent advocate of Cuban annexation, was preparing to lead a major invasion of the island at the time of Pezuela's appointment. The Mississippian regarded the possible emergence of what he called a "Negro" or racially mixed "mongrel empire" in the Caribbean as a serious threat to the "whole social fabric of the Southern states" (May, 1985). Motivated by the desire to prevent the "Africanization" of Cuba, leading southerners helped Quitman gather men, arms, and ships for the expedition.

Besides widespread southern support, Quitman apparently obtained assurances from members of President Franklin Pierce's cabinet that the administration would not intervene to thwart his invasion plans. Pezuela's seizure of a U.S. vessel in early 1854 produced a crisis that might have assured government support of Quitman's enterprise. However, the filibuster chief continued to delay, explaining to his Cuban backers that he would not move until he had sufficient men, an armed steamer, and adequate funds.

Although the reasons are not entirely clear, spring 1854 saw a shift in official policy that boded ill for Quitman's venture. One factor might have been a desire to avoid the overwhelming criticism that could result from government support of a proslavery invasion of Cuba. Whatever the true motive, the Pierce administration determined to withdraw support for filibustering and to acquire Cuba by purchase.

Instructing his minister in Madrid to offer \$130 million to the Spanish government, Pierce blocked efforts in the U.S. Senate to repeal the neutrality laws. He also issued a proclamation warning that the government would prosecute any violators. Quitman, while protesting what he regarded as a violation of his understanding with the administration, continued to prepare for the invasion.

In June 1854 a federal grand jury in New Orleans compelled Quitman to enter a recognizance in the sum of \$3,000 to observe the neutrality laws for nine months. Quitman promptly postponed his expedition until spring 1855, but the delay only worsened his prospects. In early 1855 Spanish authorities arrested over one hundred of the filibuster chief's Cuban supporters,

thus destroying all hopes of revolutionary support on the island.

In early spring 1855, President Pierce met personally with Quitman in Washington, D.C., and offered convincing evidence that Cuba was virtually invulnerable to attack. This factor, coupled with the knowledge that Cuba's new captain-general did not share Pezuela's zeal for emancipation, led Quitman to disband his private army on March 15. Although Quitman formally severed ties with his Cuban backers on April 30, he continued to support other filibustering schemes, including William Walker's Nicaraguan venture.

The abortive Quitman expedition was followed by another failed filibuster venture, the plot of the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret, proslavery society in the United States, to invade Mexico in 1859–1860, before the outbreak of the Civil War brought an end to large-scale filibustering activities. Although filibustering cannot be regarded solely as a manifestation of southern expansionism, the expeditions of Lopez, Walker, and others received widespread support in the South, particularly among people who advocated the annexation of additional slave territory. Besides being regarded by the international community as a symbol of U.S. imperialism, filibustering contributed to the sectional discord that led to the Civil War.

—*James M. Prichard*

See also: Quitman, John; Knights of the Golden Circle; Lopez, Narciso; Walker, William.

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FIRE-EATERS

A small but powerful group of antebellum southern politicians, the fire-eaters were an important force during the sectional crisis in the United States. Although they represented a minority of southern leaders, the fire-eaters were vocal, articulate advocates for their region and the cause of states' rights.

Fire-eaters believed that by the 1840s, the South's social, political, and economic interests were under attack by outside forces. Vocal northern abolitionists seemed

to wield significant influence in both houses of Congress, and more important, the abolitionists had begun to attack the character and morality of slaveowners, not simply the institution itself. By the 1850s proposals like the Wilmot Proviso and agreements like the Compromise of 1850 led many southern leaders to conclude that the South's interests would no longer be protected by the national government. In fact, to many fire-eaters, the government itself appeared to be doing the bidding of northern abolitionists by attempting to legislate slavery—and thereby the social and political organization of southern society—out of existence.

Faced with these apparent attacks, a minority of southern politicians began actively to champion the cause of states' rights. Drawing on Thomas Jefferson's ideological legacy, this group, called the fire-eaters by people of both the North and the South, went beyond traditional rhetoric concerning state sovereignty. These leaders believed that the U.S. Constitution represented a compact of states that had agreed to unite in 1787 for certain purposes. The federal government established by this compact was charged with national defense, international diplomacy, regulation of interstate commerce, and very little else.

Fire-eaters such as John C. Calhoun, like Jefferson before him, believed that the powers of the federal government were limited to those specified by the Constitution, with all remaining powers reserved for the states or individual citizens. These reserved powers included the power to regulate slavery. Furthermore, they believed that the Union existed to protect the interests and rights of individual states. Over time, the Union had been transformed, gradually assuming more power, and according to the fire-eaters, this transformation had led to federal policies that were contrary to southern interests. Therefore, as southern rights were no longer being honored and protected, the slave states should dissolve the bonds that held them in the Union. This belief went beyond earlier notions of interposition and nullification. Through secession, the fire-eaters reasoned that the southern states would retain their sovereignty and protect their slave-based economic system. Secession was a panacea designed to protect what the fire-eaters viewed as the fundamental social, political, and economic underpinnings of southern society.

Fire-eaters were most powerful in South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi and existed in smaller numbers in other southern states. United in their belief in immediate secession as a way to protect southern rights and slavery, the fire-eaters had few other things in common. Most were political leaders in their respective states with a gift for oratory, and they were almost uni-

versally from planter families or had risen to such status through their own labor. Though small in number, several fire-eaters were particularly influential. Robert Barnwell Rhett edited the bombastic *Charleston Mercury*, which became the voice of the fire-eater cause. John A. Quitman, though born in Ohio, served as military governor of Mexico and as governor of Mississippi. A vocal proponent of states' rights, Texan Louis T. Wigfall later became a severe critic of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate government. Agriculturalist and editor Edmund Ruffin of Virginia fired the first shot at Fort Sumter and subsequently committed suicide after Appomattox. In Alabama, William Lowndes Yancey articulated the fire-eaters' position in the Alabama Platform and generally served as the faction's most eloquent orator in Congress and at Democratic Party conventions.

Although the fire-eaters did not cause the dissolution of the Union in 1861, their ardent defense of states' rights and protectionist attitudes toward slavery certainly helped create a political climate in which secession could be considered. Ironically, many went on to criticize the Confederate government for usurping the rights of individual states. These vocal defenders of states' rights and slavery, though representing an extreme minority view in the South, wielded tremendous influence and helped lead the nation to Civil War.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Alabama Platform; Calhoun, John C.; Quitman, John A.; Ruffin, Edmund; Yancey, William Lowndes.

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GEORGE FITZHUGH (1806–1881)

George Fitzhugh was one of the most vociferous, and radical of the proslavery southern polemicists in the United States. He married nearly Marxist critiques of European and northern capitalism to an impassioned defense of feudal-style patriarchy in two major antebellum books, *Sociology for the South or the Failure of Free Society* (1854) and *Cannibals All! or, Slaves without Masters* (1857).

In these books, and in numerous articles in the *Richmond Examiner* and *DeBow's Review*, Fitzhugh characterized the capitalism of Europe and the northern part of the United States as a form of slavery in which, unlike southern plantation society, the industrialist had no motive to care for his labor force's well-being. Fitzhugh rejected the notion of human equality and liberty advanced by John Locke and Thomas Jefferson. He argued that ancient slave patriarchies like Rome and Greece were more compassionate than the so-called modern democracies. Western society had declined, he suggested, after post-Luther philosophers extended the Protestant Reformation's ideas to promote notions of individualism and personal liberty.

Heavily influenced by Thomas Carlyle's philosophical attack on economic liberalism, Fitzhugh believed that competition spawned by the emerging capitalist order resulted in wealth for few and misery for many. Humans, he stated, are by nature social creatures, like ants and bees, and all people are not created equal. In an unequal world, he argued, to require "inferior" individuals such as women, children, African Americans, and poor whites to compete with "superior" white male elites was cruel. In industrial society, the inferior and incompetent were slaves to capital rather than to human masters. Unlike the well-fed plantation slave, industrial workers were left to starve and were denied civilizing contact with Christian masters.

Fitzhugh suggested that northern capitalism was ultimately doomed, and, anticipating Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis," he contended that only the open frontier and the opportunity it gave white industrial workers to escape wage slavery and become landholders suppressed class violence north of the Mason–Dixon line. Fitzhugh's writings provoked a storm in the North, and quotes were taken from his books out of context to suggest that he favored the enslavement of white industrial workers and the poor.

Despite his fondness for the master–slave relationship, Fitzhugh never suggested the extension of slavery to white laborers in the United States. In fact, he called for mass education among the South's working class and poor whites as a way of winning the nonslaveholders' loyalty to plantation elites. Nevertheless, Fitzhugh's writings provided fodder for abolitionists, who warned of southern slaveholders plotting to enslave northern workers. Fitzhugh's rhetoric proved influential even among slavery opponents. Abraham Lincoln, in particular, was inflamed by Fitzhugh's prediction in *Sociology for the South* that slavery would later be "everywhere abolished" or "everywhere reinstated"; a more famous restatement of this idea appeared in Lincoln's 1858 "house divided" speech.

Fitzhugh was largely self-taught and his reading tastes were not always sophisticated, but he was widely exposed to French and English socialist thought, and occasionally his wording suggested that he had read Karl Marx. His writings exhibit some understanding of Marxist theories on surplus value, and some ringing phrases in *Cannibals All!*, such as when Fitzhugh described the industrial poor as “continually forging new chains for themselves,” sound as if they were lifted directly from the *Communist Manifesto* (published nine years earlier in 1848). Other aspects of Fitzhugh’s economic analysis foreshadowed twentieth-century leftist thought.

His description of the handicaps agricultural regions like the antebellum South suffer in world trade, and the damaging effects of unequal exchange on an agricultural economy when competing with industrial centers, are reminiscent of the arguments of dependency theorists like Arghiri Emmanuel, Immanuel Wallerstein, Fernando Cardoso, and Enzo Faletto. Despite his flirtation with socialism, Fitzhugh neither conceded the extent to which African American slaves were exploited nor fully acknowledged that the plantation culture he so vigorously defended might have played a part in the region’s economic dependency.

Fitzhugh has typically been portrayed as a southern anomaly. He vigorously attacked Jefferson’s ideas of human equality enshrined in the Declaration of Independence, and he asserted that the American Revolution was no battle for human liberty but merely a struggle of local elites to achieve political independence. He bitterly denounced free trade, *laissez faire*, and the liberal economic thought of classical economists like Adam Smith while praising pre-Reformation feudalism.

These notions may have placed Fitzhugh outside the mainstream of southern thought, and planters must have winced when Fitzhugh declared plantation slavery as the “beau ideal of Communism” or when he bitterly depicted the “vampire capitalist class” of Europe and the northern portion of the United States. Yet, Mitchell Snay’s research suggests that Fitzhugh was less iconoclastic than has traditionally been suggested. Snay argues that Fitzhugh’s depiction of man as naturally social, his argument that patriarchy produces a harmonious society of mutual obligations, and his view of the master–slave relationship paralleling that of God and humanity reflect ideas common among antebellum southern clergy.

Ironically, despite his vociferous defense of southern planters, Fitzhugh’s family had lost its farm at auction in 1825, and for much of his career, Fitzhugh was a mediocre lawyer depending largely on the property of

his wife, Mary Brockeborough, in Virginia’s Caroline County. Despite his relatively humble status, he became perhaps the most famous propagandist for the planter class. For all his occasional prescience, however, Fitzhugh’s writings were highly repetitive and disorganized, symptomatic of his lack of formal schooling. “We are no regular built scholar,” as Fitzhugh acknowledged in *Cannibals All!* (Fitzhugh, 1960), and even his supporters were forced to acknowledge his intellectual eccentricity. If Fitzhugh’s ideology was not exactly embraced by southern elites, he was seized upon as a spokesman for southern ideology and in the North symbolized the threat that attitude posed to the working class throughout the Union.

— *Michael Phillips*

See also: Jefferson, Thomas; Wage Slavery.

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FLORIDA

Florida was the second-to-last slaveholding state to be admitted to the Union. When Florida joined the Union on March 3, 1845, the United States consisted of twenty-seven states, of which thirteen were free and fourteen were slave states. The admission of Florida, and subsequently of Texas, in 1845 made it more urgent for antislavery advocates to support the creation of new states in the northern and northwestern territories of the United States to counter the growing political influence of the proslavery lobby.

The history of slavery in Florida, like that of Texas and Louisiana, was influenced largely by the region’s complicated colonial history. For most of the colonial period Florida was ostensibly a colony of Spain, though the level of royal authority and control waned considerably over time. For a brief period (1763–1783), Florida came under British control in the aftermath of the French and Indian War. Although the United States officially acquired Florida from Spain in 1819,

American military forces had already been occupying large parts of the territory prior to the official diplomatic transfer. As a result of shifting ownership and the absence of effective governance, the area of Florida was often viewed as an inviting region where fugitive slaves might escape and find succor amid the anarchic state of affairs there.

Slavery in the lands that eventually formed the United States can trace its beginnings to Florida. The Spanish established the colonial outpost of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, and this community holds the distinction of being the oldest continuously settled town in the United States. The founding of St. Augustine followed a failed attempt just two years prior to establish a French Huguenot refuge in the same vicinity at Fort Caroline, near modern-day Jacksonville. Slaves were used in both the Fort Caroline and St. Augustine settlements. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the Spaniard who established the St. Augustine settlement, had permission to introduce 500 slaves within the first three years of the colony's existence, and evidence shows that slaves were used there as early as 1565.

When the English began to establish colonies on the eastern seaboard of North America, particularly the settlement of the Carolinas in the 1660s, Spanish authorities became concerned about the perceived encroachment upon their territory in Florida. The frontier between the poles of English and Spanish colonial hegemony was marked by contention, and this prompted the settlement of Georgia by the British in 1733 to act as a buffer between its more valuable tobacco colonies to the north and the threat of Spanish Florida to the south. Spanish authorities in Florida continued to incite unrest in the region by encouraging slaves to run away from their British colonial masters and escape to Florida where they could obtain emancipation and find sanctuary.

Florida, as geographically defined during the colonial era, consisted of two parts—East and West Florida. East Florida corresponds largely to the region comprising the present-day state, but West Florida was a narrow strip of Gulf coastal territory that extended across portions of present-day Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana until reaching the Mississippi River at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. During the era when the British held Florida, a substantial number of planters relocated to West Florida where they established plantations that cultivated tobacco and cotton using slave labor.

It was the joint presence of political instability and the Seminole Indians in Florida that prompted the United States to take extralegal action in the aftermath of the War of 1812. General Andrew Jackson led

a foray of U.S. military into Spanish Florida to restore order to an area that was destitute with anarchy. Jackson's actions, including the declaration of martial law and the execution of two British nationals who were living in Florida, received international condemnation, but the blunt use of power was enough to force the hand of Spain to relinquish possession of Florida by 1819. The pacification of the Seminole would prove more difficult. Essentially an amalgamation of fugitive slaves and disaffected Creeks who had crossed into Florida after the Creek Indian War, the Seminole Indians presented a formidable threat along the Georgia border where they regularly raided plantations of supplies and slaves.

Pacification of the Seminole Indians would not be effected until the conclusion of the Second Seminole War (1837–1845). The so-called Black Seminoles played a significant role in this conflict as black leaders like John Horse, Alligator Sam Jones, and Wild Cat fought against regular forces of the U.S. military. As a result of that conflict, most of the Seminole were removed to reservation land in Oklahoma, but some members of the tribe did resist and remained in Florida's swamps and marshes living lives as isolated outliers.

Cotton cultivation did develop in post-1845 Florida, thus leading to a substantial increase in the area's slave population. In the 1840 census, the territory of Florida recorded a slave population of 26,526, but by the eve of the Civil War, this population had increased to 61,750 slaves—nearly 44 percent of the state's population. Perhaps slavery's greatest impact on Florida during this era involved its role in the domestic slave trade. Because of its position along the Gulf Coast and with an abundance of navigable rivers and streams, the Florida Panhandle became one of the busiest regions of commerce in the domestic slave trade. Ships carrying slaves from portions of the Upper South regularly arrived at St. Marks, and from there slaves would be taken to Tallahassee where they would be sold at auction. Slaves introduced through the Florida slave market made their way to the cotton plantations of the Black Belt region in Alabama and Georgia.

Florida became the third state to secede from the Union and join the Confederate States of America when its legislature adopted a secession resolution on January 10, 1861. The state suffered economically from the naval blockade that the Union imposed to quarantine southern ports. The effects of the blockade were especially hard on Jacksonville and Tampa Bay. Florida territory remained relatively untouched by the physical ravages of the Civil War, but the social and economic changes wrought by emancipation and the Recon-

struction era would leave scars that would linger for subsequent generations.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Domestic Slave Trade; Seminole Indians.

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ELIZA LEE CABOT FOLLEN (1787–1860)

Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, abolitionist, writer, and church organizer, was born to Sally Barrett and Samuel Cabot in Boston, Massachusetts. She was one of thirteen children in the family. Cabot's mother made sure Eliza focused her interests on religious and social problems. Long before Eliza Cabot's marriage on September 14, 1820, to Dr. Charles Follen, she was already well connected to Boston society and known for her determination and support of her social convictions.

Many of Follen's female friends went on to establish themselves as well-known abolitionists. Although Follen is often considered as more of a footnote in the abolition movement, it would be a mistake to overlook her contributions. In the early 1830s, Follen was one of a group of men and women who organized the Unitarian Federal Street Church in Boston and taught Sunday School classes at the church. When Follen's husband was removed as a professor at Harvard University because of his antislavery views, the Follens moved to Roxbury, Massachusetts. Eliza earned money by writing religious tracts and books. Among her works was *The Christian Teachers' Manual* (1828 and 1830). By the late 1830s, it was clear to true abolitionists that the Federal Street Church was no more supportive of the antislavery movement than most churches, and it ap-

pears that Follen's connection with the church ended during that time.

During the 1830s Follen was also instrumental in creating the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. The mixture of members included middle-class African American women, some of the wealthiest white women in the city, and self-supporting women abolitionists and activists who had jobs in the religious community or within other social reform movements. Follen was among the members who voted to send regular monetary support to a Boston school for young black girls in 1833. The Boston school eventually lost the support of radical abolitionists and closed in 1839. Through her extensive travels in Britain and France, Follen was able to strengthen ties with foreign abolitionists. It was a move that extensively aided the antislavery movement both in the United States and abroad.

By the early 1840s the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society started to deteriorate following an internal struggle over the society's methods of operation. Follen, however, continued her activities in support of abolitionism. Her writing of children's books increased. One of her most noted books was *The Child's Friend* (1843, 1850). She edited the American edition of *Grimms' Fairy Tales* in 1840, and continued to write children's books until approximately 1855.

Follen also served on the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society and was a counselor of the Massachusetts Society. Her fame as an antislavery writer increased with the publication of *Anti-Slavery Hymns and Songs* and *A Letter to Mothers in the States*. After the decline of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, Follen focused her energies on the American Anti-Slavery Society. Before her death in Brookline, Massachusetts, she published a five-volume series on the work of her husband entitled *The Works: A Memoir of His Life*. She died in Brookline on January 26, 1860, of typhoid fever during the occasion of the American Anti-Slavery Society's annual meeting.

— Maria Elena Raymond

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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CHARLOTTE FORTEN (1837–1914)

Charlotte Forten was active in U.S. abolitionist, women's rights, intellectual, and art circles from the antebellum years through the post-Reconstruction period. As a diarist, her record of the thought and activities of northern free blacks of the antebellum and post-Reconstruction periods has contributed significantly to an understanding of the evolution of free black ideologies and culture.

Forten was part of the fourth generation of a prominent, free black family in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She served as a link between slave and free persons and based her antislavery activity on an antebellum free black philosophy of racial “uplift” and self-help. As such, Charlotte Forten provided an important model for blacks and women of the period, and her story is still important in African American, and indeed American, history. Forten attended a private girls' school in Salem, Massachusetts, because her father objected to Philadelphia's racially segregated schools. While in Massachusetts, Forten witnessed the capture of a runaway slave, who was then returned to slavery. This event, along with the example of her family's activism, encouraged her own participation in antislavery and other social reform movements. At the age of seventeen, Forten joined the Salem Anti-Slavery Society.

Her grandfather, James Forten, had made a fortune as a sailmaker and as an entrepreneur by patenting a device used on sailing vessels. Forten's boldly acerbic criticism of racism in America distinguished him even among the tiny and vocal activist free black community of his day and provided an indelible example for his granddaughter, Charlotte. Her father, Robert Forten, though less successful as a businessman, was also a model of social activism and belonged to both local and national abolitionist societies. Many of Charlotte Forten's associates and models were white, including *Liberator* publisher William Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Parker, although black women who were Forten's contemporaries, such as fellow *Liberator* contributor Maria W. Stewart and Isabella Van Wagenen—more famously remembered as Sojourner Truth—were also active in antislavery and women's rights activities of that time. It has been suggested that Forten herself shunned the spotlight of a public career in activism, perhaps be-

cause the credo of her genteel background urged women to stay within the proscribed “domestic circle of true womanhood” (Peterson, 1995). Forten was briefly a teacher at the Salem Normal School; however, her delicate health forced her to curtail many physical activities. A meticulous recorder of contemporary events in her diaries, Forten also tried her hand at poetry; although most literary critics have found her poetry to be merely adequate, Garrison published her poems, which contained antislavery messages, in the *Liberator*.

In 1862, during the Civil War, Forten traveled to South Carolina's Sea Islands to teach freed children, and her memoirs of her experiences there were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Her essays convey both her sincerity and her dedication to the cause of black freedom, while they also reveal the confusion of a sheltered black daughter from a privileged background when confronted with blacks whose life experiences were so different from her own.

In 1878 Forten married Francis J. Grimké, the son of a slave woman named Nancy Weston and her white slaveowner. Though disowned by their southern relatives, Francis Grimké and his brother had been taken in by their father's sister, Angelina Grimké Weld, a northern aunt who was well known in antislavery circles. Francis J. Grimké earned degrees in law and theology before taking a pulpit in Washington, D.C. He and Charlotte Forten had only one child, who died in 1880. Forten herself died in 1914.

— Dale Edwyna Smith

See also: Garrison, William Lloyd; Sea Islands; Stewart, Maria W.; Truth, Sojourner.

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JAMES FORTEN, SR. (1766–1842)

Noted for his work as an abolitionist and sailmaker, James Forten was one of the eighteenth century's most distinguished African American leaders and the grandfather of the abolitionist Charlotte Forten. Born in Philadelphia, the son of Thomas and Sarah Forten, James was a mulatto whose ancestors were free for at least two generations. In 1773, when Forten was seven years old, his father died. James briefly attended a local school for Philadelphia's free blacks established by Anthony Benezet, a Quaker abolitionist and philanthropist. In 1775, when he was nine, Forten left school to go to work at a local grocery store to help support his family.

In 1781, Forten became a powder-boy on the *Royal Louis*, a vessel commanded by Stephen Decatur. During the American Revolution, when the British vessel *Amphion* captured the *Royal Louis*, Forten anticipated being sold into slavery. His future was altered when he was sent to Great Britain where he met many prominent abolitionists, including Granville Sharp. After his seven-month imprisonment, Forten returned to the United States and became an apprentice to Robert Bridges, a prominent sailmaker in Philadelphia.

In 1786 Forten became a supervisor. When Bridges died twelve years later, Forten took ownership of the firm. The business flourished, and by 1832, he had acquired a fortune of about \$100,000. This made him one of Philadelphia's wealthiest African Americans. With his newly found resources, Forten was able to maintain a large country home and a city dwelling for his wife and family of eight children.

Forten, along with Richard Allen, pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Absalom Jones, founder of the African Episcopal Church, gradually became prominent leaders within Philadelphia's African American community. In 1797 they organized the city's first African American Masonic Lodge. During the War of 1812, they recruited nearly twenty-five hundred African Americans to build fortifications around Philadelphia to protect the city after the British had burned parts of Washington, D.C.

During the early nineteenth century, Forten, Allen, and Jones began directing their attention to ending slavery. In 1800 they petitioned Congress to pass a law to end slavery through gradual emancipation. These

three leaders, in 1817, created a public forum to protest creation of the American Colonization Society that intended to send many free black Americans back to Africa. In 1830 Forten, Allen, and Jones sponsored the first national convention that focused on the problem of colonization within the interracial abolition movement.

Forten's success as an abolitionist and entrepreneur makes him one of the eighteenth century's outstanding African American pioneers. His leadership skills, respect within early Philadelphia's African American community, and the many people who attended his funeral on February 22, 1842, all illustrate the wide acclaim of this exceptional African American.

— Eric R. Jackson

See also: Allen, Richard; American Colonization Society.

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ABIGAIL KELLEY FOSTER (1811–1873)

Better known as Abby Kelley, Abigail Foster was an extraordinarily effective lecturer, fund-raiser, and organizer for women's rights, nonresistance, and antislavery. She was notorious both for her radical abolitionism and for her willingness to speak before "promiscuous assemblies" of men and women. Only Maria Stewart and Sarah and Angelina Grimké preceded her on the lecture platform. Like Angelina Grimké, Kelley married a prominent abolitionist, but unlike Grimké she did not let marriage or motherhood stop her antislavery work. The emancipation of the slaves and the end of racial prejudice came first, and Kelley endured years of misogynist attacks, illness, and frequent separation from her husband, Stephen Symonds Foster, and her daughter to achieve these goals—without accepting any pay.

Kelley's deep belief in women's equality brought her to the center of the 1840 split in the abolitionist movement when the followers of William Lloyd Garrison broke with the "new organization" abolitionists led by Lewis Tappan and Amos Phelps over the role of women in the American Anti-Slavery Society and

other philosophical and strategic differences. When Kelley, a Garrisonian, was elected to an important committee at the 1840 convention and insisted on speaking, the Tappanites and Garrisonians separated. Kelley had begun lecturing in 1838 and was becoming well known, but the fight within the American Anti-Slavery Society brought her to new prominence. In particular, she inspired women to become abolitionists and cultivated a number of young women to travel the antislavery lecture circuit, most prominent among them being Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Sallie Hollie, and Sarah Redmond, the sister of Charles Redmond.

Kelley was an organization woman, fiercely promoting Garrison's radical brand of antislavery and the Massachusetts and American Anti-Slavery Societies. For twenty years she lectured, raised money, and planned lecture and propaganda campaigns throughout New England, Pennsylvania, New York, and the Midwest. She also helped found Ohio's *Anti-Slavery Bugle*. Other abolitionist leaders relied on her abilities as a shrewd organizer and administrator. In an 1859 meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, Garrison accused Kelley of fraudulently obtaining funds for the abolitionist movement. Kelley broke with Garrison, who refused to apologize, and withdrew from her prominent role in abolitionist organizations. Their disagreements continued during the Civil War and afterward, for Kelley was skeptical of Lincoln and the Republican Party's commitment to emancipation and to the civil rights of the freed slaves. After the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, Kelley turned her attention to the issues of temperance and women's rights.

— *Andrea M. Atkin*

See also: Anthony, Susan B.; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

The U.S. Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment, ratified by three-fourths of the states in 1868, represented a radical move on the part of Congress during the Reconstruction period. Submitted to the states for approval in 1866, this amendment significantly reduced state powers, attacked the southern black codes, de-

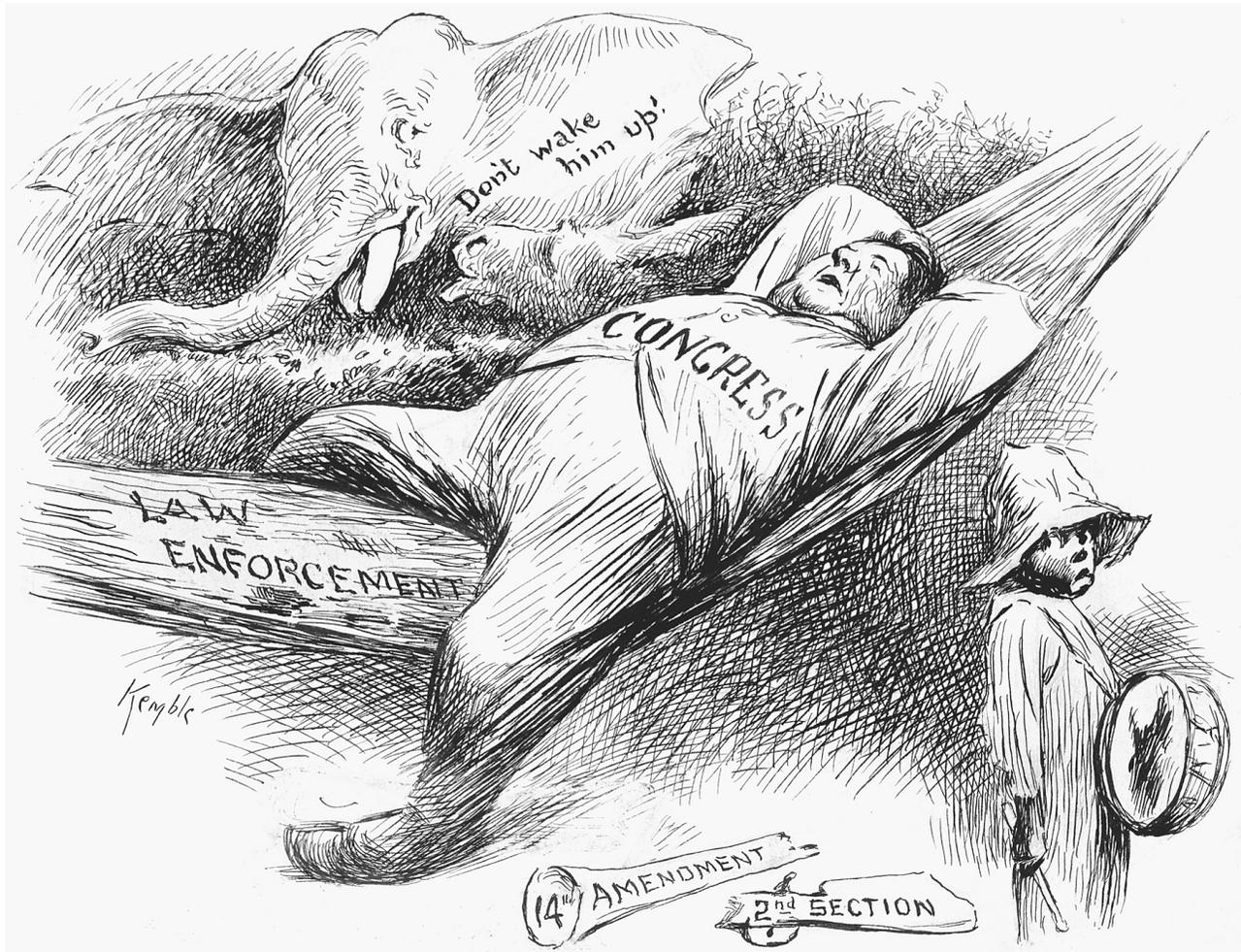
fining citizenship, and granted considerable political rights to freedmen. With its passage, states could no longer legally enforce laws like the black codes that stood in opposition to federal legislation.

Reacting to Reconstruction, southern states instituted these codes aimed at controlling the labor of freed blacks after emancipation. The legal restrictions placed on ex-slaves differed from state to state, but all essentially denied freedmen the rights mandated by the first eight amendments: namely, their rights to free speech, bear arms, obtain a trial by an impartial jury, have protection against cruel or unusual punishment, and not to be subject to unwarranted search and seizure. Moreover, the black codes regulated the relationships between white landowners and black laborers, limiting workers' ability to rent land in certain areas and to negotiate wages as well. The codes and the punishments meted out for their violation, like whipping and forced labor, essentially permitted slavery to continue in the South after emancipation. With the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, the federal government could now prevent states from enforcing black codes if the states chose to "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

The first clause declares that everyone "born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." Congress believed that by admitting freedmen into the political community as citizens with rights, the ex-slaves could protect and defend themselves from exploitation. Besides legally defining citizenship, the Fourteenth Amendment stipulated that the right to suffrage was reserved for men twenty-one years old or older.

The freedman's political rights were not assured, however. By basing a state's congressional representation on the number of enfranchised men, the second clause encouraged, but did not require, states to grant freedmen the right to vote. The final three clauses attempted to conclude some of the issues with which Congress had been grappling during Reconstruction. Hoping to fill the U.S. House of Representatives with loyal unionists, clause three barred ex-Confederate leaders from holding state or national offices unless two-thirds of Congress voted to grant a pardon. The fourth clause repudiated the Confederate debt, and the fifth empowered Congress to enforce the amendment's provisions with any legislation it found necessary.

Congress initiated the Fourteenth Amendment for at least three reasons: its members wanted to guarantee ex-slaves equality before the law at the federal level, and they sought to secure black Republican



Cartoon criticizing authorities' failure to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. (Library of Congress)

support, at the same time they legally defined the right to vote for males. Because this amendment failed in its mission to allow the freedmen to defend themselves against white southern Democrats, the Republican-dominated Congress began the ratification process of the Fifteenth Amendment that would, at least for a time, bar states from preventing black males from voting.

—Debra Meyers

See also: Fifteenth Amendment; United States Constitution.

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**ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE
(1941–2007)**

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese—Eléonore Raoul Professor of the Humanities, professor of history, until 1991 founding director of the Institute for Women's Studies at Emory University, Atlanta, and the author of several books and numerous articles—is among the most prolific writers on slavery and on women in the southern United States. She studied at Bryn Mawr College and at Harvard, where she completed her Ph.D. in 1974, focusing on social and economic changes in eighteenth-century France. As an assistant professor at the University of Rochester from 1973 to 1976, she became involved in the Marxist debate on merchant capitalism

and the role of slavery in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. From a Marxist perspective, she and her husband, Eugene D. Genovese, published a series of articles on European slave economies, on the origins of Western capitalism, and on the economic and social relations in the slaveholding societies in the United States. Fox-Genovese participated in the vigorous academic debate following the publication of Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman's *Time on the Cross* (1974), which portrayed southern slavery as a successful rational and capitalist system. She criticized the book's analysis of slavery as a simple matter of economics and suggested instead that one should see the peculiar institution as a paternalistic, precapitalist economic and social system, which was based essentially on personal relations and should be analyzed with research tools taken from psychology, anthropology, sociology, and economics.

Fox-Genovese's own interests became increasingly focused on aspects of gender and women's history. In her award-winning book *Within the Plantation Household* (1988), she discussed issues of gender, race, and class in the antebellum South. Drawing on women's diaries, letters, and memoirs, as well as on interviews of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), she reconstructed the lives of southern black and white women, which revolved around a system of household labor. In her meticulous description of southern women based on psychological as well as anthropological analysis, class and race rather than gender were the dominant categories to define women's identity and behavior within the system, which differed fundamentally from life in the North. In her more recent studies on feminism and American individualism in the United States (*Feminism Is Not the Story of My Life* [1996]; *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South* [1994]), she argues that the lives of African American women are still defined by the experience of slavery and racial discrimination.

In recent years Fox-Genovese became increasingly interested in issues of family and faith. She died in Atlanta, Georgia in January 2007.

— Raingard Eßer

See also: Genovese, Eugene.

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FRANKLIN AND ARMFIELD

Franklin and Armfield was a major slave-trading firm created by the partnership of Isaac Franklin and John Armfield, Franklin's nephew by marriage, on February 28, 1828. The company engaged in a long-distance domestic slave trade, with Franklin's offices in Natchez, Mississippi, and Armfield's in Alexandria, Virginia. A junior partner, Rice C. Ballard, later joined the firm.

The partnership enjoyed a favorable reputation in a commercial area frowned upon even by advocates of slavery. Abolitionist E. A. Andrews reported that Virginia slaves, aware of their impending sale, often requested to be sold to Franklin and Armfield. The firm's positive image derived from two perceptions. First, Franklin and Armfield appeared to treat their subjects humanely. According to all reports, their slaves appeared healthy, well groomed, and well fed. Second, the firm had a reputation for preserving families. Although the firm cultivated this reputation, when profitable, they separated families by sale and by purchase.

Franklin and Armfield transported slaves to Natchez overland via coffles and by sea on coastal brigs. The firm sent one annual coffle of 100 or more slaves in late summer when travel conditions were best for walking. More frequently, they shipped their slaves by sea. The partners owned several brigs, including the *Uncas*, the *United States*, the *Tribune*, and the *Isaac Franklin*, each of which could transport 150 slaves. Such a capacity allowed the firm to ship slaves belonging to migrating planters and other traders for additional profit.

The ships unloaded at New Orleans, where a few slaves were sold, and the remaining slaves went to Natchez by steamboat. At the apex of the firm's operation in the early 1830s, Franklin and Armfield sent a boatload of slaves every two weeks. Contemporary estimates that the firm sold one thousand to twelve hundred slaves annually in Mississippi are probably accurate. The firm's income reportedly rose from \$33,000 in 1829 to \$500,000 in 1834.

Franklin and Armfield was the largest of the slave-trading firms in Natchez, but not the only one. Although observers attributed responsibility to Isaac Franklin for most of the slaves in Mississippi, at least thirty other slave traders operated in Natchez by the

1830s. Nonetheless, Franklin and Armfield was the dominant and most influential firm in the area. Indicative of its influence is that after the firm relocated its Natchez stockade outside of town in 1834, the new stockade, Forks in the Road, became the chief Natchez slave market for the remainder of the antebellum period.

The partnership's charter expired in November 1841, but owing to a Mississippi legislative ban on the importation of slaves as merchandise, Franklin and Armfield had ceased operations in 1837. Isaac Franklin retired from the trade and became a respected planter in Tennessee. John Armfield continued in the trade, managed Franklin's Louisiana operations, and oversaw the firm's remaining affairs into the 1840s.

— David J. Libby

See also: Domestic Slave Trade.

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FREE AFRICAN SOCIETY

Founded in April 1787 by Richard Allen (1760–1831) and Absalom Jones (1737–1818), both free blacks in Philadelphia, the Free African Society was a benevolent organization started to promote the positive treatment of people of color. The society espoused moral reform, self-help, self improvement, and black unity. The Free African Society members believed in making the United States hospitable to blacks, advocated abolition, and condemned prevalent repatriation schemes. Although the membership maintained close ties to both the Methodist Church and to the Quakers, the Free African Society was nondenominational. Members of the society insisted on the humanity and equality of blacks, and on their right to fair treatment. They petitioned both state and federal governments and issued broad appeals to the white community and to enslaved and freed blacks to end the inhumane practice of slavery in the United States.

Members contributed money to the general treas-

ury that was then used to help widows and orphans and others in need, they attended regular meetings, and they were further required to adhere to the society's articles of association. These articles were guidelines for sobriety, decorum, and good moral conduct. Infractions of the rules were judged by a committee of members, and anyone found guilty was either fined or suspended.

During the Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic of 1793, members responded to the public solicitation for colored people to help care for the sick. Under the guidance of Absalom Jones and William Gray, and encouraged by the belief that people of color were not liable to succumb to the infection, black people from the Free African Society visited over twenty families a day, removed the dead bodies that whites refused to touch, buried corpses, administered to the needs of the dying, and even fulfilled duties such as bloodletting for white physicians.

Meetings of the society, which were held for the first year at 150 Spruce Street in the home of Richard Allen and for three years subsequent at the Willings Alley School House, were used in part to plan for the establishment of an independent African church. The free black community in Philadelphia was rudely awakened to the necessity of establishing their own church when they were forced to sit in segregated areas, behind the pews, in St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, where there was a growing number of black worshipers. After several black worshipers were forcibly removed by white deacons while kneeling in prayer in the church, the black community withdrew its membership completely from the church. Afterward, the Free African Society as an organization became increasingly hostile to Methodism and began showing a tendency toward Quaker thought. Among other reforms, they adopted a simple, Quaker-like marriage ceremony and began each meeting by observing fifteen minutes of silence. Richard Allen maintained, however, that the Quaker message of detachment and introspection was not as relevant to the needs of free blacks as Methodism. He therefore broke with the society in the spring of 1789, leaving its leadership in the hands of the less dynamic but also less confrontational Absalom Jones.

Absalom Jones and members of the Free African Society began a public subscription to raise money for a church building that on July 17, 1794, became the African Episcopal Church. At the same time, Richard Allen and several former members of the society created a Methodist society and worked to establish their own church. They began public worship services by the end of June 1794 and secured a charter from the

Pennsylvania legislature in 1796 for the Mother Bethel Church, the African Methodist Episcopal church that later played an active role in the Underground Railroad and the abolition movement. With the increasing attention to African churches, the Free African Society disbanded in the early 1790s.

— Jennifer Margulis

See also: Allen, Richard.

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FREE LABOR. See Transition from Slave Labor to Free Labor.

FREE PERSONS OF COLOR

Occupying a position somewhere between “slaves without masters” and the highest ranks of the master class, freedpersons have formed a part of every slave society in history. In the United States, they experienced some of the harshest restrictions of any society in the Americas. Nevertheless, free people of color made significant contributions in all regions of the country. Slave systems based on race, such as that in the United States, were fundamentally threatened by the mere existence of free blacks because they presented the spectacle of people of the subordinate race who were less than fully subordinate. At the same time, free blacks were essential for the system to function, both because they could do jobs that whites would or could not do, and because the possibility of manumission offered slaves an inducement to cooperate with the system.

In the British colonies of North America, and subsequently in the independent United States, the role of free people of color in society was restricted by contrast to that of free black populations in other colonies in the Americas. In most places, free blacks were essential because there was a shortage of white labor. In addition, new slaves were reasonably cheap because of plentiful imports, reducing the cost to the slaveowner of replac-

ing labor lost through manumission. In the United States, there were relatively few imports of slaves at any time, and slave importation was cut off by law in 1807 (and illegal importations were insignificant) before the large expansion of the cotton industry in the Deep South. Although slaves in the United States had more children than slaves in other slave societies, their birth rates and child survival rates were lower than those of American whites. Unlike most other slave societies in the Americas, the United States experienced significant white immigration. As a result, many whites were available for the subaltern jobs of the plantation economy: overseers, technical specialists, small craftspeople, small farmers producing food for the plantation, intermittent laborers, and providers of various services to whites. Long before formal “Jim Crow” segregation was established in society, many occupations were restricted to whites either by custom or even by law.

In *Slave and Citizen* Frank Tannenbaum clearly expresses the traditional view of differing racial attitudes in the Americas. Tannenbaum’s hypothesis, briefly, attributes much of the difference to the cultural, historical, and legal background of the European colonizer. He points out that the Iberian countries had the longest historical tradition of rule over an alien working class, dating back to Spain’s experience with Jews and Moors during the *Reconquista*. In addition, Catholicism gave them a set of universalist values—though admittedly applied imperfectly in practice—which at least prepared them to consider the person of color as a fellow human and even potential citizen.

Tannenbaum contrasts the situation of people of color in the Iberian colonies to that in the northern European (British, French, Dutch, and Danish) colonies. He suggests that a lack of historical experience in dealing with aliens within the society, the lack of legal provisions for slavery in the home country, and the relative weakness of the moderating influence of universalist Catholic teachings were responsible for the harsher treatment of people of African descent there. England in particular, Tannenbaum noted, had an unfortunate history with subordinate aliens in its adventure in Ireland. The lessons learned in Ireland were applied in destructive ways in the British North American colonies.

The 1992 edition of Tannenbaum’s work includes an introduction by Franklin Knight, who points out that Cuba, the Spanish colony that received the largest number of slaves, had a very harsh slave regime in the nineteenth century. At the same time, historian of the British Antilles Michael Craton has pointed out that treatment of persons of color varied quite remarkably from Jamaica to the Bahamas—both of which were within the supposedly harsh British colonial world.

Knight offers the alternative explanation that economic conditions, especially the strength of the plantation system, and the demography of the colony, drove changing attitudes toward people of color. In places where the plantation complex was not highly developed, free blacks were often socially almost indistinguishable from their white neighbors, and slaves were often very similar to free laborers or peasants.

Interestingly in this regard, in colonial Virginia, African slaves were at first treated no differently than white indentured servants. It was only when tobacco planting became extremely profitable in the late seventeenth century that new slave codes made slavery a permanent and heritable condition, and set conditions for manumission.

A person of color might become free through several avenues. Running away was the most direct. The Underground Railroad flourished only from the 1840s on. Prior to this time, most runaways quietly fit into American society, living “as free” with phony papers, often in marginal or frontier areas, or drifting to the north through porous borders, as did Frederick Douglass. Formal manumission was common, but difficult, as most states significantly restricted the practice. Manumissions of more than a small percentage of any master’s work force were typically prohibited. For example, George Washington’s will provided for the freedom of his entire workforce, but the will was modified on the request of the heirs as contrary to public policy. Masters were often required to provide for the support of their freedmen and/or move them out of the state. The white elite’s desire to rid slave societies of free blacks led to the movement to send them “back” to Africa (this despite the fact that almost all freedmen were native-born Americans). Spurred by the missionary impulse of the times, many African Americans cooperated enthusiastically, forming the modern nation of Liberia and a few short-lived colonies in the Americas before 1863.

In most slave societies in the Americas, one important reason for manumission was the existence of a family relationship between master and slave. Particularly in the Roman Catholic colonies, Iberian and French, the white father of a mixed-race slave was obliged by custom to free at least his child, if not the mother. In British North America, despite the frequency with which masters had sexual relations with their slaves, Puritan ideas about sexual morality, a strict color line, and a large white female population meant that this “mulatto escape hatch” was less open to the mixed-race children of slaves. The proportion of mixed-race slaves in the United States was much higher than in other colonies, where most were freed.

However, famously, Thomas Jefferson bucked the cultural mores by freeing the children born, perhaps, from his relationship with Sally Hemings.

Other, less prominent masters also bucked the system as best they could in order to help slaves they felt had deserved well of them for whatever reason. Self-purchase by slaves was forbidden by law. Masters had to get permission from the authorities (local judges or state legislatures) to free slaves in most states, alleging some prosocial act on the part of the slave as justification. These authorities were often concerned that self-purchase encouraged slaves to steal, prostitute themselves, or engage in other antisocial activities to raise their purchase price. Nonetheless, for the master, self-purchase was often the most profitable market for surplus slaves, and so they engaged in all sorts of deceptions. States with declining plantation economies, like those in Virginia and Maryland in the nineteenth century, saw high rates of manumission.

Despite all the roadblocks placed in the way of manumission, all southern states in 1861 had significant free populations of color. The largest proportions were found in the Old South areas of the Chesapeake and the Carolinas and the frontier areas of Florida, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Even in the heart of the Cotton Belt, though, it would not be uncommon to find a free black artisan or peasant living on the outskirts of the plantation, next door to poor whites and often working alongside them at the same tasks (albeit usually for less pay).

The Northeast had a substantial free black population by 1863. This population owed its origin to the role of the northeastern ports in the slave trade. Persons of color were important subalterns in the slave-trading system, as interpreters, seamen, and commercial contacts on the African coast. Crispus Attucks, one of the victims of the Boston Massacre, was a member of this community. Small numbers of slaves were imported into the northeastern colonies, mostly as domestic servants. The immediate postindependence era saw the abolition of slavery in all the states north of the Mason–Dixon line. Subsequently, some free blacks (including runaways) from the South migrated here. The free black population of Boston, in particular, was large and relatively wealthy, while in New York and Philadelphia, free blacks competed with recent immigrants for working-class jobs. The free black community of New York was a primary target of the mob in the New York City Draft Riots of 1863.

Free blacks filled a number of roles in southern society, from humble artisan or peasant to slaveholding plantation owner. Local cultural practices, especially notable in (formerly French and Spanish) Louisiana or

frontier conditions, as in early Virginia, permitted free blacks greater integration into white-dominated society. Free blacks were highly marginalized in the core areas of the Cotton Belt, though, and it was there that the risk of reenslavement was highest. Grants of manumission were often either explicitly or implicitly conditional on “good” behavior by the freedperson. Freedpeople were required to be deferential to whites, and “uppity” behavior could result in judicial reenslavement. Kidnapping was also not unknown, and the fact that all states in the South refused free blacks access to their courts made it difficult for a freedperson to prove their status as against a master who claimed them. These difficulties encouraged outmigration by free blacks even if it was not officially required by state law. In any case, the need for free black labor was greater in frontier areas.

The American myth of a predominantly white West, promulgated by Hollywood, ignores the enormous role played by people of color, from Meriwether Lewis’s (slave) companion York to Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, the first settler of Chicago, to many cattle hands and mountain men and the Reconstruction-era Exodusters. In more settled areas, free blacks were an important intermediate class, either as direct subordinates of the white masters—overseers, rural police, slave-catchers, small agriculturists supplying the plantations—or at least as a living example to the slaves of the rewards possible for faithful service.

— *Stewart King*

See also: Douglass, Frederick; Mulattoes; Octoroons; Quadroons; Artisans; Underground Railroad.

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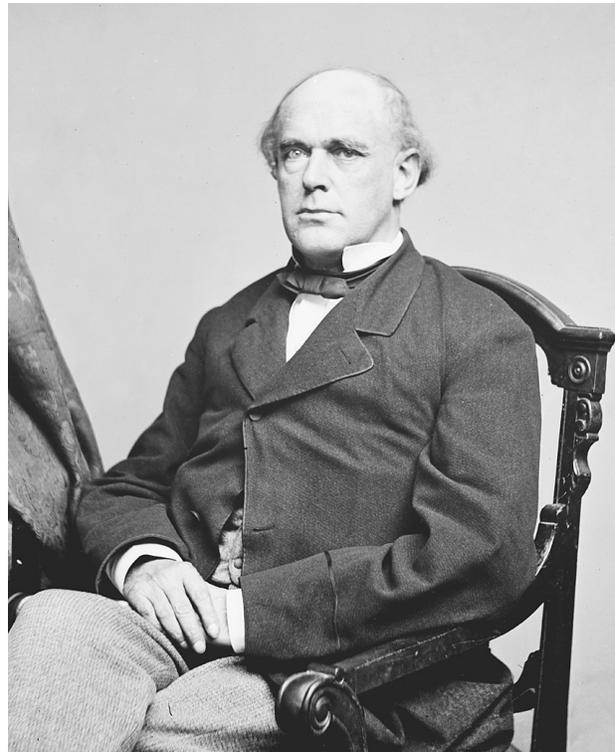
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FREE SOIL PARTY

The Free Soil Party’s significance far outshines its brief existence on the antebellum political scene. As the first antislavery party attracting widespread support from members of the major parties, the Free Soil Party ushered in a new era of sectionalism and set the stage for the political crises of the 1850s.



Salmon Chase was a founder of the Free Soil Party, and he later served as senator and governor of Ohio, U.S. treasury secretary under Abraham Lincoln, and chief justice of the United States. Chase coined the slogan “Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men.” (Library of Congress)

Officially christened in Buffalo in August 1848, the national Free Soil Party was an amalgam of disgruntled Democrats, northern Whigs, and Liberty Party men. Advocating a broad array of (mostly Democratic) reforms such as free homesteads and cheap postage, the party made the restriction of slavery its fundamental issue. The extension of slavery became the nation’s preeminent political issue during the Mexican War (1846–1848), when acquisition of vast new western territories forced Americans to consider the future of the “peculiar institution.” Northerners believed that extending slavery into the West would threaten the development of that region as a haven for family-sized farms, while southerners generally advocated opening the territories to slave labor. The issue crystallized with the Wilmot Proviso, which was introduced in Congress in 1846, attempted to bar slavery from territories gained during the Mexican War.

Although the Wilmot Proviso never passed in the Senate, the slavery issue remained at the center of national politics as the 1848 election approached. In 1847 the South Carolina Democrat and slaveholder John

C. Calhoun formulated a strong “southern rights” position, which affirmed the slaveowners’ constitutional right to take their human chattel into any territory. This direct challenge to the Wilmot Proviso convinced many northern Whigs and Democrats that slaveholders intended to spread the institution throughout the new territories.

The antislavery Liberty Party, which attracted few votes in 1840 and 1844, responded to Calhoun by endorsing the Wilmot Proviso and nominating former Democratic congressman John P. Hale of New Hampshire for the presidency. The Democrats, severely split over the slavery extension issue, attempted to prevent a formal rift by excluding the issue from the platform. This was too much for an antislavery faction of New York Democrats (and Martin Van Buren supporters) known as “Barnburners,” who walked out of the convention, vowing to adhere to the Wilmot Proviso. Similarly, part of the Whig Party known as “Conscience Whigs” bolted their party when it nominated the slaveholding Mexican War General Zachary Taylor for president. Under the brilliant coalition-building of Ohio Liberty Party men Salmon P. Chase and Gamaliel Bailey, Conscience Whigs and Barnburners combined with the Liberty Party to form a new, broad-based antislavery party.

Thousands of northerners streamed into Buffalo for the carnivalesque Free Soil convention, which nominated former president Martin Van Buren and ex-Whig Charles Francis Adams (the son and grandson of presidents, respectively) on a platform of “no more slave states and no more slave territories.” During the 1848 campaign, both major parties tried to bury the slavery issue, but pressure from the many Free Soil papers that sprang up across the North kept it in the national spotlight. On election day, the Free Soilers polled 14 percent of the northern vote (most of it coming from former Democrats) and essentially threw the election to Taylor and the Whigs. Still, the Free Soil Party had increased the number of antislavery votes from 62,300 in 1844 to 291,263 in 1848.

Although the party won no electoral votes in 1848, the Free Soil Party did make significant gains. Nine Free Soil congressmen were sent to Washington from states like New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana. In addition, political realignments secured the election of two famous Free Soil senators—Salmon P. Chase in Ohio and Charles Sumner in Massachusetts. Also, the 1848 election reflected a restructuring of U.S. politics at national, state, and local levels. Insurgencies at each level severely damaged both major parties and encouraged development of a far-reaching national political realignment in the 1850s and 1860s. Northerners,

fearing slavery’s expansion, abandoned their old parties in growing numbers, presaging the new Republican coalition in the North.

In 1852 the Free Soil Party became the Free Democratic Party, and nominated John P. Hale for the presidency. It polled fewer votes than in 1848, but with the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854), most former Free Soil adherents entered the new Republican Party. Former Free Soil leaders like Chase, Sumner, and Preston King helped launch the new party at every level and founded its large and enduring radical wing.

— *Jonathan Earle*

See also: Democratic Party; Wilmot Proviso.

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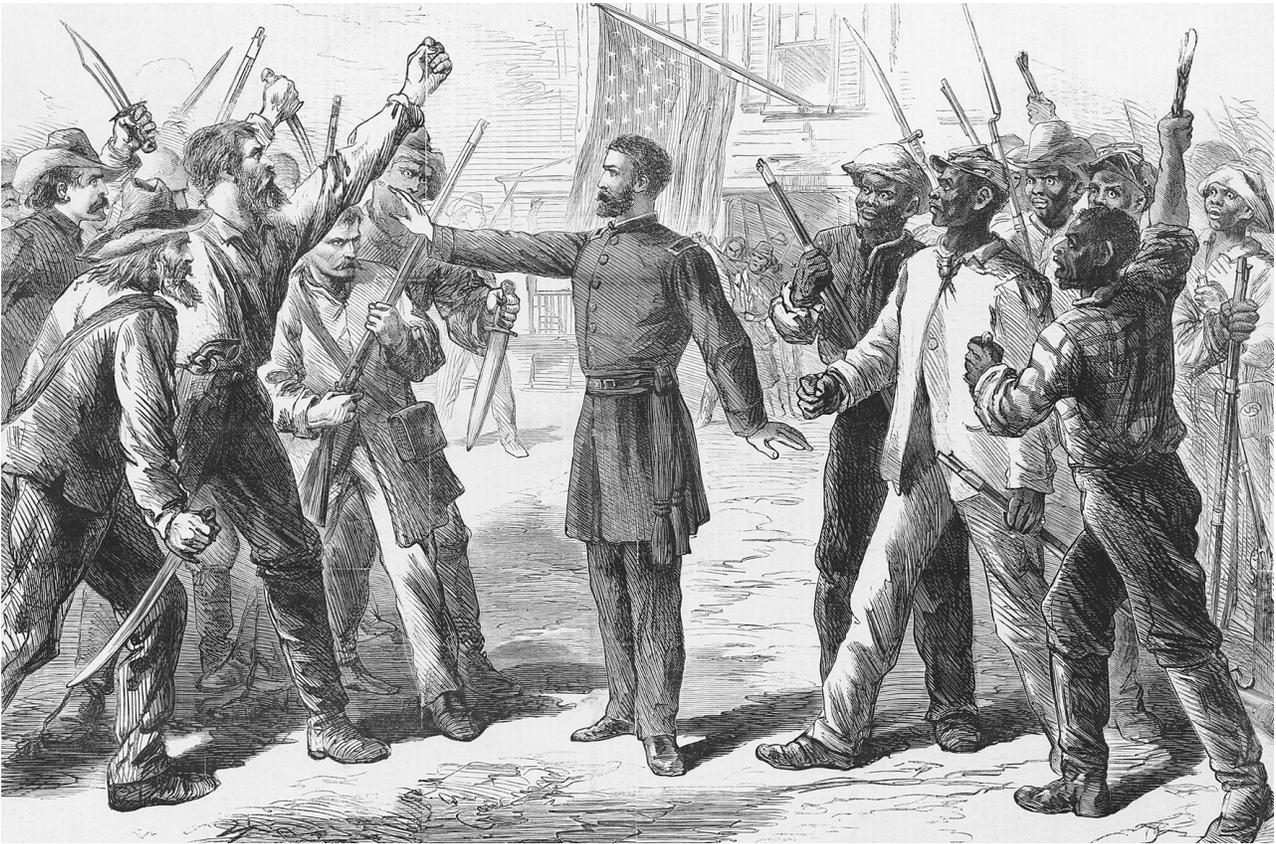
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FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

Starting in about 1862, the U.S. Congress had been planning to take part in determining the terms of Reconstruction of the nation once the Civil War ended, and on March 3, 1865, Congress passed an act to establish a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. Subsequently known as the Freedmen’s Bureau Act, the agency it created was to focus on issues that distressed a torn nation. Designed to provide relief and medical attention, to establish schools, and to aid former slaves and white refugees in the exigencies of their situations, the bureau functioned influentially but precariously. Until then, such services as were available had been furnished more or less haphazardly by a few groups, some public, some private. In its brief existence, the Freedmen’s Bureau operated as the federal government’s first broadly conceived welfare program.

A compelling need for such a program had arisen when at the termination of hostilities and without preparation 4 million black slaves were released from bondage and when many white persons were wounded or displaced. Lands had been “abandoned” or seized. The need for medical attention had become urgent. Education had been forbidden for slaves and neglected for whites, just as industrial advance had recom-



Harper's Weekly illustration characterizing the Freedmen's Bureau as a peacemaker. (Library of Congress)

menced. Yet no agency had been designated to deal with the desperate social problems that ensued.

The bureau also emerged out of the trail of consequences that followed the introduction of human slavery in Virginia in 1619. From the acceptance of the Articles of Confederation in 1783 to the military conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, struggles over the reaches of slavery characterized the republic. States were admitted or rejected according to arrangements regulating legal black bondage. In 1865, as many freedmen and freedwomen joined the ranks of the displaced, the question of whether the federal government should assist all Americans who lacked survival resources became acute. The Freedmen's Bureau bill was intended to address this problem, the largest part of which resulted from black slavery.

While, as some argued, the bureau represented a mere beginning in meeting the needs of former slaves and white clients, it did bring substantial, if often temporary, relief. During its four-year existence, the bureau distributed 21 million parcels of food to former slaves and white refugees, or 140,000 rations per day. It set up more than forty hospitals, and it treated four hundred fifty thousand ill and wounded persons. As

many as thirty thousand displaced persons were assisted in resettling. The bureau achieved its most lasting success in areas of education. In 1866 and 1867, it established twelve hundred new day and night schools, and it found seventeen hundred teachers, many from the North. All of the schools met crucial needs, especially the needs of former slaves, and many have become important institutions.

It had taken two years, however, to secure passage of the first bureau bill; the agency was conceived as a wartime measure, situated in the War Department, and designed to last for one year after the close of hostilities. Congress allowed no operating appropriation; it intended that the bureau would be financed by returns from the sale of abandoned lands. Upon the finding of a joint committee of Congress that the work of the bureau was indeed valuable, a second bill was introduced and passed into law in 1866, this time with some arrangement for financial supports.

President Lincoln chose Union General Oliver O. Howard to administer the agency. From the start, General Howard and the agents of the bureau experienced difficulties of every description with the governments that were being established in the states of the former

Confederacy. Appeals to southern Union supporters proved useless, nor could the bureau's efforts bring about any degree of cooperation.

The bureau's activities also produced disturbing harbingers of continued racial alienation. Supporters had intended that the agency would work in behalf of the blacks; the bureau had little success, however, in promoting civil rights for all or in dealing with the state governments that President Andrew Johnson favored. According to George Bentley's early *History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (1955), in point of fact the sponsors cared only to furnish the North some economic benefits through constructing the new state governments and through securing votes. But more recently William McFeely has provided a less censorious interpretation in *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau* (1968).

Whatever the reasons for establishing a federal agency, it is nearly impossible to portray the extreme opprobrium heaped upon the bureau, its agents, and its northern teachers in bureau schools. People were ostracized; persecuted; driven from the South; some were even lynched. This aspect of the bureau's efforts is sensitively treated in Charles W. Chesnutt's little-known but poignant short story, "The Bouquet," and in William Faulkner's novel, *Light in August*.

President Johnson opposed the second Freedmen's Bureau bill. He rendered the first of his many vetoes; he thus brought to Congress's attention the connected issues of welfare for the destitute and civil rights for all Americans. The president argued that federal programs for aid were unconstitutional and that they ought to be considered, if at all, at state levels of government. Johnson, a southerner, said the bill would establish military control over the defeated territories, something southerners vehemently denounced. He insisted that the framers of the Constitution never contemplated federal aid for destitute persons. He concluded that the positions of the former slaves were not desperate because their labor was necessary and would function as a bargaining tool. The president's refusal to modify these positions led in part to his impeachment. His confrontation with the nation's representatives over welfare and civil rights implications of the Freedmen's Bureau act and the repeated resurgence of these issues demonstrate that these issues bear connections to historical precedents.

— Frances Richardson Keller

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FREEPORT DOCTRINE

Like many other "doctrines" throughout history, Stephen Douglas's Freeport doctrine was the result of political expediency. But despite its humble origins, the Freeport doctrine illuminates a great deal about Abraham Lincoln's political ascent in the late 1850s and Douglas's decline. Douglas's reply to Lincoln's question about the future of slavery in the territories during the debate of August 27, 1858, speaks volumes about the breakdown of national consensus at that time.

Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln's second debate of the 1858 Senate campaign took place at Freeport, Illinois, a town close to the Wisconsin border. Most accounts agree that Lincoln had been placed on the defensive during the first debate, and in order to regain momentum, he decided to ask Douglas several questions at Freeport, including Douglas's opinion on whether residents of a territory could decide to prohibit slavery before a state constitution was drafted. This ostensibly straightforward question was based on the background of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, the recent turmoil in Kansas, and the *Dred Scott* decision. Lincoln hoped to portray Douglas as a leader preaching a contradiction between the popular sovereignty philosophy behind the Kansas–Nebraska Act and the proslavery attitudes of James Buchanan and the Supreme Court. However Douglas replied, his stand would cost him much needed political support. To oppose slavery in the territories would lose southern support for Douglas; to support *Dred Scott* and the proslavery Lecompton Constitution in Kansas would cause northern Democrats to desert him. Douglas opted for consistency and denied that *Dred Scott*, presidential pressure, or any other obstacle would keep people in a territory from prohibiting slavery.

Douglas's reply became known as the Freeport doctrine, despite the fact that he had frequently taken the

same stand in several previous public speeches. The exchange may have won Lincoln some momentum, although the heavily Republican composition of the crowd may have accounted for much of it, but Lincoln still lost the election to Douglas despite the points he had scored getting his opponent to commit to the Freeport doctrine.

While Lincoln was still alive, a heated debate about his motives in getting Douglas to state the Freeport doctrine arose, and the debate continued into the twentieth century. Lincoln admirers developed an elaborate legend that Lincoln asked a question of minimal interest to Illinois voters because he intended to run for president in 1860. Lincoln scholars have meticulously debunked the legend, but its persistence is a tribute to Americans' compulsion to posthumously endow great leaders with superhuman powers of foresight.

A balanced historical understanding of the Freeport doctrine should place it in the context of the debate strategies of Lincoln and Douglas. For Lincoln, the goal was to focus on slavery and to prevent Douglas from dodging the issue. For Douglas, the goal was to portray Lincoln as a Black Republican (i.e., he was proabolitionist) committed to legal and political equality with white Americans. Both candidates hammered away at these issues during the 1858 debates, and it was only in retrospect, when viewed by people who knew the outcome, that Douglas's remarks at Freeport were elevated to the status of a doctrine.

All debunking aside, the Freeport doctrine still offers valuable insights into what was happening in the United States at that time. What happened at Freeport was part of each candidate's strategy to portray himself as a moderate on the divisive issue of slavery. Unfortunately, by 1858 moderation was no longer admired or emulated in American politics, and it would take more than a series of debates to confront the legal and moral implications of slavery for the Union.

— *Michael Polley*

See also: Douglas, Stephen A.; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Lincoln, Abraham; Lincoln–Douglas Debates; Popular Sovereignty.

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FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT (1850)

Certainly the antebellum era's most controversial legislative measure, the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) polarized the already-strained relationship between the antislavery North and the proslavery South. Many southerners viewed the measure as a natural affirmation of their constitutional right to recapture all fugitives from labor who sought to escape from the chattel slavery that defined southern institutional life. For the slaveholders and the slave catchers that they employed, the right to recapture fugitive slaves was an obvious extension of common law property rights long considered essential to free market capitalism. For many northerners, the Fugitive Slave Act was an assault upon the integrity of freedom, an appalling contradiction for a society with cherished origins as a land of liberty. Abolitionists and their supporters decried the measure on moral grounds and mounted sustained efforts to render it useless by encouraging acts of civil disobedience.

When the states ratified the U.S. Constitution in 1789, they instituted a document that included a fugitive slave clause (Article IV, Section 2), which stipulated the return of criminal fugitives and fugitives from labor, but the clause neither stated who was responsible for conducting this action nor described the process of recovering fugitives. Congress enacted the Fugitive Slave Act (1793) to clarify the vague provisions of how this constitutional guarantee should function, but many northerners remained dissatisfied with specific internal weaknesses of this measure. Many believed that the 1793 act did not do enough to protect the civil liberties of free blacks who might be falsely accused of being fugitive slaves. Others balked at the act's recognition of the right of recapture, the common-law provision that southern slaveowners maintained gave them the right to recapture their property without the burden of using the court system. Between 1780 and 1850, fourteen states enacted "personal liberty laws" to protect the rights of free blacks within their jurisdictions by imposing a judicial hearing before a suspected fugitive could be removed from the state.

The internal weaknesses of the Fugitive Slave Act (1793) were recognized by the courts, and the measure's effectiveness plummeted with time. In the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (41 U.S. 539 [1842]) the U.S. Supreme Court struck down an 1826 Pennsylvania personal liberty law that had added additional hindrances to the process of recapture that were in violation of the Fugitive Slave Act (1793). The Pennsylvania law had required that slave catchers obtain a "certificate of removal" from a local magistrate before removing a



An 1850 illustration condemns the Fugitive Slave Act. The act increased federal and free-state responsibility for the recovery of fugitive slaves. (Library of Congress)

suspected fugitive from the state. The Supreme Court's ruling was a rather hollow victory for proslavery forces in that it asserted the constitutional right of recapture, but also stated that while local and state officials should enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, the national government could not mandate such compliance. In the wake of the *Prigg* decision, local and state officials began to refuse to cooperate with slave catchers, and this systematic noncompliance marked the effectual demise of the Fugitive Slave Act (1793).

Southern political leaders demanded that a new and stronger Fugitive Slave Act was needed in order to force compliance upon northern magistrates whose efforts had made recapture more difficult. The push for such legislation became the chief agenda item of the South's congressional caucus. Many feared that if the Congress failed to act on such a measure, some proslavery states might consider seceding from the Union. Hoping to defuse the growing sectional crisis through effective compromise, Kentucky Senator Henry Clay included such a fugitive slave measure in his Omnibus Bill, but that legislative package failed to

win Senate approval in 1850. Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas was able to repackage the provisions of Clay's measure into five separate bills that each won approval as shifting coalitions consolidated in the so-called Compromise of 1850.

The Fugitive Slave Act (1850) was harsher than the 1793 measure, for it specifically forbade states from interfering with recapture. It also authorized federal marshals and specially-appointed commissioners to sign warrants for arrest and certificates for removal of suspected fugitives. Although the new act made it easier for recapture to occur, most northern states maintained personal liberty laws and urged noncompliance with what they perceived as an unjust law.

A wave of outrage and righteous indignation swept the North upon the passage of this measure and fanned the flames of antislavery sentiment. Massachusetts citizens deemed Senator Daniel Webster a traitor for having supported the measure, and adding his own vitriol, abolitionist poet John Greenleaf Whittier immortalized Webster's fall from grace in the poem "Ich-abod." In 1851 Harriet Beecher Stowe began publishing

portions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in serial form, and when the entire book was released in 1852, it galvanized northern opposition to slavery and its apologists. Antislavery sentiment and opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act grew so strong in the North that in 1854 the U.S. government had to spend \$100,000 to cover the costs associated with returning the fugitive slave Anthony Burns from Boston to the South. It required hundreds of Massachusetts militia and 2,000 federal troops to escort Burns from his jail cell to the dock where he boarded the vessel that carried him back to Virginia.

In 1855 Wisconsin's Supreme Court declared the federal Fugitive Slave Act to be unconstitutional in the case of *In re Booth and Rycraft* (3 Wis. 157 [1855]), but the U.S. Supreme Court later ruled in *Ableman v. Booth* (62 U.S. 506 [1859]) that state courts could not subvert federal law. The U.S. Supreme Court decision also upheld the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850).

Although the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) made life more difficult for those slaves who attempted to escape from bondage, the measure truly had little effective consequence in stemming instances of escape or in raising aggregate rates of recapture. Even though passage of the measure may have salved the consciences of southerners who demanded affirmation of the proslavery position, the act's effective response did much more to galvanize the antislavery position of the abolitionists and their supporters.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Burns, Anthony; Compromise of 1850; Fugitive Slave Acts, State; Personal Liberty Laws.

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FUGITIVE SLAVE ACTS, STATE

Beginning with Virginia in 1660 and continuing until the American Civil War, colonial assemblies and state

legislatures in the South passed hundreds of fugitive slave acts to aid in the orderly and effective recovery of runaway bondsmen, especially those within their jurisdictions. These statutes established procedures for the capture and return of escaped slaves and mandated punishments for runaways and people who encouraged and assisted them in their escape. Historians in the United States have usually concerned themselves with the federal fugitive slave acts of 1793 and 1850; “almost completely missing,” as Philip Schwarz has noted, “is an understanding of slave states’ laws concerning runaways and fugitives, the first line of defense on which owners relied” (Schwarz, 1996). But state acts were an omnipresent, and often important, element in the effort to control slave behavior.

Fugitive slave acts in the colonial South defined runaways as outlaws in rebellion against their masters. Outlawry mandated harsh punishments, ranging from whipping, maiming, cropping of ears or noses, and branding with an R on the cheek to permitting pursuers to kill fugitive slaves on sight. A 1705 Virginia law authorized justices of the peace to issue proclamations against runaways and directed sheriffs to raise forces to track them. Under the law, if a fugitive failed to surrender, he or she could be killed by any white. If captured alive, runaways could be maimed or dismembered as punishment for their flight. Similar statutes were drafted in Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

By the late eighteenth century, most southern states had ended outlawry and its harsher punishments. What remained were statutes outlining a legal procedure for the recovery of fugitive slaves. Most antebellum state acts stated that individuals capturing runaways should deliver them to a justice of the peace, who would then have the slave jailed. If the owner were known, he or she could immediately claim the slave. If the owner were unknown, the slave's capture would be advertised in local newspapers. If not claimed after a specified period of time, the slave could be sold. Some of these statutes provided that slaves could be hired out until claimed or sold.

State fugitive slave acts were a moderately effective means of protecting the economic interests of southern slaveholders, but many barriers worked against their complete enforcement. One was the problem of recovering fugitive slaves beyond state lines. Southern state legislatures responded in several ways. They pressed for federal fugitive slave acts; they set substantial compensation amounts for individuals apprehending and returning fugitives from other states, including northern states; and they tightened control of state boundaries. Virginia even

created a system of inspection commissioners in 1856 to search for runaways on every boat leaving one of the state's ports.

A second barrier was those whites (especially Quakers) and free blacks who helped or encouraged slaves to escape. All of the state statutes provided punishments for harboring fugitives. Slaves were to be whipped; all free persons—whether black or white—received fines or imprisonment. Only one state, Texas, actually defined the offense of harboring as the “act of maintaining and concealing a runaway slave; a person so harboring having knowledge of the fact that the slave is a runaway.”

A related offense was to entice slaves to run away from their masters (also called inveigling). An 1816 Georgia law prescribed a year in prison and sale as a slave for any free black found guilty of this crime. By midcentury it was also a serious criminal offense for whites in most southern states. Mississippi and Kentucky, for example, mandated two to twenty years in prison for anyone found guilty of slave enticement. Although enforcement varied, many southerners were punished for violating state fugitive slave acts. An 1860 list of inmates of the Virginia Penitentiary listed fifteen whites and free blacks who were serving sentences for encouraging or participating in slave escapes.

The onset of the Civil War further hampered the enforcement of state fugitive slave acts as southern slaves fled by the thousands to the safety of Union lines. Even so, Confederate state and local courts continued to prosecute violations of these laws throughout the conflict. Such efforts, though strenuous, proved fruitless in stopping the flood of runaways from southern cities and plantations. State acts concerning fugitive slaves were effectively nullified in 1865 by the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

—Roy E. Finkenbine

See also: Fugitive Slave Act (1850).

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GAG RESOLUTION

The adoption of the “gag resolution” in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1836 indicated the shrill level to which the antislavery debate had risen in the U.S. Congress. Many believed that the use of such self-imposed censorship to stifle debate on a vital issue of the day was anathema to the democratic principles on which the United States was founded. Supporters of the measure maintained that the primary role of the Congress—to conduct the people’s business—could not be accomplished if the legislative body was constantly embroiled in pointless debate over each abolitionist petition and memorial that was addressed to the Congress. The resolution was another sign of growing resistance to the abolitionist movement, as the measure was approved at the same time that antiabolition riots were taking place in many northern cities.

South Carolina Congressman Henry L. Pinckney first proposed the gag resolution in the House of Representatives on May 18, 1836. Pinckney hoped that the measure would alleviate discord in the Congress by automatically tabling all antislavery petitions upon arrival without having them read aloud in the House. The measure produced a vehement discussion in the House of Representatives and indirectly gave renewed urgency to antislavery supporters in the United States.

Pinckney’s resolution stated, “Resolved, that all petitions, memorials, and papers touching the abolition of slavery or the buying, selling or transferring of slaves in any state, district, or territory of the United States be laid upon the table without being debated, printed, read, or referred and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon” (Miller, 144).

The U.S. Congress adopted and began using the so-called gag rule on May 26, 1836. The rule effectively prevented the reading and circulation of all antislavery petitions and memorials that were received by the Congress. As a parliamentary maneuver, the House of Representatives had to renew the gag rule at the start of every year’s congressional session until the rule was eventually repealed in 1844.

Former president, and Whig congressman from Massachusetts, John Quincy Adams, had not been a vocal opponent of slavery before passage of the gag rule, but this measure moved him toward solidarity with the antislavery advocates. Adams believed that

the measure was “a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States (Amendment I), of the rules of this House and of the rights of my constituents” (Miller, 210). One of the most basic civil liberties of a free people, the right to petition their government for a redress of their grievances, was being denied to all who shared antislavery sentiments. Despite all appeals by his political opponents that he remain silent, Adams fought relentlessly for repeal of the gag rule.

On February 15, 1838, Congressman Adams introduced 350 antislavery petitions in defiance of the gag rule that the House of Representatives had instituted. The petitions opposed slavery and the annexation of Texas. Adams continued to be one of the most vocal congressional opponents of the gag rule. Ohio congressman Joshua R. Giddings, the first abolitionist to be elected to the U.S. Congress, took his seat in the House of Representatives on December 3, 1838, and he too became a vocal opponent of the gag rule.

The House of Representatives voted to renew the gag rule on December 11, 1838. The measure had been introduced by Congressman Charles G. Atherton, a New Hampshire Democrat, and the policy thereafter became known as “the Atherton gag.” Despite the unpopularity of the measure, the gag rule continued to win support, and it remained in effect for eight years.

The gag rule did not stop antislavery supporters from addressing petitions and memorials to the Congress. Under the direction of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a sustained effort in 1837–1838 produced more than one hundred thirty thousand petitions to the Congress calling for the abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia. The magnitude of this campaign made proslavery congressmen confident that they had acted wisely by prohibiting any consideration of these proposals.

Despite intense protests against the policy, in 1840 the House of Representatives made the gag rule even more restrictive. It was modified to state that Congress would no longer accept antislavery petitions. Although the measure was never challenged in the courts, it appears to have been a legislative attempt to restrict constitutionally protected First Amendment rights to a significant portion of the American population.

On December 3, 1844, after years of difficult enforcement, the House of Representatives lifted the gag rule, which had prohibited the discussion of antislavery petitions received by the Congress. The resolution calling for repeal of the gag rule passed by a vote of 108 to 80. The resolution that repealed the gag rule was authored by Congressman John Quincy Adams.

During the years it was in effect, the gag rule applied only to the House of Representatives and not to

the Senate, which had rejected such an option. Despite the concerns of some congressmen that they could not conduct the people’s business without the presence of the gag rule, the Senate seemed to function normally without resorting to such self-imposed censorship. Yet even without a gag rule, Senate procedures did not permit the automatic reading of antislavery proposals that were received by that body.

It is almost inconceivable that self-imposed censorship in the U.S. House of Representatives prohibited consideration of materials related to the slavery question from 1836 to 1844. Issues ranging from the proposed annexation of Texas to the *Amistad* case all had a direct bearing on the institution of slavery, and the gag rule made it impossible for the rich debate that is the hallmark of democracy to occur during this era.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Adams, John Quincy; Antiabolition riots; Giddings, Joshua R.

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HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET (1815–1882)

A noted fugitive slave, abolitionist, clergyman, diplomat, and political activist, Henry Highland Garnet was one of the nineteenth century’s most elusive and provocative African American leaders. His grandfather was a leader in West Africa’s once powerful Mandingo Empire, and Henry was the son of George and Henny (Henrietta) Garnet, who later changed her name to Elizabeth.

He was born a slave on a plantation in New Market, Kent County, Maryland, but when he was nine, his family, assisted by Quakers, escaped and moved to Pennsylvania. In 1826 the family moved to New York, and Garnet entered the famous African Free School No. 1 that the New York Manumission Society had established in 1787. Afterward Garnet enrolled in the Noyes Academy in New Canaan, New Hampshire, a school that was constructed during the height of intense racial agitation. In summer 1835, a mob of nearly three hundred men, with perhaps one hundred oxen, tore the building apart, leaving it in ruins.

Garnet continued his education at Oneida Theological Institute, near Utica, New York. There, under the tutelage of Reverend Theodore S. Wright, a Presbyterian

minister, Garnet obtained his intellectual skills and spiritual framework. His friendship with Wright greatly influenced Garnet's later career as an abolitionist and a minister.

Completing his theological training in 1840, Garnet moved to Troy, New York, where he became the minister of a local African American Presbyterian church, and he rapidly developed into an ardent abolitionist for the American Anti-Slavery Society. From 1842 to 1860, he was a very influential and powerful African American abolitionist. In 1843, Garnet delivered a speech at a national convention of free black Americans in Buffalo, New York, in which he called for African slaves to rebel against their masters. This speech frightened the audience greatly, and many attending the convention refused to support Garnet's radical ideas. Frederick Douglass, a prominent leader in the African American community and Garnet's chief critic, was in attendance. Douglass disagreed with several major points in the speech and specifically disapproved of Garnet's call for African slaves to use violence to end slavery.

This convention signaled the beginning of Garnet's decline as a prominent African American abolitionist and stimulated Douglass's rise as the new African American abolitionist leader. Still, Garnet did not give up his antislavery efforts entirely, and he even traveled overseas to promote the cause. In August 1850, he delivered an emotional speech as a delegate to the World Peace Congress, in Frankfurt, Germany, and in 1851, he gave several antislavery speeches to abolitionist organizations in England and Scotland.

As his abolitionist status declined, Garnet began devoting most of his energy to spreading the gospel. From 1843 to 1848, he was the minister of the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church in Troy, New York. In 1852 the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent him to Jamaica to spread Christianity, and in 1853, he became pastor of Jamaica's Stirling Presbyterian Church. A few years later, upon the death of Reverend Wright, Garnet returned to the United States to become the new pastor of New York's Shiloh Presbyterian Church.

During the Civil War, Garnet demanded that President Abraham Lincoln enlist the services of African Americans in the Union army, and he continued expressing this viewpoint despite the 1863 New York City race riot, which threatened his own safety. In 1864, Garnet moved to Washington, D.C., to become the pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. On several occasions, his sermons attracted enormous biracial audiences. Having a pulpit in Washington, D.C., encouraged Garnet to reactivate his antislavery

message, and he traveled throughout the Northeast to deliver inspirational sermons to battle-weary African American troops. In winter 1863–1864, Garnet gave an emotional sermon to several African American regiments stationed in New York City. On February 12, 1865, he delivered a sermon in the House of Representatives to celebrate passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

After the Civil War, Garnet held an administrative position with the Freedmen's Relief Association. This privately funded association, which was separate from the government-sponsored Freedmen's Bureau, sought to build schools and shelters in local African American communities in the United States. These facilities were designed to help African Americans adjust to their new status as free men and women.

In Washington, D.C., alone, the Freedmen's Relief Association had built four schools and twelve shelters by late 1865, and Garnet played an active role in developing one of these—the African Civilization Society School. Eventually, he became dissatisfied with the association's position on the role of African American teachers and withdrew his support.

Disillusioned by declining race relations within the United States, Garnet began to express an interest in Africa in the later years of his life. He had opposed colonization vigorously throughout the antebellum and Civil War years, but gradually, his views began to change. Undoubtedly, his change of heart stemmed partly from continuing racial problems within the United States and partly from the inability of African Americans to move up the socioeconomic ladder during the Reconstruction era.

In 1881 President James Garfield appointed Garnet the minister and counsel general to Liberia. In January 1882, Liberian president Edward Wilmot Blyden sponsored a dinner to honor Garnet. Many high-ranking government officials attended the celebration, and Garnet praised the many achievements of the Liberian people in the speech he gave at the ceremony. His health declined very soon thereafter, and on February 13, 1882, Garnet died in his sleep.

— Eric R. Jackson

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Liberia.

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THOMAS GARRETT (1789–1871)

An ardent abolitionist, Thomas Garrett made major contributions to the antislavery cause through his work with fugitive slaves. Tradition traces his concern for slaves to 1813 when kidnappers attempted to sell a female servant into slavery from the family home in Pennsylvania. The incident led Garrett to a prolonged period of volunteer service on behalf of escaping slaves. Building on his Quaker family's antislavery sentiment, Garrett provided skilled leadership, time, and money to the abolition movement's Underground Railroad efforts.

Although most Quakers held moderate antislavery views, Garrett allied with William Lloyd Garrison and his confrontational approach to the issue. After 1822 Garrett lived and worked in Delaware, a border state whose population held mixed views on slavery. He asserted that there was as much antislavery sentiment in Delaware as in Boston, but only a few citizens were willing to join Garrett in his work with fugitives. He organized a small group of accomplices who provided food, transportation, and temporary shelter to escaping slaves. This endeavor was so successful that it later contributed to a legend of a nationally organized network of Underground Railroad operatives.

Garrett claimed to have assisted twenty-seven hundred men and women to escape slavery. He worked closely with William Still, the African American chairman of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, which was an arm of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. On several occasions Harriet Tubman escorted escaped slaves to Garrett's home, though he himself neither entered southern states nor enticed slaves to leave their masters. Garrett's commitment to nonviolence did not prevent his advising fugitives to join the Union army. To a friend he wrote: "Am I naughty, being a professed nonresistant, to advise this poor fellow to serve Father Abraham?" (McGowan, 1977).

As a successful businessman, Garrett was largely immune from public criticism and physical attack, but

not entirely. On one occasion he was nearly thrown from a train while trying to keep a woman from being sold into slavery. In 1848 Garrett and his coworker, John Hunn, were sued for damages for helping several slaves to escape. Roger B. Taney was one of two judges who heard the case, finding both defendants liable for \$54,000 in damages. An often-repeated story suggests Garrett's total impoverishment as a result. Actual court records show a compromise settlement of \$1,500, enough to reduce Garrett's resources seriously but not enough to impoverish him. In 1860 Maryland's legislature proposed offering a \$10,000 reward for Garrett's arrest, though the action was largely symbolic.

Following emancipation Garrett worked for civil rights, woman suffrage, and temperance. After ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, African Americans drove Garrett through Wilmington's streets in an open carriage under a banner that proclaimed "Our Moses." Upon learning of Garrett's death, William Lloyd Garrison observed: "His rightful place is conspicuously among the benefactors, saviors, martyrs of the human race" (McGowan, 1977).

— Larry Gara

See also: Quakers; Still, William; Tubman, Harriet; Underground Railroad.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON (1805–1879)

William Lloyd Garrison was the most significant U.S. champion of immediate abolitionism. Born into poverty and abandoned by his father at the age of three, Garrison had a lifelong empathy with the disadvantaged and oppressed. He was apprenticed to a printer at thirteen and worked at various reform newspapers in New England until 1829, when he became coeditor of the newspaper *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Baltimore, Maryland. Garrison's fervid antislavery editorials roused the anger of the local



With the help of philanthropist Arthur Tappan, William Lloyd Garrison started the antislavery paper the *Liberator* on January 1, 1831. (National Archives)

slaveholding elite, and in January 1830, he was jailed for libeling a slave trader. His plight caught the attention of philanthropist Arthur Tappan, who bailed him out of jail and provided partial financial support for Garrison to start a new antislavery paper, the *Liberator*, on January 1, 1831.

In the *Liberator*, Garrison abandoned the gradualist approach of most earlier opponents of slavery and embraced the new doctrine of abolitionism. Denying that slavery was a social and an economic problem of such great complexity that it might take years to abolish, Garrison said slavery was a matter of personal morality that could be remedied on an individual basis instantly. Slavery wrongfully denied blacks certain rights, and slaveholders should be asked to free their slaves immediately in the same way that they would be asked to immediately stop any other immoral action. Slaveholders should not be financially compensated for abandoning sin. The effort to colonize manumitted slaves in Africa reflected white prejudice and should be abandoned. Garrison proposed that blacks be given the same civil and political rights as white citizens of the United States.

The *Liberator* spoke to a generation of antislavery activists who were unhappy with the moral compromises involved in the old gradualist approach to emancipation. Soon after the *Liberator* began publication, abolitionism burst onto the scene with a suddenness that shocked Americans and alarmed slaveholders. Garrison played the leading role in galvanizing and organizing the new immediatists. Garrison's pamphlet, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), rallied antislavery forces against the American Colonization Society; he also helped found the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832 and the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS) in 1833.

Garrison endorsed several other controversial reforms that affected the antislavery movement. Embracing the doctrine of nonresistance, Garrison rejected the use of violence and coercive force and argued that many human relationships were, like slavery, based on violent coercion. Garrison believed that the power of religious denominations to compel adherence to creeds was a kind of slavery, and by the late 1830s, he rejected organized religion.

Garrison also believed that government was an example of coercive force. Rejecting the moral authority of governments, Garrison argued that Christians needed no law but the higher law of God, and he refused on principle to vote. Understanding that most abolitionists would not follow his nonresistant principles, Garrison continued to speak out in the *Liberator* on political issues, telling others how to exercise the franchise if they believed in voting. Nevertheless, Garrison argued that it was tactically wrong for abolitionists to concentrate their reform activities on the political world. The role of the abolitionist was not to organize political parties, but to practice moral suasion, holding forth the standard of right and exhorting others to follow it.

Garrison applied his beliefs about human equality to gender relationships and encouraged the efforts of abolitionist women such as Sarah and Angelina Grimké to carve out a public role for themselves in the abolitionist movement. Such actions shocked the conventional morality of the nineteenth century and helped split the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840. Members of the society argued about whether women should be able to vote and hold office within the AAS and whether abolitionists should organize a political party to accomplish their goals.

Ultimately, Garrison himself became an issue. Some abolitionists believed potential supporters were driven off by his positions on nonresistance and women's rights and by his increasingly unorthodox religious ideas and harsh denunciations of opponents. When

Garrisonian abolitionists emerged with a majority from the society's convention in 1840, Garrison's opponents, led by Arthur and Lewis Tappan and James G. Birney, left the AAS and formed a rival organization, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Although other abolitionists worked in the 1840s and 1850s to end slavery through political parties and religious organizations, Garrison played the roles of prophet and agitator. He remained a lonely voice crying out for truth and justice as he saw it and urging others to follow him. In 1843 Garrison proclaimed the U.S. Constitution a "Covenant with Death, an Agreement with Hell" (*Liberator*, March 17, 1843). Arguing that the Constitution protected slavery, Garrison urged northerners to secede from the Union. Believing that slavery could not survive without the support of the federal government, Garrison believed that the disruption of the Union would strike a deathblow to slavery.

Although often remembered today as a divisive figure with a contentious personality, Garrison had a much different image among his closest followers, for whom he served as a kind of father figure. "Father Garrison," as he was affectionately known, acted as trusted advisor, peacemaker, and encourager for his followers, creating an almost familial closeness among them. Seeking to overcome the family insecurity of his youth, Garrison also became a doting father to his own children and an affectionate husband to his wife, Helen Benson. Living his reform principles at home, Garrison drew his family into the world of social reform, and his children who survived to adulthood—George, William, Wendell, Fanny, and Frank—would continue to play important roles in such diverse causes as women's suffrage, international peace, anti-imperialism, tax reform, and civil rights into the early twentieth century.

The outbreak of the American Civil War caused a change in Garrison's views and public standing. Heartened by the North's stand against the South, Garrison believed northerners had been converted to antislavery, and he supported the effort to preserve the Union. Abraham Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation prompted Garrison to violate his no-voting principle by casting a ballot for Lincoln's reelection in 1864. During the war, Garrison was transformed in the public's mind from crank to hero. At the end of the fighting, he was the government's guest of honor at the ceremony raising the U.S. flag over Fort Sumter. Believing his abolitionist work was largely done, Garrison ceased publication of the *Liberator* and resigned from the AAS in 1865. This decision estranged Garrison from his longtime friend and collaborator Wendell Phillips, who argued that the AAS must con-

tinue its activities in order to secure equal rights and economic security for former slaves. Until his death, Garrison continued to lecture occasionally and to write essays for the *New York Independent* newspaper on various social reforms, including the rights of freed people.

— Harold D. Tallant

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; American Colonization Society; The *Liberator*.

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GEECHEE

The word "Geechee" is the name of a unique African ethnic group that exists in the southeastern portion of the United States of America. Geechee (which has often been incorrectly spelled "Geechie") is thought to be derived from an island in the Sierra Leone region of West Africa called "Kissee" or "Kissi" but pronounced "geechee." The Gizzis, Kissis, or Giggis were kidnapped from the forest belt along Africa's windward coast (modern-day Sierra Leone and Liberia) during the transatlantic slave trade. They were subsequently brought to and heavily populated the Sea Islands, which extend from the area that is now Jacksonville, North Carolina, southward to Jacksonville, Florida.

The word "Gullah" is thought to be derived from the Gola peoples of the same region of Africa from whence Geechee comes. Both Geechee and Gullah share many linguistic influences with the Fula, Mende, upper Guinea coast, and Gambia River areas.

Some Georgia residents have mistakenly believed that the name "Geechee" derived from the Ogeechee River, which empties into the Atlantic Ocean near Savannah. This river still bears the name that the

indigenous Americans of the area used for it. The people who live along this river have often nicknamed themselves “Geechee,” which is not the historically accurate reason for use of the term in reference to the people of African descent of the area.

The word “Gullah” is often used to describe the people of the Georgia Sea Islands and the mainland of the Carolina/Georgia low country region that speak a dialect of the Gullah language and share similar traditions as those of the South Carolina Sea Islands who are referred to as “Gullah.” In addition, this word has been used as a derogatory term for southern people of African descent who ate rice for many years. However, scholarly research over the years has revealed that this is a unique oral expression system that has a relationship to other languages spoken throughout the African Diaspora.

The people of the Sea Islands and low country of the United States that share the African heritage that has come to be known as “Gullah” and “Geechee” have come together to be recognized as one people and are known as the Gullah/Geechee Nation. On July 2, 2000, they had an official ceremony for this designation at which they presented their governing principles and flag. The Gullah/Geechee Nation Constitution states that “Gullah includes the people, history, language, and culture and Geechee is the ‘descendant’ of this. Gullah is the native tongue and pure language. Geechee is the creolization of the language in which loan words from other languages are used as the Gullah/Geechee people continue to interact with those that speak other languages.”

— Marquetta L. Goodwine

See also: Gullah; Rice Cultivation and Trade; Sea Islands.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION

During the 1820s, under Benjamin Lundy’s editorship, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was the nation’s major antislavery newspaper and linked together abolitionist groups across the nation. It was first published in Lundy’s hometown of Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in January 1821. Elihu Embree’s father had hoped that Lundy would continue the *Emancipator* after Elihu’s death in 1820 and move to Jonesborough, Tennessee, but Lundy moved to Greeneville, Tennessee, a few months later instead. However, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was continued using the same printing equipment as the earlier newspaper. Then, in the summer of 1824, the paper was moved to Baltimore, where a Baltimore slave-dealer, Austin Woolfolk, assaulted Lundy in 1827 because of comments published in the paper. The paper was moved to Washington, D.C., in 1830, where it was published until 1834. Between 1835 and 1836, publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* ceased, and Lundy began publishing another newspaper in Philadelphia, the *National Enquirer*, which opposed the annexation of Texas. This paper became the *Pennsylvania Freeman* in 1838. That May, Lundy lost all his papers in a mob attack on Pennsylvania Hall, and he moved to Illinois and reestablished the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The twelve issues that preceded his death had the dateline of Hennepin, Illinois, but they were actually printed in Lowell, Illinois.

Lundy is credited with bringing William Lloyd Garrison into the national spotlight. In 1829 Garrison became associate editor after Lundy had met him during a six-month lecture tour, but Garrison’s militancy led to a separation with Lundy. In 1830, while Lundy was away, Garrison libeled a Newburyport, Massachusetts, slave dealer in the paper, and both he and Lundy were sued and physically attacked. Garrison even spent seven weeks in jail for the libel. In 1831 Garrison moved to Boston and founded the *Liberator*, a paper that quickly replaced the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* as the nation’s major antislavery newspaper. As early as 1829, Garrison had openly recanted “gradual abolition” in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which he noted in the prospectus for the *Liberator*.

Lundy’s approach was different as he advocated a gradualist voluntary approach to abolition. He believed that demonstration of the productivity of free black labor would lead to the gradual extinction of slavery through voluntary manumission. Although he believed free blacks had a right to stay in the United States, he thought it would be easier for them to prove the superiority of their labor in emigrant colonies. To

find a suitable location for a colony for freed blacks, he traveled to Haiti (1825 and 1829), Upper Canada (1832), and Mexico's Texas (1830–1831, 1833–1834, 1834–1835). He published both evangelical appeals, expressed largely by southerners, and secular arguments against slavery, and he condemned only violence as a means for ending the institution. Lundy denounced slavery for nurturing aristocratic and undemocratic attitudes among slaveowners. Ahead of his time, he advocated political action as an appropriate antislavery strategy. The types of material he published included reports of law cases, proceedings of abolition societies, biographical and historical sketches, and summaries of pertinent foreign and domestic news.

— Charles D'Aniello

See also: *The Emancipator*; Garrison, William Lloyd; *The Liberator*.

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EUGENE GENOVESE (B. 1930)

Eugene Genovese is a scholar of American history and an author of numerous important monographs on the nineteenth-century United States. More than any other historian he has used Marxian theory to analyze American slavery and the antebellum South.

With Herbert Aptheker and Raimondo Luraghi, Genovese argues that the slave labor system was the Old South's distinguishing feature. Slavery retarded capitalism's development, created a powerful planter elite, and inevitably led to the American Civil War. "Slavery," Genovese writes in his first work, "gave the South a social system and a civilization with a distinct class structure, political community, economy, ideology, and a set of psychological patterns and that, as a result, the South increasingly grew away from the rest of the nation and from the rapidly developing sections of the world" (Genovese, 1983, 3).

A graduate of Brooklyn College and Columbia University, where he earned a Ph.D. under the super-

vision of Richard B. Morris, Genovese almost single-handedly challenged much of the accepted wisdom on the antebellum South. Where historians had increasingly focused on the similarities between North and South, arguing that the Civil War had been the ghastly mistake of a "blundering generation," Genovese elaborated the striking contrasts between the two sections. In his path-breaking *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (1965), Genovese explored how "slavery gave the South a special way of life" (Genovese, 1965, 3) that made it a distinct section of the nation. Borrowing from the so-called Hegelian Marxism of Antonio Gramsci, Genovese explained southern planter control over both black slaves and the white yeomanry as a result of cultural hegemony. The yeomanry "went against its apparent collective interests" in large measure because the planter class disguised its domination behind a mask of race solidarity. Some whites might have nothing but freedom, but they were not slaves.

Genovese's conviction that slavery proved the great distinguishing characteristic of the Old South led him to undertake highly focused studies on both slaves and slaveowners. In *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974), he asserts that slaves "laid the foundations for a separate black national culture while enormously enriching American culture as a whole" (Genovese, 1974, xv). This pioneering work incisively demonstrates how slaves responded to an odious and oppressive system in imaginative and resourceful ways. With a mixture of accommodation and resistance, including petty theft and arson, slaves succeeded in maintaining at least some measure of human dignity in the face of great hardship, while simultaneously establishing autonomous black cultural institutions. Meticulously researched, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, offers an extraordinarily detailed panorama of black, religious, linguistic, and familial cultural formations. Genovese concludes that for all its African roots, "separate black national culture has always been American" (*ibid*, xv).

Genovese's description of planter "paternalism," a pre-capitalist, protective stance toward slaves is one of his most important contributions to the field and has gained wide acceptance among historians. His claims about the planter class and its hegemony, however, have drawn good deal of criticism, as has his rather generous view of the paternalistic slaveowner. In works remarkably reminiscent of Ulrich B. Phillips in the early twentieth century, Genovese has offered a surprisingly sympathetic portrait of the anticapitalist, patrician planter class. More remarkably still, in recent years Genovese has maintained his admiration for the planter elite while simultaneously renouncing his former Marxist convictions.

Spanning four decades, the work of Eugene Genovese has contributed enormously to our understanding of the American antebellum South. By documenting in rich detail the remarkable, uniquely American, and deeply complex development of masters and slaves, slavery and freedom, Genovese has forcefully demonstrated the centrality of slavery to the history of the American South.

— Peter S. Field

See also: Aptheker, Herbert; Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth; Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell.

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When it was founded in 1733 as a royal colony dedicated to the philanthropic ideals of its founder, James Oglethorpe, the colony became the only British colony that specifically prohibited slavery. Oglethorpe's altruism did not necessarily apply to abolitionist notions as he had previously been a slaveholder in the Carolinas and served as deputy governor of the Royal Africa Company, a British firm that was heavily involved in the transatlantic slave trade. As early as 1739 settlers were petitioning to have slavery introduced, and by 1749 the trustees of the Georgia Colony repealed the prohibition against the importation of slaves into the colony.

The colony of Georgia was originally established to provide a buffer zone between the more economically prized tobacco colonies to the north and Spanish Florida to the south. Some of the early colonial settlers were individuals who were released from British jails after having been imprisoned as debtors. Their early settlements were recognized as the first line of defense between the largely Anglo-Saxon Protestant settlements to the north and the Spanish Roman Catholic settlements of Florida. The tenuous nature of this boundary, especially with relation to slavery, was the effort by South Carolina slaves to foment insurrection during the Stono Rebellion (1739) and make their way to Spanish Florida where they had been promised emancipation and sanctuary.

Colonial Georgia consisted of a small geographic region that included Savannah, one of the few planned cities in the Americas, and its surrounding hinterland counties. The population was small, and it supported limited economic pursuits that were associated primarily with sustaining the colony. There was some agricultural development of rice and indigo in the coastal areas, and a small amount of long-staple Sea Island cotton was produced as well. None of these ventures developed into a "cash crop" as tobacco had sustained the colonies to the north, and as a result, the colony struggled financially.

Slightly more than four decades separated Georgia's founding from the coming of the American Revolution (1775–1783) that sought to separate the North American colonies from Great Britain. By relative comparison to the other colonies, many settlers in Georgia still maintained close cultural and familial ties with their British kinsmen, and as a result, there was a relatively high incidence of persons with Loyalist (Tory) sympathies during the years of the American Revolution. In addition, a significant number of fugitive slaves and free blacks congregated in areas, like Savannah, that came under British control during the Revolution. Many of these so-called Black Loyalists

GEORGIA

Georgia was the last of the thirteen British colonies to be established on the Atlantic seaboard of the North American continent during the early eighteenth cen-

were removed from North America between July 1782 and November 1783 as Sir Guy Carleton conducted a series of mini-evacuations to remove these individuals to other locations including Canada, the Bahamas, and Sierra Leone.

Postrevolutionary Georgia continued to develop the limited agricultural pursuits that had sustained the region during the colonial era. Additional economic activity, specifically in the area of shipbuilding and naval stores, began to emerge in the region. By 1790, the population of Georgia was 82,548, and this figure included a slave population of 29,264, or 35.4 percent of the state's inhabitants.

In 1792 Eli Whitney arrived in Savannah to study law and to tutor the children of General Nathanael Greene, a hero of the American Revolution. While living in Mulberry Grove, Georgia, the Massachusetts native recognized the problems inherent with cultivating cotton in the area—particularly the difficulty of removing cotton seeds from cotton fiber by hand. Whitney's ingenious solution to this problem—the development of the cotton gin—would do much to transform the agricultural economy not only of Georgia but also of the entire antebellum South. In addition, the expansion of cotton cultivation would trigger an insatiable demand for slave laborers throughout the region.

Essentially the cotton gin made possible the large-scale cultivation of short-staple upland cotton in regions that had been previously considered marginal lands. Unlike long-staple Sea Island cotton, the short-staple variety could practically grow anywhere, but its production had been limited by the time-consuming effort needed to remove the seeds from the fiber. Even though the quality of short-staple cotton was viewed as being second-class to long-staple cotton, the product was ideally suited to a world of cotton gins and protoindustrial textile plants that were beginning to emerge both in Britain and in the northern states. The cotton gin facilitated the expansion of a cotton economy, and by necessity, a slave-based agricultural regime in the South.

The primary obstacle to the expansion of cotton cultivation and slavery in Georgia was the abundant expanse of land within the state that was recognized by treaty as belonging to the Native American tribes that inhabited it. The vast acreage belonging to the Cherokee, Creek, and, to a lesser extent, Seminole, nations was perceived by Georgia planters as an impediment to progress, and efforts were made at the state level to renegotiate treaty arrangements. Not until the passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830) and the presidency of Andrew Jackson did the state of Georgia find a

friendly accomplice in federal efforts to remove the "Five Civilized Tribes"—the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw peoples—from the lands they inhabited in the southeastern United States.

Once Indian Removal had been effected (by the late 1830s), thousands of planters and yeoman farmers acquired land in the newly opened lands of northern, western, and southwestern Georgia. During the 1840s this cotton-boom land rush continued unabated, and by the 1850s a distinct cultural demographic region began to take shape. The so-called Black Belt region began to form in an area that made a southwestward swath from Athens to Columbus and then continuing onward into central Alabama. This red-clay region of the antebellum South became one of the most productive areas where short-staple upland cotton was cultivated; correspondingly, the region had some of the highest per capita rates of slaveownership in the South.

From the 1830s onward toward the Civil War (1861–1865), Georgians cultivated a reputation as some of the most vociferous defenders of the institution of slavery. In 1831 the Georgia legislature went so far as to issue a reward of \$5,000 to anyone who might capture the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and turn him over to Georgia authorities. By 1835 the legislature had enacted a measure authorizing the death penalty for anyone who distributed abolitionist literature within the state. Not surprisingly, many of the "fire-eaters"—the most vocal defenders of slavery and the southern way of life—were individuals like William Lowndes Yancey who had Georgia roots.

Georgia became the fifth southern state to secede from the Union when its legislature voted to do so on January 19, 1861. One month later, Alexander Stephens of Georgia was named vice president of the Confederate States of America when representatives of the seceded states convened in Montgomery, Alabama, to organize their government. Stephens affirmed on that occasion that the Confederacy "rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is a natural and normal condition . . . our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth" (Schott, 1988).

Georgia witnessed much hardship during the Civil War, particularly during 1864. After the fall of Chattanooga, Union forces entered Georgia and made a sustained push toward Atlanta as Confederate forces under General John Bell Hood constantly retreated. Following the fall of Atlanta, General William Tecumseh Sherman began his "March to the Sea" that brought total war to the plantations and farms of east-central

Georgia. By December 1864 Union forces had reached Savannah.

Having been staunch defenders of antebellum slavery, white Georgians did not readily accept the civil rights that were bestowed upon freedmen in the aftermath of the Civil War. During the Reconstruction era Georgians used black codes and other extralegal measures to stymie the freedmen's efforts to acquire the protections guaranteed by federal Civil Rights Acts and the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Black Belt; Georgia Code; Sea Islands; Stono Rebellion (1739); Whitney, Eli.

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GEORGIA CODE (1861)

Georgia was the first jurisdiction in the United States to codify the common law. Although Dakota Territory (1866), California (1872), and Montana (1895) later adopted codes, and other states (notably Massachusetts and New York) debated codification proposals, the Georgia Code (1861) represents the only systematic attempt to incorporate slavery into the legal framework of a common law jurisdiction. (Louisiana based its code on the French civil law system rather than common law.)

In December 1858 the Georgia legislature created a three-member commission with a broad mandate to compile all laws of the state, whether based on statute or common law, into a code covering political organization, private law, penal law, and rules of procedure. The commissioners began preparing a code “which should embody the great fundamental principles of our jurisprudence, from whatever source derived, to-

gether with such Legislative enactments of the State as the wants and circumstances of our people had from time to time shown to be necessary and proper.”

Thomas R. R. Cobb, a leading Athens attorney and University of Georgia law professor, drafted the code's private and penal law sections. Having written *A Historical Sketch of Slavery from the Earliest Period* (1858) and a digest of Georgia's common law, Cobb was well suited to integrate slavery systematically into private law. He was also a prominent member of the Confederate Constitutional Convention, served as a brigadier general in the Confederate army, and died in the battle of Fredericksburg. David Irwin and Richard H. Clark, the other commissioners, were primarily responsible for the remaining portions of the code.

The Georgia legislature passed the code on December 19, 1860, to take effect on January 1, 1862. Georgia's secession in 1861 required an extensive revision of the code and accounts for the code's name. Irwin revised the code again in 1867 to take into account the end of the Confederacy and of slavery. Comparing the 1861 and 1867 versions of the code shows the effect of the end of slavery on private law.

The foundation of the code's view of slavery is its classification of all persons into five categories: citizens, residents who are not citizens, aliens, slaves, and free persons of color. The code defined a slave as “one over whose person, liberty, labor and property another has legal control.” The code made slavery the default status of blacks: all “negros and mulattos” were “prima facie slaves” and required to prove their free status if they claimed they were not slaves. Slaves could not legally hold property or make contracts independent of their masters. Slaves were a form of chattel property, and the rules governing such property applied to them “except where the nature of the property requires a modification of the ordinary rule.” The “state of slavery” did not eliminate the natural right to life and limbs.

The code's provisions concerning free persons of color contained an implicit justification of slavery based on an assumption of the mental inferiority of blacks. An extensive set of laws governed free persons of color, requiring that they have legal guardians, restricting their ability to make contracts, and requiring their registration with the county in which they resided. The only legal difference between a free person of color and a slave was that the free person of color was “entitled to the free use of his liberty, labor and property, except so far as he is restrained by law.” All laws concerning slaves also applied to free persons of color unless specifically exempted.

Although free persons of color over age twenty could sell themselves into slavery, the code barred manumis-

sion within Georgia except by legislative act. (Masters could send slaves out of state to be freed.) Provisions in wills and other agreements that attempted to free a deceased's slaves were void, and title to the slaves concerned passed as if the provisions were not present.

The code contained comprehensive provisions for the direct regulation of slavery. It also provided detailed rules governing private law areas such as contracts for the hiring of slaves, treatment of slaves during life tenancies, will provisions concerning slaves, gifts of slaves, and torts (wrongful acts) committed by slaves. Because of its systematic approach to private law based on common law, the Georgia Code offers a unique opportunity to study slavery's effect on private law.

— *Andrew P. Morriss*

See also: Georgia.

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GERMAN COAST UPRISING (1811)

In January 1811 the worst nightmare of Louisiana's planter class became reality. A massive slave revolt occurred in St. Charles and St. John the Baptist parishes, an area located about forty miles upriver from New Orleans. The region was known as the German Coast because of its initial European settlers. Estimates of the number of slaves involved in the revolt vary from 150 to perhaps 500, but regardless of the number, the event caused widespread panic in the Territory of Orleans and warranted worldwide attention.

On the evening of January 8, slaves on Manual Andry's Woodlawn plantation attacked Andry and his son, killing the son and wounding Andry. The slaves then began marching downriver, pillaging, burning buildings, and recruiting more slaves as they went. White residents in the region were terrified. Many sought refuge in New Orleans while others hid in the woods as the mob approached their homes. Only two white people were killed, Andry's son and Jean-Francois Trepignier, who was killed while confronting the mob

at his plantation. The beginning of the revolt seemed well planned, with leaders on horseback directing its movement, but organization deteriorated as the revolt grew. Evidence suggests one primary leader—Charles Deslondes, a mulatto slave, possibly of St. Domingue origin, who was temporarily in the service of Andry.

After surviving the attack on his plantation, Manual Andry notified U.S. authorities of the insurrection and within twenty-five hours had organized a militia of nearly eighty men and set out after the slaves. The governor of the Territory of Orleans, William C. C. Claiborne, was informed, and he immediately dispatched General Wade Hampton, commander-in-chief of the U.S. troops in the southern division, who was by coincidence visiting New Orleans at the time. An additional force of 200 regular soldiers was sent from Baton Rouge under the command of Major Homer Virgil Milton. The forces led by Andry, Hampton, and Milton converged on the slaves on the morning of January 11 near Francois Bernard Bernoudi's plantation. The result was more a massacre than a battle. Armed only with cane knives, axes, and a few small arms, the slaves were no match for the well-armed militia that surrounded them. Estimates of casualties vary, but at least sixty slaves were killed and countless others wounded.

On the afternoon of January 13, the trial began for the slaves who were captured. Held at the nearby Destrehan plantation, the proceedings were directed by St. Charles Parish judge Pierre Bouchet St. Martin. For the next two days the court listened to testimony from thirty of the accused. Twenty-one were found guilty and were sentenced to death. As a brutal example to others who might disturb the social order, their corpses were beheaded and the heads placed on posts along the German Coast. On January 14, 1811, Governor Claiborne wrote to Secretary of State Smith: "The Insurrection among the negroes is quelled; and nearly the whole of the insurgents either killed or taken. The prompt and judicious movement of Genl. Hampton contributed very much to the public safety: and the ardour, activity, and firmness of the Militia have made an impression upon the Blacks that will not (I suspect) for a length of time be effaced" (Rowland, 1917).

From the trial testimony it is difficult to ascertain a specific cause for the insurrection other than the slaves' obvious hatred of the system that held them captive. Perhaps the idea of rebellion had been imported to the region in 1809 when more than nine thousand refugees from St. Domingue settled in Louisiana. They had been expelled from Cuba in reaction to the war between France and Spain and had witnessed the successful St. Domingue slave revolt in 1791. Among the

nine thousand refugees were three thousand slaves and over three thousand free people of color. In addition, some evidence suggests that the leaders of the rebellion had been influenced by runaway slaves, often referred to as “outlyers,” who lived by their own means on the fringes of the plantations.

In response to the insurrection, the territorial legislature completely reorganized the militia, something Governor Claiborne had been urging since 1806, in the hope that it would be more responsive to internal threats. To strengthen security in the territory further, the federal government stationed a regular army regiment at New Orleans and sent three gunboats to add to the existing naval force in the region. Perhaps the revolt’s most important outcome was that it intensified the state of tension brought about by the slave economy and raised doubts in the minds of many people as to whether or not that type of economy could be maintained.

— Mark Cave

See also: Louisiana.

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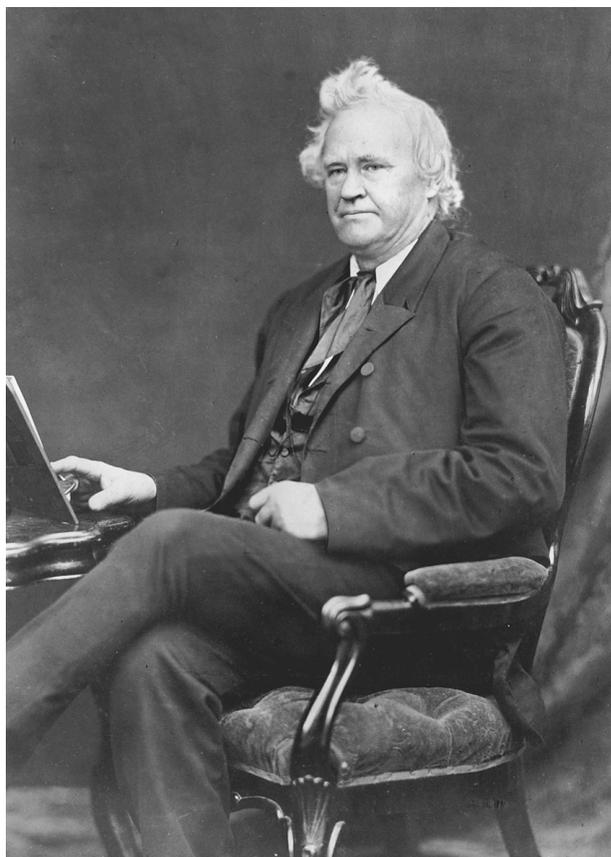
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JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS (1795–1864)

A powerful opponent of slavery for twenty-one years in the U.S. House of Representatives, Joshua Reed Giddings possessed an uncompromising attitude on slavery that earned him the title “lion of Ashtabula” (the name of the county in Ohio from where he came). Giddings went to Congress from one of the nation’s most fervent abolitionist strongholds, Ohio’s Western Reserve (northeastern Ohio), and never one to be obsessed with party regularity, Giddings did not compromise on principle.

Giddings fought against slavery on the basis of its denationalization; that is, efforts to remove the federal government from the slavery controversy by leaving the matter entirely up to the states. He argued that all states should cherish the right not to support slavery by law or federal appropriation. From the official protection of slavery in the District of Columbia (1795) to



Joshua Reed Giddings of Ohio was an influential opponent of slavery in the U.S. House of Representatives. (Library of Congress)

the *Dred Scott* decision (1857), the federal government sought to protect slavery, but Giddings believed that the great expense and moral blight upon the nation wrought by this policy was staggering. He made his mark in Congress during his first term when, in partnership with John Quincy Adams, he tried to circumvent the infamous gag rule, which prohibited any discussion of slavery or petitions against it on the floor of the House.

The greatest expression of Giddings’s opposition to slavery and the federal government’s protection of it came as a result of the *Creole* case (1841). Several slaves aboard the brig *Creole* bound for New Orleans from Virginia mutinied and killed the owner of thirty-nine of the slaves aboard. The ship docked in the Bahamas, and the British gave the mutineers (except for the murderers) haven. The southern leadership wanted the slaves returned for trial. On March 21–22, 1842, to solve the *Creole* crisis, Giddings offered in the House of Representatives the “municipal theory,” comprising nine resolutions written largely by Theodore Dwight Weld. The House interpreted his resolutions as justifi-

cation for slave rebellion and murder. Giddings was censured for his efforts and resigned the next day, but he was returned to the Congress by an overwhelming margin the following month.

When the Whigs nominated slaveowner Zachary Taylor for president in 1848, Giddings bolted and joined the Free Soil Party, and when the Kansas–Nebraska Act passed in 1854, he helped organize the new Republican Party. Whatever party Giddings was affiliated with, he was always its most radical member. Though many admired him, scores of legislators avoided him.

In his later years he was known as “father Giddings” by his admirers. As the years passed and slave power became more entrenched in the federal government, Giddings grew more radical. Abandoning his trust in political abolition, he now espoused “higher law” ideas and declared that “powder and ball” should be issued to the slaves if they were ever to be free.

Giddings’s influence on Abraham Lincoln was considerable. Lincoln listened intently to Giddings’s impassioned speeches regarding the Mexican War during the congress of 1847–1849, and Giddings had Lincoln’s ear during and after the campaign of 1860. Giddings died in Montreal while serving as U.S. consul to Canada on May 27, 1864.

— Jim Baugess

See also: Adams, John Quincy; Giddings Resolutions; Weld, Theodore Dwight.

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GIDDINGS RESOLUTIONS (1842)

Joshua Giddings, an antislavery congressman from Ohio’s Western Reserve (northeastern Ohio), secured a place in history by offering controversial resolutions in the House of Representatives on March 21–22, 1842. He paid a substantial political price for presenting the resolutions, but in doing so, he began to destroy the infamous gag rule, which denied discussion of (or the presentation of) antislavery petitions on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The occasion for presenting the resolutions was the *Creole* incident of 1841 in which nineteen slaves aboard the brig *Creole* mutinied, murdered the owner of thirty-nine of the slaves, and wounded two crew members. The mutineers commandeered the ship into Nassau in the Bahamas on the morning of November 9, 1841, and sought sanctuary.

The politicians of the American South were appalled at the British response to the *Creole* incident (the British agreed to give the mutineers sanctuary) and argued that the response encouraged both slave rebellion and murder. John C. Calhoun agreed but further stated that the British had also violated national honor and property rights. Northern abolitionists, however, wanted the British to stand their ground and neither indemnify the slaveowners nor return the slaves to the United States.

During the period of delicate negotiations over the *Creole* incident and other Anglo-American issues, Giddings offered his resolutions in the House. The congressman proposed nine resolutions (written largely by the committee’s researcher, Theodore Dwight Weld) that presented the state theory of slavery’s status as it applied to international law. Giddings argued that if some states could elect to support slavery, then free states could elect not to support it as well. He declared that prior to the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, the states exercised “full and exclusive” jurisdiction over slavery within their territory, and they could continue or abolish it at will. The moment a ship left the area where slavery was law, the people on board ceased to be under the subjection of those state laws and were governed “in their own relations to each other by, and are amenable to the laws of the United States” (Miller, 1996).

Southern congressmen were outraged because they believed that Giddings was supporting mutiny, slave rebellion, and murder. The House reacted by censuring Giddings by a vote of 125–69, with all Democrats and most Whigs voting against him. Giddings resigned the next day but was returned by his district in a landslide reelection victory the following month. Nevertheless, his arguments remained part of the slavery discussion until the adoption of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. His view was that slavery may be legal but not moral; he also felt that the true state of nature for all humanity was that of freedom and liberty.

The remaining slaves on the *Creole* were freed, except for the two murderers, who were executed by British authorities in the Bahamas. Twelve years later, the British, valuing peaceful relations with the United States, paid the slaveowners \$110,330 for their loss of “property.” After Giddings returned to the House of

Representatives, he boldly offered his resolutions in a long speech, but he was not censured. The resolutions marked the beginning of the end for the gag rule, and they exposed the slavery issue as both a national and an international problem.

— *Jim Baugess*

See also: Giddings, Joshua Reed.

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GOLD COAST. See Atlantic Slave Trade, Closing of; Illegal Slave Trade; Middle Passage; Triangular Trade.

GRADUALISM

Abolitionists in the United States were never of a single mind on the most appropriate means of bringing an end to slavery. More radical antislavery advocates supported the notion of instant emancipation, or immediatism, but other more conservative abolitionists favored a more moderate notion of emancipation over time, or gradualism. Several varieties of gradualism even existed among those who advocated the gradual approach to emancipation. The movement suffered as a result of their lack of consensus.

Many sincere advocates of the gradualist approach rooted their ideology in the belief that society could not easily adapt to the sweeping social, political, and economic consequences that would result from the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Such a change, proponents argued, could be more effectively implemented and genuinely managed by societies if the mitigating factor of time was introduced to permit the kind of change that would be necessary to transition from a slave-based economic order to one based entirely on free labor. In addition, racist notions prevailed among some antislavery advocates who genuinely opposed the horrors of slavery, yet did not deem themselves to be the social and political equals of

emancipated slaves. The gradualist ideology sought to soften the fears of "racial amalgamation" that prevailed among many in the United States.

The notion that society copes best with evolutionary change rather than with revolutionary change was one of the primary underpinnings of the gradualist philosophy. The lessons of history supported such an idea, for slavery had existed in ancient societies, but the notion disappeared when it became economically disadvantageous and socially untenable. Such historic precedent, rooted in the ideology of change over time, made the gradualist approach appealing to many within the antislavery movement.

The gradualists also believed that some type of education and training would be necessary to prepare the emancipated slave for life and labor beyond slavery. Advocates argued that some type of tutorship or apprenticeship would be necessary to complete the social and economic transformation from slavery to freedom, and believed that gaining this training would be much more manageable if it was spread out over time. Proponents believed that a corps of trained freedmen could become effective teachers and mentors to others, who would be freed in subsequent cohorts as gradual emancipation took shape. Such was the thinking that had animated efforts by the British government when it emancipated slaves throughout its colonial possessions in 1833 but instituted a five-year system of apprenticeship to shepherd the freedmen to their new lives as wage laborers.

The roots of gradualist thought can be found in the methods employed by several states to abolish slavery at the conclusion of the American Revolution. All states from Pennsylvania northward ended slavery, but each, with the noticeable exception of New York, incorporated elements of gradualism in its emancipation scheme. New Jersey, for example, announced the date at which emancipation was set to take effect and allowed slaveowners within that state to sell their slaves to owners in the southern states where slavery still existed.

Methods varied as to how slavery might be ended on a gradualist model. Some argued that passing a law declaring free all children born to slave mothers once the law was promulgated might be an effective means of ending slavery. Others believed that setting a target age at which one became free was another approach. In some slave societies, laws were passed that made free all slaves who had reached the age of sixty. Both of these methods belie the hypocrisy of gradualism because the purported emancipation of infants and the elderly did nothing immediately to free the many adults who labored as slaves in the prime of their life.

In the United States, some abolitionists who subscribed to the gradualist approach were also active

supporters of the American Colonization Society. The combined effects of liberating slaves over the course of time and encouraging free blacks to emigrate to Liberia seemed to work well together for the gradualists, but such efforts were criticized vehemently by the more radical abolitionists who favored immediate emancipation. The opposition to colonization was so intense that by the 1830s many antislavery supporters distanced themselves from the American Colonization Society.

The battle between gradualism and immediatism became especially heated in the 1820s. During the 1824 and 1825 legislative sessions, eight of the twelve free states in the United States passed legislation urging the federal government to begin to take steps to bring an end to slavery. All eight of these proposals included gradualist approaches that combined various elements of compensated emancipation and colonization outside of the United States as additional components of a national emancipation scheme. Although the Congress took no action regarding any of these proposals, the measures had the unanticipated consequence of energizing the more radical abolitionists who favored immediate emancipation and believed gradualism to be anathema.

The opponents of the gradualists charged that if slavery was indeed evil, it was then rather inconceivable to understand how one could oppose slavery but work to prolong its effects. The divisive question of gradualism versus immediatism quickly became one that divided abolitionists, and passions on both sides of the issue were charged by polemic attacks. The English Quaker Elizabeth Heyrick wrote *Immediate, Not Gradual Emancipation* (1824) as Parliament began to consider the fate of slavery in the British colonies. In the United States, radical abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison believed that gradualists were effectively in league with slaveholders since both groups sought to perpetuate an institution that was rooted in sin.

Although other questions also divided abolitionists, most notably the role of women and their rights both in the abolitionist movement and in society at large, the lingering debate between the proponents of gradualism and the advocates of immediatism created a chasm within the antislavery movement that made unified action impossible. Although abolitionists were a small but vocal minority in the early nineteenth century, the clarity of their message and the overall effectiveness of their efforts were diminished by factional infighting within the movement.

When emancipation did come in the United States, it was based on the immediate, noncompensated

model that Garrison and the other more radical abolitionists had long promoted.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Garrison, William Lloyd; Immediatism.

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GREAT POSTAL CAMPAIGN

The Great Postal Campaign that the American Anti-Slavery Society initiated in May 1835 was a massive effort to disseminate antislavery literature throughout the nation by using the United States Postal Service as the means of distribution. Controversy associated with the plan polarized the views of both pro- and antislavery advocates, thus doing little to stimulate the informed discussion that abolitionists had unrealistically hoped to stimulate through their efforts. The campaign also evoked questions of states' rights as local authorities in the South sought to censor the mail to prohibit the distribution of any propaganda that supported the antislavery cause, literature they believed endangered the public peace and security of their region.

Designed, in the words of Lewis Tappan, "to sow the good seed of abolition thoroughly over the whole country," the Great Postal Campaign involved the expenditure of \$30,000 by the American Anti-Slavery Society to distribute—free of charge—more than 1 million pieces of abolitionist literature (Stewart, 1996). The vast majority of the items that were distributed were sent to northern churchmen in the hope that they would join the antislavery cause and proselytize the merits of the movement to their congregations. Only about twenty thousand items were sent into the southern states, but these items were specifically addressed to persons of influence throughout the South

including ministers, elected officials, and newspaper editors. It was not the intent of abolitionists, as was charged by their opponents, to place the materials into the hands of slaves and free blacks in the South.

Only in its second year of existence, the American Anti-Slavery Society was a still-fledgling organization that was seeking to expand its membership and attract financial backers to the cause of abolition. The Great Postal Campaign was in large part a public relations effort designed to attract converts to the cause and engender a national dialogue on the question of slavery.

The American Anti-Slavery Society developed a wide array of abolitionist literature designed to appeal to all types of readers in the South. These items included the small-folio newspaper *Human Rights*, a small magazine called *The Anti-Slavery Record*, copies of the *Emancipator*, an abolitionist newspaper, and a reader designed for children called *The Slave's Friend*. Yet despite the best plans and intentions of the northern abolitionists, few of these items were ever delivered to the persons to whom they had been addressed.

Abolitionists had an unreasonable expectation about the outcome of the Great Postal Campaign. Many antislavery advocates believed in the power of moral suasion to make individuals see the error of their ways and change their attitudes. Many early Quaker abolitionists had courageously traveled into the South where they conducted person-to-person conversations with slaveholders and used the powers of reasoned argument to convince these individuals to emancipate their slaves through manumission. It was believed, somewhat incredulously, that the arrival of unsolicited abolitionist literature in the mail would provide the same sanguine outcome in individuals whose views had become ever more strident.

Southern officials lambasted the abolitionists for sending “incendiary literature” through the mail and charged that the real purpose of this campaign was to foment slave insurrection throughout the South. In cities all across the South, local postmasters took it upon themselves to censor the mail of those items that had been sent by the northern abolitionists. A mob raided the post office in Charleston, South Carolina, on July 29, 1835, and removed the suspected abolitionist materials from the premises. The following evening a Charleston mob burned effigies of William Lloyd Garrison and Arthur Tappan using the stolen abolitionist newspapers as bonfire material.

During his 1836 Message to the Congress, President Andrew Jackson sided with the southern states’ rights advocates who maintained that they were within their

rights to censor the mails and remove abolitionist literature. Jackson urged passage of “such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the southern states, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection” (Filler, 1960). Postmaster General Amos Kendall, a proslavery advocate, was questioned about the extralegal measures taken by southern postmasters, and he replied that “we owe an obligation to the laws, but we owe a higher one to the communities in which we live” (Filler).

Free blacks living in the South became some of the unintended victims of the Great Postal Campaign as southern legislatures enacted stricter codes regulating the liberties that were allowed to that group. Many in the South feared that the true purpose of flooding the mail with abolitionist literature was to place it in the hands of free blacks who could then place it—or the radical ideas contained therein—into the hands and hearts of slaves. There was a flurry of fear in many parts of the South in 1835–1836 that conspiracies between free blacks and slaves might be afoot. In several states authorities placed militias on alert to prevent the likelihood of slave insurrection.

The high-minded abolitionist plan that moral suasion through reading abolitionist literature would sway the minds of southern slaveholders had failed, but the abolitionists may nonetheless have gained ground in the national controversy that erupted in response to the Great Postal Campaign. The campaign was more successful in the northern states as many individuals who had not previously subscribed to Garrison’s newspaper, the *Liberator*, began to do so and the membership rolls of the American Anti-Slavery Society experienced a growth spurt.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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Angelina Grimké published the influential pamphlet “An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South” in 1836. (Library of Congress)

ANGELINA GRIMKÉ (1805–1879)

As a southern woman who became a leader of the abolitionist movement, Angelina Grimké attracted widespread notoriety by agitating publicly against slavery before mixed audiences of men and women, thus bringing into question traditional views of women’s roles. Angelina was born into a prominent South Carolina slaveholding family. In 1829 she followed the lead of her elder sister Sarah, who wanted a more intellectually active life than that traditionally available to upper-class southern women, and moved to Philadelphia and converted to Quakerism.

Over the next six years, Angelina Grimké became interested in the abolitionist movement by reading William Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator* and attending meetings of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. In 1835 she wrote Garrison a letter praising his adherence to the principle of immediate emancipation and referring briefly to her own experience with slavery in the South. Garrison published the letter in the *Liberator*, and as a consequence, Grimké received and

accepted invitations to speak before women’s discussion groups. She also wrote the pamphlet *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (1836), which implored southern women to use their influence upon men to end slavery immediately. Although well received among abolitionists, the work caused an uproar in the South where U.S. postmasters judged it seditious and destroyed copies of it.

A passionate and animated speaker, Grimké drew large crowds to her public lectures. In 1836 she and her sister began acting as unofficial agents for the American Anti-Slavery Society, traveling throughout New York and New England raising funds and boosting society membership. Grimké’s nine-month speaking tour in 1837 broke attendance records, but she also attracted criticism from those within the society who did not like women challenging traditional gender roles by speaking before mixed audiences. In addition, she was criticized for her position that it was as important to end northern prejudice as it was to end southern slavery. Early in 1838, Grimké gained further notice when she gave evidence to a committee of the Massachusetts legislature about the horrors of slavery, as she was the first woman ever to testify before a legislative body in the United States.

On May 14, 1838, Grimké married fellow abolitionist Theodore Dwight Weld, and the marriage marked the end of her active involvement with the abolitionist cause. Her last significant contribution to the movement was a book, which she jointly authored with Weld and her sister, entitled *American Slavery as It Is* (1839). In this compilation of southern newspaper editorials and runaway notices, the authors hoped that the slaveholders’ cruelty would speak for itself, and, indeed, the book became one of the antislavery movement’s most influential works.

Although Grimké’s involvement with the abolitionist movement was brief (1835–1839), she played a significant role in two ways. First, she had personal knowledge of slavery’s cruelty, which made many New Englanders sympathetic to the antislavery cause. Second, her success as a public speaker heightened tensions within the abolitionist movement regarding women’s proper roles and civil rights for blacks. Her stance on these two issues brought into question traditional notions of gender and race, sparked a series of controversies that contributed to a split in the abolitionist movement, and thus altered the course of the antislavery effort in the United States.

Near the end of their lives, the Grimké sisters once again sparked controversy by openly accepting as their nephews Francis and Archibald Grimké, the sons of

their brother Henry and his slave Nancy Weston. The sisters provided the boys with support throughout their young adulthoods. Both men went on to become prominent figures in the African American community and outspoken advocates of civil rights as followers of W. E. B. DuBois.

— Elizabeth Dubrulle

See also: *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (1836); Garrison, William Lloyd; Grimké, Sarah Moore; *The Liberator*; Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society; Weld, Theodore Dwight.

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SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ (1792–1873)

Intelligent, pious, dedicated to justice, and withal a determined lecturer and essayist, Sarah Moore Grimké was a strong foe of southern slavery and a fearless proponent of women's rights. Born to a wealthy South Carolina slaveholding family, Sarah could have enjoyed an unusually leisured life. Yet like many other southern women, she abhorred the use of slaves and had trouble reconciling her principles with the culture of her home state. Formally educated in the scant manner thought appropriate for young ladies of good families, Sarah read widely in her father's library. She was denied her wish to study law, and for years, she tried to satisfy her restless mind in a giddy social whirl.

By 1817 she experienced a religious conversion and joined the Presbyterian Church; in 1820, after reading John Woolman's memoirs, she became a Quaker. A year later, Sarah moved to Philadelphia. She returned to Charleston in 1827 and persuaded her sister Angelina to join her in the Quaker faith. In 1829 the



Sarah Moore Grimké and her sister, Angelina Grimké, occupied a special place in the abolitionist and women's rights movements. (Library of Congress)

Grimké sisters joined forces in Pennsylvania, and after 1831, Sarah never returned to the slaveholding states.

In Philadelphia, fellow religionists did not appreciate the Grimké sisters' participation in abolitionist activities. Relations grew more difficult when the pair moved to New York to be trained as activists and worse yet when Sarah and Angelina took to the lecture halls. As southerners familiar with, and disgusted by, slavery's daily realities, both women were valuable additions to the antislavery cause.

Because Angelina made more speeches and was judged the better orator, Sarah's contributions to abolition have been deemed less significant than her advocacy of women's rights. Sarah herself always held that her abolitionism and support for women's rights were inseparable, as both were predicated on a scriptural view of the moral responsibilities of women. She wrote an antislavery statement called *An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States* (1836), and a year later, she cowrote the “Letter to Clarkson,” which answered a call for advice as to what nonslaveholders could do to bring an end to slavery. In 1839, Sarah edited the antislavery compendium, *American Slavery As It Is*, along

with her sister Angelina and new brother-in-law, Theodore Weld.

After that project, Sarah Grimké's participation in antislavery activities waned despite importunings when abolitionists in the United States quarreled over the question of the role of women in the movement to free the slaves. In addition to teaching in progressive schools, she wrote on women's rights and translated a biography of Joan of Arc. In 1868 she and Angelina acknowledged and befriended two nephews who were mulattoes. An ardent supporter of woman suffrage, Sarah lived to vote in a local election.

— *Barbara Ryan*

See also: Grimké, Angelina; Weld, Theodore Dwight.

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JOSIAH B. GRINNELL (1821–1891)

An early Republican Party founder, Josiah B. Grinnell was also an abolitionist and western settler and developer. Born in New Haven, Vermont, he graduated from Oneida Institute (1843) and Auburn Theological Seminary (1846). Employed briefly at an integrated church in Union Village, New York, Grinnell left New York in 1851 to found the first congregational church in Washington, D.C. With his education and northern background, Grinnell made the mistake of preaching an abolition sermon, reportedly the first of its kind in the nation's capital. When he persisted, Grinnell was forced to leave Washington for the safety of New York. A chronic throat problem led Grinnell to refocus his career, and in 1854, he followed journalist Horace Greeley's advice to "go west." He and two business associates purchased 5,000 acres in central Iowa's Poweshiek County and founded the town of Grinnell. Two years later, Iowa College relocated from Davenport to Grinnell, and in 1909 the institution was renamed Grinnell College.

Grinnell was active in local affairs and was a prime mover in founding the state Republican Party at Iowa City in 1856. Elected to the Iowa Senate in 1856 (serving one term until 1860), he became a major voice in the free school movement. He likewise favored temperance and prohibition, but soon became Iowa's most



Josiah Bushnell Grinnell was an early Republican Party founder, abolitionist, and settler of the West. (Library of Congress)

recognized abolitionist. In February 1859 Grinnell hosted John Brown in his home as Brown escorted a group of fugitive slaves to Canada. According to legend, Brown penned part of his Virginia Proclamation while under Grinnell's roof.

In 1860 Grinnell represented Iowa at the Republican National Convention in Chicago, which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. His rise in national politics culminated with his election to two terms in Congress (1863–1867). An energetic supporter of Lincoln, Grinnell advocated using black troops in the Union army and a high protective tariff. He also supported the president's use of war powers, including the detention of wartime opponents.

Grinnell's visibility as an abolitionist held him in good standing among Iowa Republicans, but the state's Democrats distrusted him. He opposed Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction plan and voted against readmitting the southern states until they granted blacks the vote. Thus began Grinnell's decline as a public figure. He lost the Republican renomination for a third congressional term to William Loughridge, a proponent of radical Reconstruction. His final stand was in favor of

old friend Horace Greeley for president in 1872. Seemingly without the abolitionist cause, Grinnell's influence in the party disappeared.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Brown, John.

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GULLAH

There are various explanations for the meaning of the word “Gullah” as well as its origin within the United States of America. Gullah refers to the people who have populated the Sea Islands and low country of the southeastern United States since the Africans who were kidnapped and captured from the West African coast were enslaved in the region. These people of African descent and their kinspeople who are referred to as “Geechee” continue to have a unique African culture in America that is also called “Gullah.”

Given the various ethnic groups of Africans that were brought to the Sea Islands and low country, there are two direct connections from which this name came into use in America. Since many Angolans were initially captured and brought in directly from the African continent to be enslaved in the Sea Islands, many Africans from that country were listed with the word “Gullah” as part of their names. The most well known of these is “Gullah Jack,” who was involved in the Denmark Vesey Uprising (1822).

The word “Gullah” is also thought to be derived from an island in the Sierra Leone area of West Africa called Gola. The Gola were captured from the forest belt along Africa's windward coast (modern-day Sierra Leone and Liberia) and became heavily populated in the Sea Islands of the southeastern United States. This group was brought in because of their skills in rice cultivation, which proved to be one of massive financial benefit to the building of America. Rice as well as cotton and indigo became known as the cash crops.

Both Gullah and Geechee share many linguistic influences with the Fula, Mende, upper Guinea Coast, and Gambia River areas. Gullah has a linguistic equivalent in the “Krio” language, which is still in use in the Windward/Rice Coast region of West Africa today. For many years, Gullah was thought of as a dialect of English. However, scholarly research over the years has

shown that Gullah is a unique Creole language with its own vocabulary, lexicon, and grammatical structure. The language was derived from the amalgamation of numerous African languages and dialects, with a sprinkling of Elizabethan English.

Being isolated from the mainland, the Gullah people were able to continue their African traditions and customs. Some of these people even joined forces with the Native or indigenous Americans of their area and became part of what is called the Seminole Nation” Many of them moved into Florida, and others even went west into what is now Oklahoma, Mexico, and Texas to escape the enslavement by Euro-Americans after fighting against them for over forty years during the “Gullah Wars” or the “Seminole Wars.”

The people who remained in the Sea Islands and low country of the United States who share the African heritage that has come to be known as “Gullah” and “Geechee” came together under their international human right to self-determination to be recognized as the Gullah/Geechee Nation. On July 2, 2000, they had an official ceremony for this designation, at which they presented their governing principles and flag.

The Gullah/Geechee Nation Constitution states that “Gullah includes the people, history, language, and culture and Geechee is the ‘descendant’ of this. Gullah is the native tongue and pure language. Geechee is the creolization of the language in which loan words from other languages are used as the Gullah/Geechee people continue to interact with those that speak other languages.”

— *Marquetta L. Goodwine*

See also: Geechee; Liberia; Rice Cultivation and Trade; Sea Islands; Seminole Indians; Vesey, Denmark.

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GULLAH JACK

Gullah Jack, who was also known as “Cooter Jack” and “Jack Pritchard,” was born in Africa in the village of McChoolay Mooreema and spoke an Angolan lan-

guage. One Zephaniah Kingsley purchased him as a prisoner of war at Zanguebar (later Zanzibar) on Africa's eastern shore and took him to the Florida Sea Islands early in the nineteenth century.

Gullah Jack was allowed to take a bag aboard ship, and he always retained it. As a priest, conjurer, root doctor, and medicine man, he carried his necessary implements in this bag. His knowledge and use of herbal medicine and supernatural traditions made some people respect him, but others feared and stood in awe of him.

Numerous accounts describe Gullah Jack as a small man, possessed “of tiny limbs, which look grotesque despite his small frame” with “enormous black whiskers” (Freehling, 1965). He had an animated manner and a changing countenance, and because of his demeanor, he was sometimes called diabolical, artful, cruel, and bloody.

Approximately forty people escaped or were taken in 1812 during a Seminole raid and attack on the Kingsley Plantation where Gullah Jack was enslaved. Gullah Jack was among the group and eventually ended up in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1821 one Paul Pritchard purchased him there.

While enslaved in Charleston, he became a member of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) congregation that Denmark Vesey attended. Just after Christmas in 1821, Vesey recruited Gullah Jack to be a lieutenant in the uprising that he planned for the Charleston Township and the neighboring Sea Islands. Vesey chose Jack because he represented an Angolan company called the “Gullah Company” or the “Gullah Society.” He also knew that people believed that Gullah Jack was “a man that could not be killed” and one who “had a charm to lead his people” (Freehling, 1965).

Gullah Jack fused African and European religious forms and summoned the spiritual powers that he knew would empower the Africans who were enslaved. He provided those who were participating in the Vesey conspiracy with charms to prevent injury in battle and to injure anyone who betrayed them. However, betrayal did come. Gullah Jack gave a specific warning to Vesey not to tell anyone who was “mulatto” of the plot, but this advice was not strictly followed. When the plan was exposed, Jack was captured on July 5, 1822. A total of 131 people, including Jack and Vesey, were put on trial as conspirators.

The people who testified against Gullah Jack stated that he had intended to implement the plans that Vesey, he, and others had developed despite Vesey's arrest. Testimony from Gullah Jack's trial mentions that he requested an extension of his life for one or two weeks. No one will ever know if he wanted this time in

order to complete what he and the others had planned, or if he asked for other reasons. Nonetheless, Gullah Jack was condemned to death and he was hung on July 9, 1822. He is still greatly remembered and admired within the Gullah/Geechee Nation.

— Marquette L. Goodwine

See also: Geechee; Gullah; Sea Islands; Vesey, Denmark.

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EDWARD EVERETT HALE (1822–1909)

Edward Everett Hale was a prominent nineteenth-century American minister and writer who was an active abolitionist and cofounder of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. Hale was born in Boston on April 3, 1822, to a family with deep roots in Massachusetts society and history. His father was the owner and editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, his maternal uncle was the prominent orator/statesman, Edward Everett, and his paternal great-uncle was revolutionary spy and martyr, Nathan Hale.

Hale graduated from Harvard in 1839 intending to become a teacher. After three years of teaching in several New England schools, however, he followed a new calling into the ministry. As a Unitarian minister, Hale served for a decade at the Church of the Unity in Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1856 he accepted a position as minister at the larger South Congregational Church in Boston where he served for forty-five years, from 1856 to 1901. Throughout his ministry Hale worked first for the abolition of slavery and after

emancipation, for the social and economic improvement of freed slaves.

On February 7, 1862, Hale, along with fellow abolitionists and social activists Charles Bernard, William Cullen Bryant, Samuel Cabot, and William Lloyd Garrison, founded the New England Freedmen's Aid Society in Boston to promote education among free African Americans. The society raised funds to support schools throughout the region for native free blacks and for newly freed slaves, both children and adults, male and female.

Hale was a prolific writer, novelist, and biographer. His most successful literary work was the short story, "The Man Without a Country," which he published in 1863. That story's central character, a U.S. naval officer, curses his native land and announces his desire never to set foot again on U.S. soil. As punishment for betraying his country, he is condemned to spend the rest of his life aboard U.S. naval vessels, within sight of the United States but never being allowed to land. That story was widely reprinted and became a sentimental favorite during the years of post-Civil War patriotism that gripped late nineteenth-century readers.

In 1903 Hale was appointed chaplain of the U.S. Senate, a position he held until his death on June 10, 1909, in Roxbury, Massachusetts.

— *Frederick J. Simonelli*

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JAMES H. HAMMOND (1807–1864)

James Henry Hammond, governor of South Carolina, U.S. senator, and states' rights advocate, was born at Stoney Point, in the Newberry District of South Carolina. He was the son of Elisha Hammond, a Massachusetts native, and Catherine Fox Spann of Edgefield District, South Carolina. Throughout his public career, slavery and the sectional politics that it engendered influenced his views on national policy.

Hammond attended South Carolina College and graduated in 1825. After a brief career as a teacher, he read law in Columbia, South Carolina, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. Hammond built a successful legal practice in Columbia and entered politics as a nullification supporter. In 1830 Hammond established a newspaper, the *Southern Times*, in which he upheld South Carolina's stand on nullification and states' rights. He also called for a convention to consider the state's course of action in the nullification crisis.

On June 23, 1831, Hammond married Catherine E. Fitzsimmons, daughter of Charles Fitzsimmons, a wealthy Charleston merchant. The couple moved to their cotton plantation at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River. Hammond's love of the land and his devotion to agricultural pursuits eclipsed his participation in politics for a time. In 1832 he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in South Carolina's nullification convention. When the danger of armed conflict became a possibility, Hammond urged his state to prepare for war. He became a colonel of a volunteer regiment and offered part of his cotton crop and the use of his slaves to defend South Carolina. After the immediate danger of conflict was over, Hammond still advocated military preparedness for his state.

Following the nullification crisis, Hammond gave his full support to the eventual secession of the southern states from the federal Union. Hammond became an ardent supporter of southern nationalism. He also supported the institution of slavery and proposed the death penalty for abolitionists.

In 1836, owing to ill health, Hammond left the country to travel in Europe. When he returned, he devoted his energies to his plantation. However, in 1840 he ran unsuccessfully for governor of South Carolina. Elected to the office in 1842, Hammond served two terms. As governor, he supported public education, had an agricultural survey made of the state, reformed the Bank of South Carolina, and established military academies in Columbia (the Arsenal) and Charleston (the Citadel).

By 1842 Hammond again advised the secession of the southern states from the Union. When the South did not secede, Hammond again turned his interests to politics by considering a run for the U.S. Senate. His ambition was thwarted by the threat of disclosure of a sexual liaison with a young girl. Nevertheless, Hammond maintained a high profile in South Carolina politics. In 1850 he supported the Nashville Convention and attended as a delegate. Disgusted by the South's lack of action on secession, Hammond returned to South Carolina and pursued his agricultural interests. In 1855 he established a plantation at Redcliffe where he lived the rest of his life.

In 1857 Hammond was elected to the U.S. Senate. He became convinced that the South could eventually control the destiny of the Union. On March 4, 1858, on the floor of the Senate, Hammond gave his famous "King Cotton" speech in which he stated that no power on earth dare make war on cotton, "Cotton is King." Although Hammond supported the secession of the South from the Union, he did not participate in politics after the formation of the Confederacy. In-

stead, he frequently criticized the leadership of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Congress. By 1864 Hammond could see the end of southern independence and the defeat of the Confederacy. Exhausted and ill, he died at his beloved Redcliffe.

— Ron D. Bryant

See also: Nullification Doctrine.

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HARPERS FERRY RAID (1859)

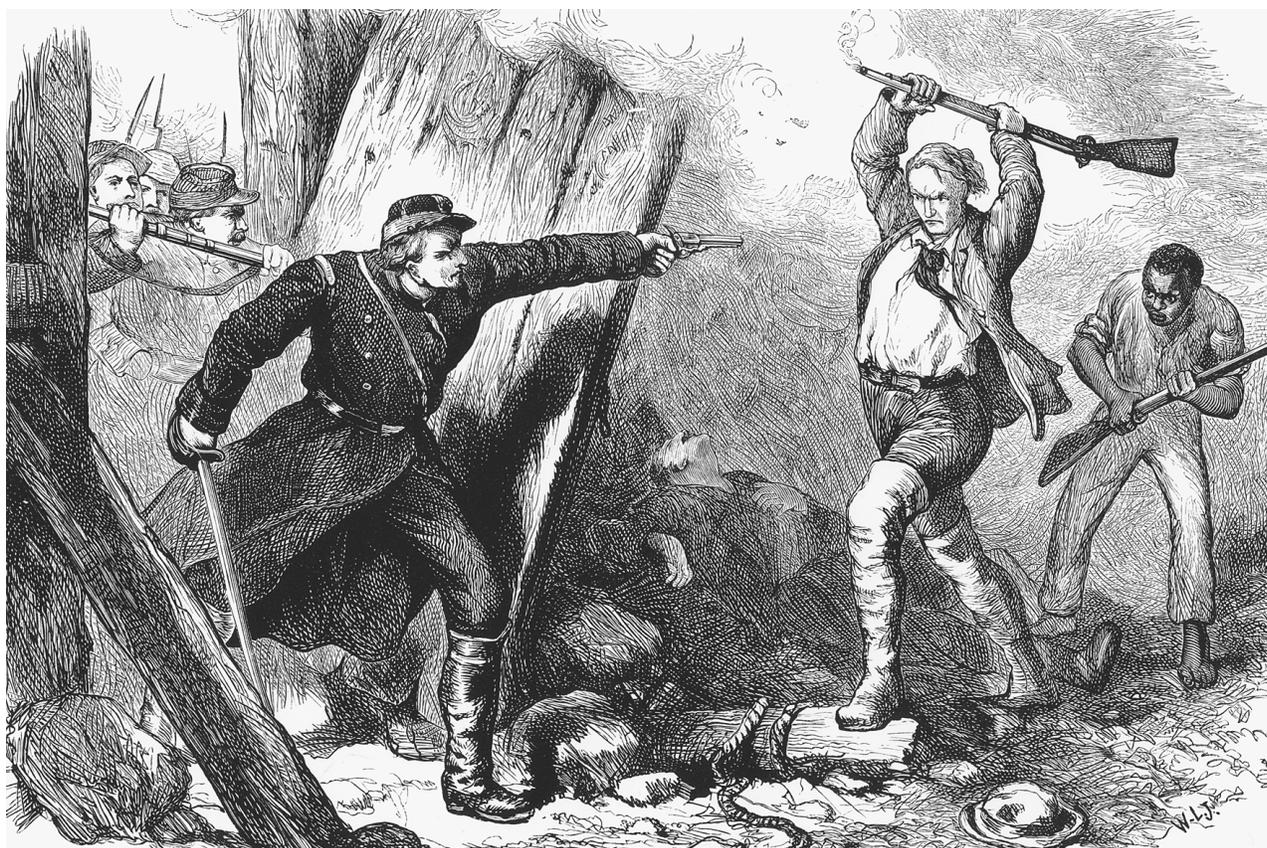
On visiting Harpers Ferry today, one is struck by its scenic beauty. Small houses perch atop hills overlooking the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers in West Virginia. This tranquil scene, however, once witnessed a bold plan to incite slave insurrection and destroy the slave South. Harpers Ferry was established as the second federal armory of the new American republic in 1794. It was chosen for its strategic position, close proximity to Washington and Baltimore, and plentiful supplies of raw materials. By 1859 there were one hundred thousand arms stored at the arsenal. This ready supply of munitions, light defense by civilians rather than military troops, and easy access to the slave South down the Appalachian range, made Harpers Ferry an attractive target for an antislavery attack.

Conceived earlier, radical abolitionist John Brown planned an attack during the mid-1850s. In early 1858, while visiting with Frederick Douglass at Rochester, New York, Brown wrote his *Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States*. Consisting of forty-eight articles, the document condemned slavery, envisioned a mountain-based community, and outlined a political structure based on the U.S. Constitution. Later that year, Brown traveled to Chatham, Canada West, to drum up support for his planned raid, including raising companies of soldiers from local black communities. In December 1858, he led a raid in Missouri in which one slaveholder was killed and eleven slaves were liberated, eventually settling in Canada.

By summer 1859, Brown had secured financial backing from a secret six (Gerrit Smith, Samuel G. Howe, Franklin Sanborn, Theodore Parker, George L. Stearns, and Thomas W. Higginson). He moved to the vicinity of Harpers Ferry, renting a farm under the pseudonym Isaac Smith. Over the next few months, the farmhouse served as the base for his small army. Brown's wife Mary refused to come to the farmhouse, unlike sons Oliver, Watson, and Owen. Five men of African descent joined Brown. Shields Green was a fugitive from South Carolina, who had participated in a fugitive defense at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Dangerfield Newby, the oldest member at forty-four, was slave-born but since freed and working as a blacksmith. His enslaved wife wrote a letter to her husband in which she identified her "one bright hope to cheer me in all my troubles, that is to be with you, for if I thought I should never see you this earth would have no charms for me" (DeCaro, 2002). John Copeland, Jr., and Lewis Leary were both Oberlinites and antislavery activists drawn to Brown through his Missouri raid. Osborn Perry Anderson was born to free black parents in West Fallowfield, Pennsylvania, in 1830. After attending Oberlin, he became a printer and immigrated to Chatham in late 1850. He attended the May 8, 1858, convention in which Brown unveiled his plan for raiding Harpers Ferry and provoking a slave insurrection. The other liberators were Jeremiah G. Anderson, John E. Cook, Clay Coppoc, Edwin Coppoc, Albert Hazlett, John H. Kagi, William H. Leeman, Francis J. Merriam, Aaron D. Stevens, Stewart Taylor, Dauphin Thompson, William Thompson, and Charles P. Tidd. The youngest follower, twenty year-old Leeman, explained the nature of the plan in a letter to his mother: "We are now all privately gathered in a slave state, where we are determined to strike for freedom, incite the rebels to rebellion, and establish a free government" (Oates, 1970).

The raid on the federal armory began late Sunday evening, October 16, 1859. The twenty-two insurrectionists left the farmhouse and marched by stealth to Harpers Ferry, where they quickly occupied the lightly defended armory, arsenal, and bridge. Brown then ordered sorties into the surrounding countryside to capture hostages and liberate slaves. Between twenty and thirty slaves had joined the raiders by the early morning hours of October 17. Three hostages were seized, including Colonel Lewis W. Washington, the great-grandnephew of George Washington, and his sword. Brown believed both were important symbols of a past successful revolution against tyranny. This first phase of the raid was an unmitigated success.

Then problems began. Rather than seizing as many weapons as possible and taking to the hills



The capture of John Brown during the Harpers Ferry raid on October 16, 1859. Brown, an abolitionist, led the raid on the Virginia town in an attempt to seize the federal arsenal and initiate a full-scale rebellion against slavery by distributing its weapons to local slaves. (North Wind Picture Archives)

Spartacus-like, Brown and his raiders waited in the armory for an expected uprising by slaves and dissident whites. Some of Brown's men came across Heyward Shepherd, a free black baggage porter who panicked when confronted and was shot. Ironically, the first casualty of the war against slavery was black. Awakened by gunfire, Dr. John Starry treated Shepherd, after which he was released. He immediately made for Charlestown, capital of Jefferson County, Virginia, and alerted the garrison. The local militia was soon en route for Harpers Ferry and by late morning had seized the bridge and cut off the escape route. Realizing these problems, most of the slaves who had earlier joined Brown slipped back to their former plantations and farms. Brown's final error was his failure to stall an eastward-bound train traveling through Harpers Ferry. The conductor telegraphed news of the raid, and authorities in Washington, D.C., were alerted. Federal marines under the command of Virginians Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee, seconded by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, were soon on their way to Harpers Ferry.

During the early morning hours of Tuesday, October 18, federal troops surrounded the engine house of the armory and demanded the surrender of its occupants. The insurgents refused. The marines stormed the firehouse, using a ladder as a battering ram, with orders not to harm the valuable black chattel. One marine was killed, while the white raiders were quickly dispatched. Marine Lieutenant Israel Greene attempted to kill Brown, but his short sword bent and buckled so he smashed the head of the fifty-nine-year-old into unconsciousness.

Thirty-six hours later, and after fifteen deaths including Brown's sons Oliver and Watson, the raid was over. The group had failed to accomplish its stated objective of slave insurrection. The bodies of the black rebels were sliced and diced by students at Winchester Medical School. After a brief examination, short imprisonment, and show trial, Brown was convicted for treason against the state (although his was legally a federal offense). He used the forty days between his first newspaper interview on October 22 and his execution to proclaim his cause nationally. He spent his final

night having supper in his cell with his wife Mary discussing his will, the education of their daughters, and Mary's future. He emerged from his cell the next morning to be met with heavy security provided by the militia in fear of an attempted rescue. Local blacks made their feelings known by burning the barns of all the jurors. On December 2, 1859, John Brown was hanged.

Many northerners praised Brown's principles, even if many of them disagreed with his methods. Southerners condemned the event, even as they used it to galvanize popular support for their cause. On October 25, 1859, the *Richmond Enquirer* wrote: "The Harpers Ferry Invasion advanced the cause of Disunion more than any other event." Most importantly, the raid served as the opening shot of the Civil War. As Brown scrawled on a small note the day of his execution: "I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land: will never be purged away; but with Blood" (Oates, 1970). At a eulogy held for Brown in New York City the same day, Black activist Henry Highland Garnet spoke of "the dreadful truth written as by the finger of Jehovah—For the sins of this nation there is no atonement without the shedding of blood." This was less a prophecy than a direct recognition that only warfare would abolish American slavery.

— Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie

See also: Brown, John.

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JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS (1848–1908)

White southern journalist and author Joel Chandler Harris has been simultaneously praised and vilified by

historians and scholars who have studied and reviewed his writings. Many critics view his Uncle Remus tales as a validation of plantation politics and as tacit approval of racism and slave mentality. However, some academic folklorists claim that his writing in the *Atlanta Constitution* during the 1870s helped to support the postslavery period in the New South by introducing black characters to literature in a recurring and nonthreatening scenario.

Harris was born on December 9, 1848, in Eatonton, Georgia. He was the illegitimate child of an Irish laborer and a village seamstress. As a youth and adolescent, Harris lived on a plantation. Living with poor white farmers had a profound influence on his ability to understand the social and economic structure of the antebellum South. Harris was a shy child but found that a keen sense of humor and a fondness for practical jokes helped him to fit in and gain acceptance.

Life on a plantation also contributed to Harris's literary style. In 1862 he took a job as an apprentice typesetter for plantation owner Joseph Addison Turner. It is likely that Turner's publication, *Countryman*, was the first weekly paper published at a plantation. Harris spent a lot of time, especially evenings, in the slave quarters where he learned the dialogue, tales, and folklore of the slave culture. It was during this period that he developed his major themes, which displayed paternalism and support of slavery, juxtaposed against a humanitarian concern for black people. Harris published some of the anecdotal lessons that he learned in *Countryman*.

Sherman's march into Georgia in 1864 all but ended plantation life and culture, resulting in the escape of slaves and the end of the publication of *Countryman* in 1866. Harris, now seventeen years of age, left the plantation, moving to Macon, Georgia, and another typesetting position at the *Telegraph*. Over the next decade he learned more about publishing through his work as a book reviewer, associate editor, and staff writer at various newspapers in Georgia and Louisiana.

In 1876 Harris became associate editor at the *Atlanta Constitution*, and he again wrote some sketches about the folklore of slavery. Harris's stories were critically acclaimed and were particularly noted for their entertainment value and verisimilitude. His recollections of life on a plantation became the genesis of the character of Uncle Remus, who was once a slave and narrates tales with a recurring storyline. He tells his stories to a young white child, and the tales are about a protagonist character named Brer Rabbit and his rival Brer Fox. Brer Fox is perpetually trying to capture Brer Rabbit but is never successful. Once the fox concedes defeat, the story reverts to a cabin setting. Harris



In the decades after the Civil War, Joel Chandler Harris, who was known for his Uncle Remus stories, used the African American folklore he had learned on a plantation in his youth to create literature for children. (National Archives)

pointedly emphasized that these stories were fictional and that animals were not subject to the same moral dilemmas as humans.

Harris's column in the *Atlanta Constitution* led to the publication of ten Uncle Remus books. While his tales were once very popular, they aroused a great deal of controversy, and in fact the controversy continues today. Some view his writings as contributing positively to the discussion of race relations after slavery, while others condemn him for perpetuating racial stereotypes.

Joel Chandler Harris died on July 3, 1908 in Atlanta, Georgia.

— Anthony Todman

See Also: Paternalism.

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LEMUEL HAYNES (1753–1833)

A noted Revolutionary War veteran, abolitionist, and clergyman, Lemuel Haynes was one of the eighteenth century's most enigmatic African Americans. Born a mulatto of African and Scottish descent, Lemuel was the slave of John Haynes of Hartford, Connecticut,

until the age of five months, when he was indentured to Deacon David Rose of Granville, Massachusetts, until age twenty-one.

In 1774, when his tenure ended, Haynes remained with the Rose family, only to leave twice. He joined General George Washington's army during the attack on Boston in 1775, and in fall 1776, he served in a garrison regiment during the battle at Fort Ticonderoga. These experiences made a deep impression on Haynes's political consciousness. Returning from the battle in Boston, in April 1775, he composed a ballad titled "The Battle of Lexington," in which he incorporated the revolutionary and patriotic sentiment that was sweeping many of the colonies. In his lyrical ballad, Haynes argued that the American colonies were no longer the land of freedom and equality, but had become a place where corruption and political savagery, stimulated by George III and Parliament, thrived.

In 1776, perhaps after returning from Fort Ticonderoga, Haynes wrote a pointed critique of slavery in an essay titled "Liberty Further Extended." His work contained three main arguments. First, based on his interpretation of the Declaration of Independence, Haynes urged his fellow revolutionaries to consider the broader implications of the independence struggle. Second, he proclaimed that the principles of freedom and liberty should be applied to all colonial citizens. Third, drawing closely on the arguments of early anti-slavery writers like Samuel Hopkins and Anthony Benezet, Haynes argued that slaveowners must liberate their African slaves to free themselves from the inherent corruption and sin of slavery.

After the American Revolution, Haynes devoted the rest of his life to spreading the gospel. In 1785 he was ordained by the Association of Ministers in Litchfield County, Connecticut, and moved to Torrington, Connecticut, to become the minister there. From 1788 to 1818 he served as pastor of West Parish Congregational Church of West Rutland, Vermont.

For six months, Haynes traveled throughout Vermont spreading Christianity, but in late 1818, he obtained a position as minister at a small church in Manchester, Vermont, for three years. In 1822 Haynes moved again when he became minister at the Granville Congregational Church in New York where he remained until his death on September 28, 1833.

— Eric R. Jackson

See also: Black Loyalists.

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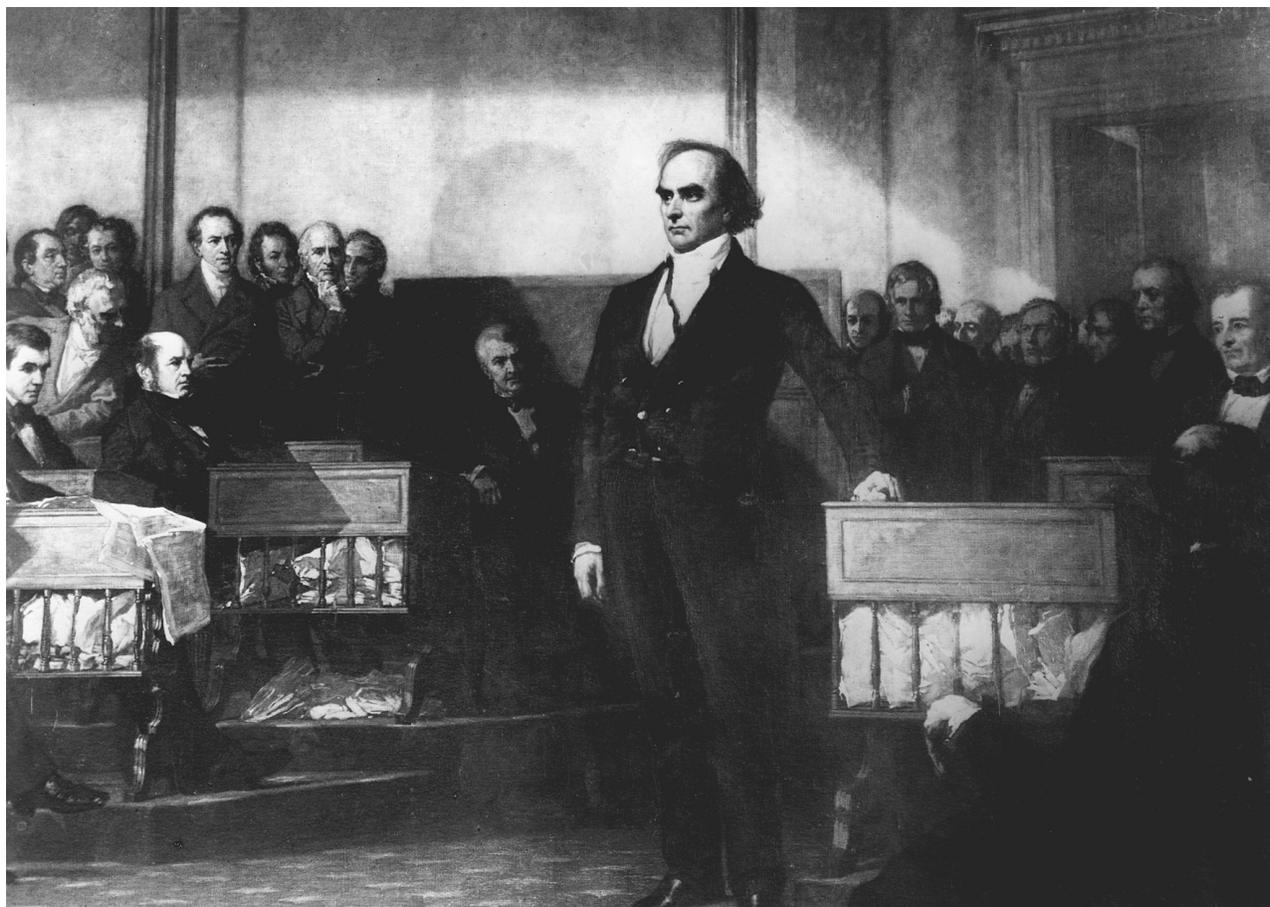
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HAYNE–WEBSTER DEBATE (1830)

The 1830 Hayne–Webster Debate actually consisted of several speeches in the U.S. Senate between Robert Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Although the Senate discussion formally centered on a resolution concerning western lands, part of it, consisting of two speeches each by Hayne and Webster, has become known as the Hayne–Webster Debate. The debate focused on the issue of whether the United States was one nation united under the Constitution or merely a group of sovereign states united by a treaty called the Constitution. The second of Webster's replies guaranteed for all time his position as one of the Constitution's greatest defenders. The debate was widely covered in the period's newspapers, and 100,000 copies of Webster's second speech were reprinted in pamphlet form.

This debate was more than just a disagreement between Webster and Hayne. In a larger sense, it was between those in the South who promoted nullification (the argument that a state had the right to nullify federal law), including John C. Calhoun, vice president at the time of the debate, and those who opposed it. Nullification opponents, most prominently Webster and Henry Clay, believed in a strong union and a (relatively) strong role for the federal government, including the sponsorship of internal improvements and the use of tariffs to promote domestic industry, which was called the "American System."

In Hayne's first speech, on January 19, 1830, he addressed westerners who opposed the federal government's ownership of land in their states. He attacked such control of the land as transferring state funds to the federal government and suggested that the states should be able to control all land within their boundaries. He



Daniel Webster speaking in the U.S. Senate in 1830. Webster and fellow senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina conducted debates that discussed whether the United States was one nation united under the Constitution or merely a group of sovereign states united by a treaty called the Constitution. (Library of Congress)

cited the tariff (although not referring to it by name) and land sales as “taxation” and urged that it come to an end.

Webster replied to this argument on January 20, stating that the land policy had been successful in most areas. In support of his stand, he recalled that Ohio had moved from wilderness to a highly populated area (rising to a million people) in only thirty-five years. He also cited the need to pay off the national debt and the conditions under which the land was transferred to the federal government as reasons federal lands could not be given back to the states. Throughout the debate, he stressed the value of the Union. He mostly avoided the question of the tariff, but did praise New England as a great friend of the West. Webster also praised the Northwest Ordinance (1787), noting its ban against slavery.

Hayne’s second speech, delivered the next day, mixed wit, Shakespeare, ridicule, and attack. He

cited Webster’s participation in the supposed “corrupt bargain” that elected John Quincy Adams president in 1825, and he accused Webster of inconsistency regarding the public lands and the American System. Hayne also attacked the Federalists (Webster had once been a Federalist) for their role in the Hartford Convention, a meeting during the War of 1812 at which New England Federalists who were disenchanted with the war had met and discussed disunion. However, he also took Webster’s bait, defending slavery and claiming that slaveholders defended freedom more than any other group in the country. Hayne finally defended nullification, contrasting it with what he saw as the evil of the Hartford Convention, and he closed with a claim that South Carolina’s actions in resisting the tariff represented the only way to preserve the Union.

Webster responded on January 26–27 (in the interim, the Senate had been adjourned) with what has

been called one of the greatest speeches in American history. He spoke for six hours over two days. Webster first answered some of Hayne's barbs with some of his own, even noting errors in Hayne's references to Shakespeare. Webster defended his own and New England's consistency on the public lands issue and the tariff, and also answered the charge regarding the "corrupt bargain" associated with the disputed presidential election of 1824. He accused the South of inconsistency on the tariff, implying that Calhoun had changed his opinion. Webster directly attacked the nullification doctrine, describing it as unconstitutional, and contrasted it with New England's earlier actions, which he described as constitutional.

Webster then suggested that South Carolina's actions in resisting the tariff would lead to civil war and a weak union. Throughout his speech, he noted how the government was one of constitutionally restricted powers, made by the people, responsible to it, and restricted by the Supreme Court rather than the states. Webster closed by arguing that the United States should not have "Liberty first and Union afterwards," but "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable" (Baxter, 1984).

This debate was later echoed by a toast of President Jackson at the annual Thomas Jefferson banquet. Jackson rose and stated "Our Federal Union—It must be preserved," which clearly put him on Webster's side. Calhoun, also at the banquet, responded with this toast: "The Union—next to our liberty most dear. May we always remember that it can only be preserved by distributing evenly the benefits and burthens of the Union" (Baxter, 1984). Thus the Hayne–Webster Debate sharply defined, but did not resolve, the whole battle over nullification and states' rights.

— Scott A. Merriman

See also: Calhoun, John C.; Nullification Doctrine; Webster, Daniel.

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HINTON ROWAN HELPER (1829–1909)

Hinton Rowan Helper's most famous book, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*, published in 1857, was probably the harshest condemnation of slavery ever to be written by a southerner. Helper's argument, buttressed by statistical evidence and written in a combative prose style, ensured that the book could never be published in the South. In fact, a New York publisher, A. B. Burdock, published it only after Helper had guaranteed (with the help of financial backers) that the publisher would not suffer any financial loss.

Helper's main theme was that slavery retarded the economic growth of the South because slavery caused great suffering for both slaves and millions of poor white southerners. The poor whites were Helper's intended audience. Helper came from a yeoman family in North Carolina; however, he tended to lump yeoman farmers and poor whites together into one category he called "poor whites." He cast slaveholders as the enemies, not the friends, of the poor whites and disparagingly referred to slaveholders as "the lords of the lash."

To prove his point about economic underdevelopment, Helper contrasted the North and the South in both 1790 and 1850. Using statistical evidence culled from the census for each decade, Helper showed that after starting out equal to or even surpassing the northern states, by 1850 the southern states lagged woefully behind the North in commerce and industrial output. He used these statistics to reveal that the South's supposed superiority in agricultural production did not exist; rather, his numbers revealed that the North was superior in agricultural production and other key indices such as livestock holdings, the value of farm implements, and land valuations. Furthermore, southern backwardness extended into education and culture as well, with the North exceeding the South in rates of literacy, number of libraries, colleges, and writers. Helper placed the blame squarely on the South's devotion to slavery and the slaveholders' political, economic, and oratorical manipulation of poor whites.

The proper remedy for this situation, Helper maintained, was the abolition of slavery, which would encourage free white labor, which heretofore had been assigned a degraded status, raise land values, and destroy the slaveholding aristocracy's grip on economic power. To effect the abolition of slavery, Helper said, southern nonslaveholding whites had to unite in organized, independent political action. Slaveholders

had to be rendered ineligible for political office. No political cooperation with slaveholders should occur, nor should there be religious fellowship or social affiliation with them. Poor whites should refuse to patronize slaveholding merchants. In fact, proslavery men should not be recognized, except as the criminals or ruffians they actually were. Poor whites should cancel their subscriptions to proslavery newspapers. To encourage free white labor, nonslaveholders had to refuse to hire slaves for work.

The last step was the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Helper apparently envisioned gradual emancipation because he recommended a tax of \$60 per slave, with an additional \$40 tax levied for each slave held after July 4, 1863. This tax money would be given to the slaves as recompense for their years of unpaid labor as well as to cover the cost of their colonization to Africa, Latin America, or elsewhere in the United States. Helper had genuine pity for the slaves, despite his thoroughgoing racism; he called the slaves “cowards” and “pitiable,” yet he called slavery “the most horrific relic of the most barbarous age” (Helper, 1857). He saw both slaves and poor whites as victims of tyrannical slaveholders.

In effect, what Helper advocated, though not explicitly, was class conflict in the South. He hoped change would be peaceful and asserted that he sought “fair play, [to] secure to us the right of discussion, the freedom of speech, and we will settle the difficulty at the ballot box, not on the battle-ground by force of reason, not by force of arms” (Helper, 1857). The slaveholders, however, were not convinced of Helper’s pacific intentions, especially when he noted that nine out of ten slaves “would be delighted with an opportunity to cut their masters throats” (Helper, 1857). Such violent rhetoric raised the ever-present specter of another Nat Turner rebellion. As Clement Eaton (1964) notes, ultimately, Helper’s message had little impact in the Old South. Most poor whites rallied around slaveholders when war broke out in 1861, and racial antipathy toward blacks proved stronger than class interest. Yeoman farmers, whom Helper had lumped in with poor whites, also rallied around slaveholders when the war came. Many of these farmers supported slavery because they had ambitions to move into the planter class themselves.

— James C. Foley

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SALLY HEMINGS (1773–1835)

One of Thomas Jefferson’s slaves most of her life, Sally Hemings gained notoriety when a political opponent charged that she was also Jefferson’s mistress. Sally was born to Betty Hemings, a slave woman alleged to have been a concubine of her owner, John Wayles. When that wealthy slave-trading Virginia planter died a year later, Sally became part of the estate of Thomas Jefferson, who had married Wayles’s daughter Martha in 1772. Sally’s first duties likely included caring for Jefferson’s daughter Mary, often called Polly.

In 1787, five years after Martha Jefferson’s death, Sally accompanied eight-year-old Polly to Paris where her father was serving as the U.S. minister to France. While there, Sally served as Polly’s servant. Upon Jefferson’s return to Virginia in 1789, Sally became a house slave at his home, Monticello. Over the next two decades, Sally had six children, four of whom survived to adulthood. After Jefferson’s death in 1826, Sally lived with her sons Eston and Madison in Charlottesville, Virginia, until her death nine years later.

In 1802 Sally came into public notice as the subject of a story promoted by a frustrated office seeker, James T. Callender. Angry because he had failed to secure a government appointment during Jefferson’s first term as president, Callender published a story in a Richmond, Virginia, newspaper charging that Jefferson was the father of Sally’s children. Since he had never been to Jefferson’s home, Callender based the story on little more than gossip gathered in the neighborhood around Monticello. The story spread quickly as other newspapers reprinted the allegations, sometimes in scurrilous verse. Jefferson’s friends and political associates denied the story and condemned Callender. Although he issued no public statement on the charges, Jefferson denied them in private correspondence.

After a time, interest in the story flagged until Sally's son Madison granted an interview seventy years later to a reporter for the *Pike County Republican*, an Ohio newspaper. In this interview, the sixty-eight-year-old man, who had been freed in Jefferson's will and subsequently had moved to Ohio, contended that his mother became Jefferson's mistress while they were in Paris. Although Sally wished to remain in France, according to Madison, Jefferson promised her special privileges and to free any children she should have if she returned to the United States with him.

Most historians acknowledged the possibility of a relationship between Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson, but until the late 1990s, only three biographers—Fawn Brodie, Page Smith, and Annette Gordon-Reed—had found the circumstantial evidence persuasive. DNA test results published in 1998 in *Nature* magazine failed to resolve the questions surrounding a possible relationship. Scientists compared the DNA of descendants of Eston Hemings to the DNA of descendants of a paternal uncle of Jefferson's since the latter had no sons. The data demonstrated that Jefferson might have been the father of Sally's youngest son, Eston. However, Jefferson shared the same Y chromosome as over two dozen adult male Jeffersons living in Virginia at the time Eston was conceived. One distinguished panel of scholars examined all the available data in 2001 and concluded that the case has yet to be made that Jefferson likely was the father of any of the children of Sally Hemings.

Because the question cannot be resolved absolutely, Hemings's relationship with Jefferson will remain controversial, but the possibility that he had a liaison with one of his slaves adds another dimension to the intriguing study of a man who remained a slaveowner while being widely known as an opponent of slavery.

— Larry Gragg

See also: Jefferson, Thomas.

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JOSIAH HENSON (1789–1883)

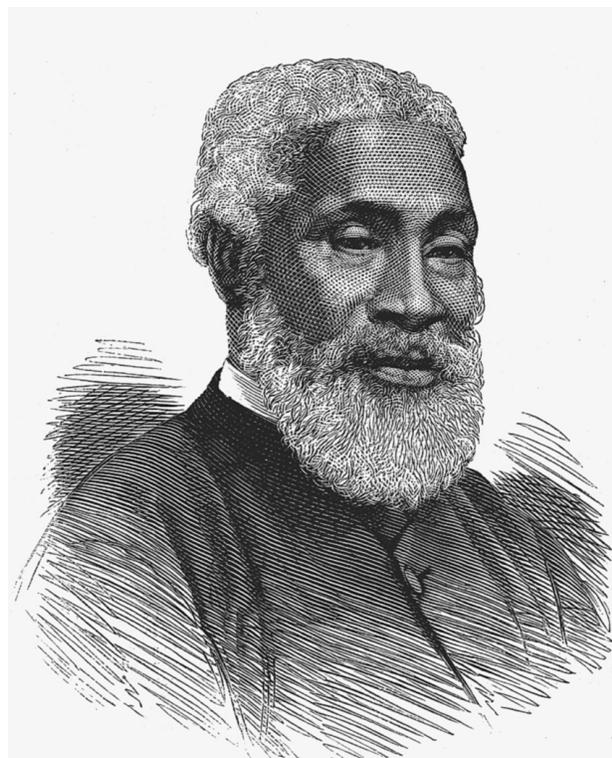
The Reverend Josiah Henson was born a slave in Charles County, Maryland. Henson's earliest recollections of slavery were of the selling of his father to a planter in Alabama, and the auctioning off of himself, five siblings, and his mother after the death of their master, one Dr. McPherson. Henson described himself in his youth as one who was full of energy and thrived on competition. Such characteristics were likely the reasons Henson's master, Isaac Riley, chose him to serve as the plantation overseer after a white overseer was fired for stealing. Henson's mother regularly gave her son lessons in Christian ethics.

Around the age of eighteen, Henson experienced a religious conversion, which he attributed to a sermon preached by John McKenny, a Christian man who lived in Georgetown in Washington, D.C. McKenny preached that all could receive spiritual salvation through Jesus Christ. Henson was moved by the sermon and began to think of his own salvation and that of other slaves. His belief in the possibility of personal salvation for all (even for slaves) likely influenced his decision to carry out a task for his master—one that he would later regret.

Mounting debt led Henson's master, Isaac Riley, to hide some of his slaves to prevent their seizure by debt collectors. Riley charged Henson with escorting eighteen of his bondspersons to his brother's home in Kentucky. Henson carried out this task. In April 1825, he arrived in Kentucky with the eighteen slaves. He later witnessed many of these same slaves sold on a Kentucky auction block, an event that had a transformative effect on Henson, making him obsessed with freedom.

In 1828 Henson met privately with a white preacher who was opposed to slavery. The two developed a plan for Henson to obtain his freedom by purchasing it from Riley. The plan was unsuccessful because Riley reneged on his part of the agreement. Henson eventually obtained his freedom by escaping to Canada with his wife and children in October 1830. He later assisted over one hundred slaves in escaping to freedom in Canada.

After arriving in Canada, Henson worked as a farm laborer, while continuing his efforts to spread the gospel. Financial support from northern philanthropists helped Henson establish the British American Manual Labor Institute, located near Chatham, Canada West (currently known as Ontario), in 1842. Henson envisioned the institution as a place where black boys could learn the mechanical arts and black



Josiah Henson escaped slavery by fleeing to Canada with his wife and children in 1830. Henson later helped more than one hundred slaves escape to Canada. Many believed that Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was based on Henson's life. (Corbis)

girls, the domestic arts. Over the next several years, Henson toured England, raising funds to support the British American Manual Labor Institute, which eventually closed in 1868, amidst claims of mismanagement.

Henson was thrust into the limelight when Harriet Beecher Stowe's work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was published in 1852. Many people believed the book was based on Henson's life, especially since Beecher had indeed interviewed Henson. In 1876 Henson took his last tour of England where he was received by Queen Victoria. After returning to the United States, Henson met with President Rutherford B. Hayes to discuss his travels abroad. He then returned to his home in Canada, where he died in 1883 at the age of ninety-two.

— Beverly Bunch-Lyons

See also: United States–Canadian Relations on Fugitives; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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HERMOSA CASE (1840)

Litigation involving the U.S. slaver *Hermosa* occupied admiralty courts for nearly fifteen years. On October 19, 1840, the American schooner *Hermosa*, commanded by a Captain Chattin, wrecked on one of the Abaco islands in the Bahamas. Bound for New Orleans from Richmond, Virginia, the *Hermosa* carried a cargo of thirty-eight slaves. Wreckers escorted the ship into Nassau, where Chattin refused to allow slaves to disembark the ship or to have contact with anyone on the wharf. Instead he met with the U.S. consul to arrange for another ship to deliver his cargo. While the two attempted to make arrangements, uniformed magistrates, armed and backed by British troops with muskets and bayonets, forcibly removed the *Hermosa's* slaves. After hurried proceedings before a Nassau magistrate, the slaves were freed, despite protests from the captain and U.S. consul.

The *Hermosa* case was one in a series of instances involving the removal of slaves from U.S. ships by the British. Despite different circumstances, there were similarities between the *Encomium*, *Comet*, *Enterprise*, and *Creole* cases. Each focused on a parliamentary act of August 28, 1833, which abolished slavery. In the *Comet* and *Encomium* cases, since the incidents occurred before abolition, the British paid indemnities, but the other three occurred after the parliamentary act became effective. Britain's position concerning the *Hermosa* was to deny liability, claiming instead that the slaves became free upon entering British jurisdiction. The Americans countered that the *Hermosa* had committed no illegality and had only sought aid. Like the other cases, that of the *Hermosa* became entangled in international arbitration for years.

The *Hermosa's* owner, H. N. Templeman, persisted in claims for compensation for the thirty-eight slaves, as did the U.S. government, but it took years before the case was resolved. The *Hermosa*, *Enterprise*, and *Creole* cases were considered together as a commission of claims was established to hear arguments. Meeting in London, the commission included Nathaniel L. Upham representing the United States and Edward Hornby of Great Britain. The commission operated under articles that established an umpire for cases where the two commissioners were at odds. The *Her-*

mosa claim was presented on March 14, 1854, and the commissioners heard arguments on May 23–25; further papers were filed on June 19.

The *Hermosa*, *Enterprize*, and *Creole* claims were submitted to the umpire on September 26, 1854. The umpire was Joshua Bates, a prominent London banker and partner in the Baring Brothers firm. Bates conducted hearings during October 19–21, 1854, with John A. Thomas representing the United States and James Hannen defending the British position. Bates announced his ruling in the *Hermosa* case on January 15, 1855, and decided in favor of the United States, awarding \$8,000 to each of the two American firms to whom owner Templeman had transferred the claims.

— *Boyd Childress*

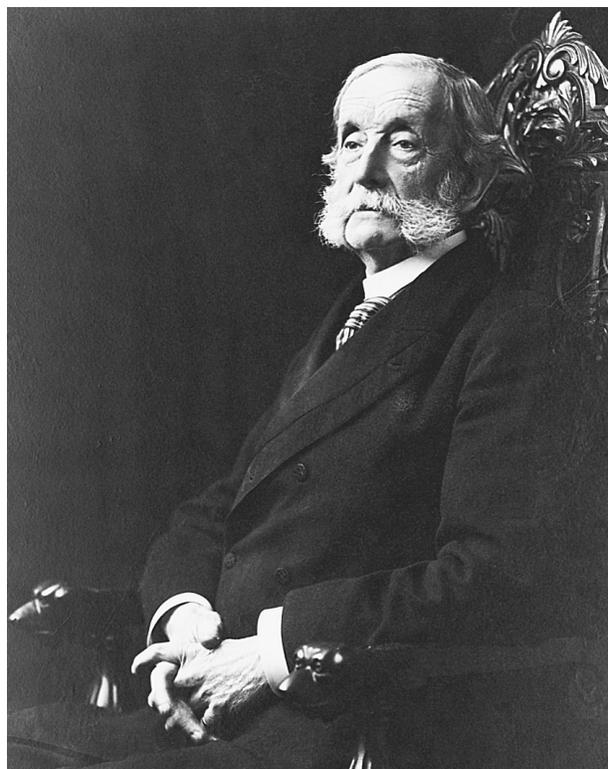
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THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON (1823–1911)

A Unitarian minister, radical abolitionist and disunionist, social reformer, orator, and writer, Thomas Wentworth Higginson was the consummate nineteenth-century intellectual whose ideas and theories compelled him to a life of militant social activism. In the years following graduation from Harvard College in 1841, Higginson was intrigued by the possibility of study at Harvard's Divinity School, yet doubted his vocation for the ministry. Through his increasing involvement in several social reform movements, including temperance, antislavery, and women's rights, he discovered his immense attraction to the social activism of liberal Unitarian clergymen Theodore Parker and William Henry Channing. Thus inspired, he enrolled in the Divinity School to prepare for a ministry in which he would lead his congregants, or, as he once wrote, "take hold and shake them up a little" and exhort them to follow him in missions of committed social reform (Edelstein, 1968).

Higginson served as pastor of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, Massachusetts, from 1847 to 1849, and as minister of the Free Church in Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1851 to 1861. He used the pulpit to refine and promulgate his radical abolitionism and disunionism, which completely alienated his congrega-



Thomas Wentworth Higginson was a Unitarian clergyman and colonel of the first black regiment in the Union Army during the U.S. Civil War. He was also active in women's rights and antislavery movements. (Corbis)

tion in Newburyport. In 1850 he made an unsuccessful bid for Congress as a Free Soil Party candidate, eventually withdrawing from that party's politics for a deeper personal commitment to the principles of disunionism. He firmly believed that dissolution of the Union was the only way to extract slavery permanently from the lives and consciousness of northerners.

Higginson was actively involved in the effort to maintain the liberty of Boston's fugitive slaves. In 1851 he conceived a plan to free the fugitive slave Thomas Sims incarcerated in Boston. Although this plot failed and Sims was returned to slavery, the incident confirmed for Higginson the necessity of concerted militant action against a government responsible for upholding the evil institution of slaveholding. In 1854 Higginson and several other abolitionists devised a plan to free the fugitive Anthony Burns. This attempt also failed and resulted in Higginson's arrest and a facial wound. Higginson found that the more he engaged in "forcible resistance," the more convinced he became of its necessity and the more he sought its opportunities. As he noted in his journal, "I can only

make life worth living for, by becoming a revolutionist” (Edelstein, 1968).

Higginson’s personal writings from the 1850s display the beliefs and theories that led to his conviction that violence was essential to the eradication of slavery. Despite his obvious moral outrage against slaveholding, his militancy did not solely derive from his morality. Journals and letters reveal his obsession with a heroic, romantic ideal in which men proved their courage, their manliness, and the power of their moral fortitude through militant, armed action.

Following passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854), Higginson became the New England agent for the Massachusetts, State Kansas Committee, the militant branch of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, an organization that actively supported the settlement of free state emigrants in Kansas. As agent, Higginson made two trips to Kansas and also purchased arms and ammunition to help free state settlers defend their settlements against attacks by proslavery forces.

In 1857 Higginson became one of the group of six abolitionists, all members of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee, who collaborated to provide John Brown with funds to stop proslavery forces in Kansas and who helped subsidize John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry. Besides Higginson, the “Secret Six,” including Samuel Gridley Howe, Theodore Parker, Frank Sanborn, Gerrit Smith, and George Luther Stearns, provided funding, arms, and other supplies Brown needed to execute his plan.

One scholar has argued that Higginson played a pivotal role in producing the “rationale for violence” that persuaded the group members who were most reluctant to accept militant action. Higginson possessed the fervent belief that participation in an insurrection would prepare enslaved African Americans to assume independent lives in a democratic society. Higginson also favored Brown’s plan because he was convinced of the need to destroy the belief among northerners that all slaves were docile and submissive (Rossbach, 1982).

Unlike his five co-conspirators, once Higginson decided to support Brown’s plan, he did not equivocate. He detested his collaborators’ ambivalence, and from the earliest days of the group’s collaboration, Higginson judged his colleagues’ inability to support their moral imperatives with vigorous militancy as evidence of their moral and physical cowardice. After the raid’s failure and Brown’s capture, Higginson’s colleagues panicked and frantically destroyed evidence of their involvement. Higginson neither destroyed his records nor denied his role, instead dedicating himself to raising money for Brown’s defense and developing a plot to free Brown from captivity. Although these efforts

were unsuccessful, Higginson was not as disturbed by them as he was by the failure of Brown’s raid to trigger a massive slave insurrection that would break southern slaveowners. From this point on, Higginson realized that only unified action by northern whites could destroy slavery.

Higginson welcomed the outbreak of hostilities that began the Civil War. In November 1861 the governor of Massachusetts authorized him to raise a regiment, which he filled by August 1862. In November 1862 Higginson eagerly accepted an appointment as colonel of the first all-black regiment in the Union army, composed entirely of freed slaves, the First South Carolina Volunteers. He enthusiastically trained the recruits and then sought skirmishes with the enemy as a means of giving his men the opportunity to exercise, display, and prove their valor. In 1864 persistent ill health brought on by a leg wound and malaria forced Higginson to resign his post and return to civilian life.

Although Higginson became briefly involved in supporting radical Reconstruction after the war, including full citizenship and enfranchisement for freedmen, he soon recognized that his decades of radical militancy had passed. He wrote to Ralph Waldo Emerson of his new longing to be “an artist . . . lured by the joy of expression itself” (Edelstein, 1968). By 1867 African American concerns no longer captivated him. He devoted himself to writing, prolifically producing essays, literary criticism, fiction, and the memoir *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1870). He remained an ardent supporter of women’s rights and woman suffrage, and with fellow former abolitionists Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, he edited *The Woman’s Journal* from 1870 to 1884.

— Judith E. Harper

See also: Brown, John; Burns, Anthony; Harpers Ferry Raid; Kansas–Nebraska Act.

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HIRING OF SLAVES

Slave hiring was a practice whereby slaves were temporarily rented, or otherwise temporarily transferred, between persons for various reasons. Many hired slaves labored in cities or on internal improvements. Less noted by historians are hired fieldhands and slaves hired out for their upkeep, particularly those in poor health or of very young or advanced age. Hired slaves' terms of service ranged from one day to one year, sometimes longer. Although agreements varied, most stipulated that the hirer assumed the expenses of food, clothing, and taxes. However, owners of very young, very old, or infirm slaves often paid another person to feed and clothe them, or transferred the slaves in exchange for their food and clothing.

To varying degrees, slave hiring occurred nearly everywhere African slavery existed in the Western Hemisphere. It evolved as an institutional modification, reflecting slavery's flexibility in changing economic circumstances. It became most prevalent in areas characterized by diversified agriculture and urbanization. In the late eighteenth-century South, for instance, planters in parts of Virginia began shifting from labor-intensive tobacco to mixed agriculture, including wheat and other small-grain crops. Slave hiring became widespread in much of Virginia and remained so through the Civil War. The practice was even more ubiquitous in large cities, where diversified economies demanded flexible employment of slave labor. In Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia, for example, hired slaves worked as factory hands, house servants, and carriage drivers, among other occupations.

Similarly, in sixteenth-century Peru, slave hiring was widespread. Free persons rented slaves in Peru, as did the Spanish government, which rented slaves to work in shipyards and on fortifications. As in the United States, Peruvian slave hiring served the purpose of providing a more flexible employment of slave labor.

Although there has been little scholarly investigation of the practice, slave hiring is a subject of debate among historians. The main points of contention include the impact of the practice on hired slaves, on the institution of slavery, and on white society. Historians of urban slave hiring stress that in some cases, being hired out conferred special advantages on the affected slave. These historians show that urban tobacco-factory workers and carriage drivers, for instance, were often hired slaves and predominantly male, and they enjoyed relative freedom of movement between their homes and work sites. However, the many slave women hired as house servants in cities usually did not

experience their male, urban counterparts' relative freedom of movement.

Recent research on rural slave hiring, however, shows that the experiences of these hired slaves—both women and men, agricultural and industrial—differed radically from those of their male, urban counterparts. With no need to find their own room and board away from the work site, rural hired slaves did not enjoy freedom of movement any more than slaves living and working on their owner's farm or plantation. Furthermore, much evidence shows that slaves rented out in rural areas were often unsuccessful in their attempts to manipulate the relationship among themselves, renters, and owners to their own advantage. Finally, slaves rented out in rural areas usually did not choose their own hirer but were rented to the highest bidder at public hirings.

Factors applicable to both urban and rural settings must also be considered. In both city and countryside, slave hiring frequently separated slave children from their mothers once children were considered old enough to work for a prospective renter. For this reason, slave hiring often entailed the rupture of a slave's ties with family and friends. In addition, the prospect of owners' lawsuits did not always deter hirers from beating or otherwise abusing hired slaves mercilessly. Since slave hirers lacked interest in the long-term welfare of the slaves they rented, many were probably even more likely to shoot or whip the hired slaves in their charge.

The effect of slave hiring on slavery's long-term economic viability is also a matter of debate. Some historians contend that freedom of movement and other aspects of city hiring were symptomatic of a fundamental incompatibility of slavery and an urban environment. Other scholars believe that slave hiring afforded slavery new vitality in regions characterized by mixed agriculture and urbanization because the practice permitted slaveowners to temporarily divert their surplus labor elsewhere. In 1850s Virginia, for instance, rapidly advancing hire rates and a growing demand for slave labor in other areas of the state combined to induce many slaveowners to hire out surplus slaves within Virginia rather than sell them to areas further south. Thus, these historians maintain, slave hiring afforded slavery the flexibility it required to survive in diversified economies.

Many of slave hiring's effects on white society occurred within the context of logistical tasks entailed in the hiring out of slaves. For example, slave hiring in antebellum Virginia was facilitated by whites being paid to transport, surveil, and auction off slaves for rent at slave-hiring sites. In this connection, what mattered

most was not solely how many, or how few, whites *owned* slaves, but how many whites (including non-slaveowners and tenants) had opportunities to exercise some form of *authority* over slaves, either in the performance of logistical tasks connected to slave hiring or by hiring slaves owned by others. Ultimately, slave hiring in antebellum Virginia produced a white society whose otherwise seemingly disparate elements were linked by the authority all of them wielded over slaves.

— John J. Zaborney

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HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historiographical debate on U.S. slavery reflects most poignantly the changing paradigms, research agendas, and methodologies in the writing of history, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. Historical research is concentrated on the antebellum South, that is, the period between 1830 and 1860, and mainly focused on large plantations; little attention has so far been paid to slaves in towns and to small slaveholdings.

Slavery has been studied by American historians since the foundation of the United States. Interest, however, and historiographical output were particularly strong in the decades after World War II and during the American civil rights movement. Black studies, and thus the history of slavery, gained recognition as a specific field of academic research in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Tensions arose about white contributions to a black experience, but black studies were gradually

integrated into the mainstream of the historical profession.

Historiography in the postrevolutionary era initially focused on state histories. Although slavery was seen as a product of British rule, historians of slave states such as Hugh McCall in his *History of Georgia* (1811) described the slaves as "naturally fitted" for the plantation economy, thus offering an explanation for the continuation of the "peculiar institution." George Bancroft in his *History of the United States* (1834–1874) picked up these arguments. In accordance with his political ideas of Jacksonian Democracy, he criticized U.S. slavery as a remnant of British rule that was alien to the true American nature. However, he also emphasized the "naturally inferior" character of the African race, whose members could profit from the civilizing contact with their white masters. Arguments on the perceived racial inferiority of Africans dominated the historiographical discourse on slavery over the following decades in both the abolitionist and proslavery camps. Africans were portrayed as children who needed guidance and moral support. They could essentially be moulded into saints or sinners depending on the attitudes of their masters. Ulrich B. Phillips's major study *American Negro Slavery* (1918) further developed the paradigm of the paternalistic South and presented the plantation household as an essentially unprofitable, but beneficiary institution, which underlined white supremacy and reduced the slaves to objects of their masters' policy. Phillips's research was based on plantation records, which did not leave much room for black voices. He dismissed slave narratives as a source that could shed light on the slave experience. His interpretation of the slave system remained largely unchallenged for more than thirty years. Only in 1956 did the northern historian Kenneth Stampp challenge Phillips's interpretation of slavery as a mild but inefficient system. In his *The Peculiar Institution*, which was also based on plantation records, Stampp characterized slavery as a harsh but profitable economic system that left the slaves as maltreated victims of calculating planters. For Stampp, slavery was an exploitative mode of production, not an institution to regulate race relations, since there were no inherent racial differences between blacks and whites other than the color of their skin.

These conflicting views of the slave economy set the agenda for a debate on the character of the plantation South, which dominated the historiography in the following twenty years. Two major studies, which coincidentally appeared in the same year—1974—epitomized the debate, which centered on a group of historians at the University of Rochester. In his *Roll*,

Jordan, Roll Marxist historian Eugene D. Genovese supported the idea of southern paternalism, which used both kindness and cruelty to ensure a system of exploitation. In his interpretation of the master–slave relationship Genovese applied Antonio Gramsci’s theories of hegemony, which were based not on force but on consent. Although the power structures were obviously in favor of the white masters, the slave system also depended on the collaboration of the slaves, who, within very restricted limits, could manipulate the working relationship. Genovese became increasingly fascinated with “the world the slaves made” (the subtitle of his book) and the aspects of slaves’ culture that oscillated between white values and norms and black traditions. Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman’s *Time on the Cross* also addressed the question of the slave economy. They argued that slavery was an economically viable and successful system with future potential, which was based on incentives rather than fear. Slave life was initially based on stable families, who had internalized the Protestant work ethic of their masters and profited from the success of the plantation economy. Their book, which appeared in two parts and was based on a close reading of plantation records, caused considerable reaction because it applied new quantitative methods to the writing of history. They presented graphs, tables, and diagrams in Volume 2, which did not always stand the test of cross-examination.

Both books not only discussed the economic viability of slavery, but also shed light on the identity of the slaves. They also reacted to earlier studies, such as Stanley Elkins’s *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959) and the devastating government report issued by Daniel P. Moynihan in 1965, which had argued that slavery had greatly contributed to the contemporary “pathology” and “instability” of black families. Elkins had applied behavioral theories taken from the social sciences to present slaves as essentially traumatized and corrupted by a system that he compared to Nazi concentration camps. In his interpretation, blacks were racially equal to whites but severely crippled by a depersonalizing system. Elkins’s book and Moynihan’s verdict provoked a wave of research that attempted both to challenge the image of the slave as a mere victim and object of the white masters and to reconstruct the black personality and culture. This took the form of studies on slave revolts and, more importantly, on *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*—the title of Lawrence W. Levine’s groundbreaking book on the slave world as seen through black folklore and reports of ex-slaves collected in the 1930s through interviews of the Works

Progress Administration (WPA). These approaches reflected not only the historians’ interest in hitherto unexplored sources, but they also paid tribute to the growing self-confidence in the American black community in search of their own past. Black culture was no longer seen as a corrupted adaptation of white society. African roots and their development in the slave society became a new field of research that attracted anthropologists like Charles Joyner and Norman Yerman and radical black historians like Sterling Stuckey.

In the 1980s gender historians became interested in the role of gender in slave societies. Deborah Gray White’s *Ain’t I a Woman?* (1985) and Elisabeth Fox-Genovese’s *Within a Plantation Household* (1988) discussed issues of race, gender, and class in the antebellum South. Drawing on women’s diaries, letters and memoirs, and the WPA interviews, they reconstructed the world of plantation women that was based on race and class distinctions rather than female solidarity. These and more recent studies such as Walter Johnson’s *Soul by Soul* (1999) try to reconstruct the experience of slaves as men and women who had to adapt to a cruel, degrading system. Hitherto neglected sources such as slave narratives and court records are used to give the slaves their own voices and to capture the daily life of those in bondage.

— Raingard Eßler

See also: DuBois, W. E. B.; Elkins, Stanley M.; Engerman, Stanley L.; Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth; Genovese, Eugene; Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell; Women and the Anti-slavery Movement; Works Progress Administration Interviews.

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JULIA WARD HOWE (1819–1910)

A poet, author, and abolitionist, Julia Ward Howe is best known for writing “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” the rallying song for the North during the Civil War. Born and raised in New York City, she moved to Boston in 1843 upon marrying Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, head of the Perkins Institute for the Blind and

an ardent abolitionist. Unhappy in her new surroundings and prohibited by her husband from participating in public reform work, she attended lectures; privately studied foreign languages, religion, and philosophy; and wrote poetry and drama while maintaining a household with children.

In the 1850s, while embarking upon a literary career, Howe became a convert to abolitionism. Having been raised in a family that feared abolitionism as a threat to society, she became thoroughly convinced in her thirties that it was a just and necessary cause. Although she supported ending slavery, she did not believe in racial equality. She thought that freed slaves would have to be trained, educated, and “refined by white culture” in order to be more than “the laziest of brutes.” Her derogatory comments about blacks, published in her book *A Trip to Cuba* (1860), drew public criticism from fellow abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison.

Howe wrote the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” on November 19, 1861, while in Washington, D.C., with her husband to distribute supplies to Massachusetts regiments. Seeing Union troops return from the battlefield and personally witnessing President Lincoln’s sadness over the war deeply affected her. She wrote the “Battle Hymn” as her personal contribution to the Union cause, and upon returning to Boston, she submitted it to the *Atlantic Monthly* for publication. The magazine’s editor, James T. Fields, gave the poem its title and published it on the cover page of the February 1862 issue. In April 1862 Oliver Ditson and Company published sheet music setting the poem to the tune of “John Brown’s Body,” a song already popular among Union troops. Not long after its publication, regiments throughout the North were singing the new “Battle Hymn of the Republic.”

In the work, Howe used biblical imagery from both the Old and the New Testaments to depict a powerful, wrathful God marching alongside Union troops to the battlefield. She depicted a God who “sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat” and “loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword.” God marched with the Union to preserve truth and justice, and “crush the serpent [symbol of the South] with his heel.” In the last of the song’s five verses, Howe gave the Union the emotional boost it needed to legitimize and continue the war by proclaiming it a crusade to end slavery. Referring to Christ, she wrote, “As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free, While God is marching on.” The “Battle Hymn of the Republic” remained popular even after the Civil War and was a serious contender for the national anthem until 1931 when “The Star-Spangled Banner” was chosen instead.

— *Mary Jo Miles*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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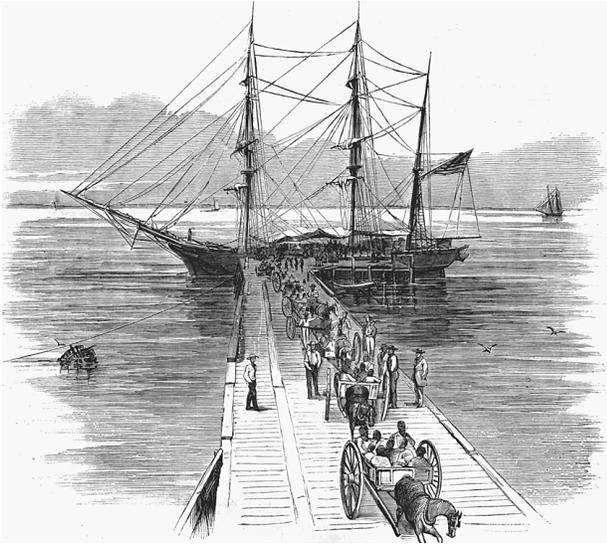


ILLEGAL SLAVE TRADE

The illegal slave trade in the modern era involved two aspects: the smuggling of slaves to avoid paying tax and customs duties, and the smuggling of slaves in violation of international laws prohibiting the slave trade. Because of the nature of the illegal slave trade, little data exists on the number of slaves traded illegally.

Smuggling slaves to avoid paying customs and tax duties on them was an integral part of the slave trade, and throughout the period of that trade, Dutch, English, French, Danish, Swedish, and Genoese smugglers supplied, at varying times, French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies with illegal slaves. Obviously, those slaves were unrecorded in customhouse ledgers. For example, in the eighteenth century, the Spanish *asiento* (which licensed foreigners to trade slaves in the American viceroyalties) contributed to slave smuggling, as quality standards and duty payments required by the Spanish government were often too high to allow for substantial profits on the sale of slaves. Indeed, the *asiento* was used more for the illicit sale of other goods other than slaves, but the illicit cargoes often contained untaxed slaves. In addition, the failure of official *asiento* holders to meet the demand for slaves often led to a market for smuggled slaves. Thus the illegal slave trade was profitable in most periods, albeit difficult to estimate.

The second aspect of the illegal slave trade, the smuggling of slaves in violation of the international laws that prohibited the international slave trade, meant, of course, that the illegal trade’s practitioners strove to keep their dealings secret. Legal abolition began with the



Slaves disembark at Key West from the U.S. steamer *Wyandotte* in 1860. The slaves were rescued when they were discovered on the American bark *Williams*, whose captain was illegally trading in slaves. (Corbis)

Dutch in 1805, and Great Britain and the United States prohibited engagement in the international slave trade in 1807. Following the Vienna Treaty (1815), all European maritime powers, often under British diplomatic pressure, passed piecemeal abolition acts.

In 1817 the British established a naval squadron off Africa's western coast to suppress the slave trade, and the United States followed suit. Great Britain and the United States also established a court to enforce their agreement, but formal abolition rarely meant an end to the trade. Neither Spain, Portugal, nor France took effective measures to enforce legislation, so much of the history of the illegal slave trade centers on efforts of the British and U.S. naval squadrons to suppress the trade. In 1845 a British House of Commons report suggested that although most nations had agreed to abolish the trade, an illegal trade remained active; the report also listed 2,313 known slavers.

Exact figures for the number of slaves illegally smuggled into the New World after 1808 are unavailable. Indeed, only estimates and educated guesses are possible. For example, W. E. B. DuBois argued that nonenforcement by the United States of its international agreement with Britain implied high levels of imports to the United States after 1808, and he estimated the number of those illegal imports to be two hundred fifty thousand. Recent scholarship has suggested that DuBois's figures were too high and that the correct figure (still only an educated guess) was

more like one thousand illegal imports per year until 1860.

Because it is nearly impossible to determine the total number of slaves illegally smuggled into the New World, students of the illegal slave trade have concentrated on specific cases in which illegal slave traders were caught (for example, the *Wanderer* case of 1859) and on records of both the antislavery squadron and the courts. As those data suggest, the illegal slave trade constituted a significant part of the overall slave trade.

— John Grenier

See also: Atlantic Slave Trade, Closing of.

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ILLNESS. See Diseases and African Slavery in the New World.

IMMEDIATISM

Immediatism was a term used among abolitionists in Britain and America beginning in the late 1820s to define their stance toward emancipation and to distinguish themselves from a gradualist approach to abolition. Immediatists advocated the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery; they fervently believed that sin must never be compromised, and therefore they refused to resort to such intermediate agencies as the closing of the slave trade, colonization, or apprenticeship as gradual remedies for the evil. The shift from gradual to immediate emancipation signaled a fundamental transformation in reformers' worldviews and a major turning point in intellectual history.

The doctrine of immediatism had its roots in the natural rights philosophy of the Enlightenment and in Quaker theology. Abolitionists in the eighteenth century theoretically believed that slaves had a right to their immediate freedom; and many Quakers, viewing

slavery as an embodiment of worldly sin that corrupted masters and slaves alike, concluded that the evil must be immediately cast off to escape moral contamination. But while immediatism was latent in the origins of antislavery thought, the overwhelming majority of eighteenth-century abolitionists advocated gradual abolition. Despite their understanding of slavery as a horrible sin that needed to be rooted out, their stance toward emancipation was detached and indirect. They sought gradual and cautious measures that retained Enlightenment attitudes toward linear progress and history; natural law and property rights; and a stable, orderly, and hierarchical universe. Consequently, British and American reformers focused on the abolition of the slave trade as an indirect means that they felt would lead to emancipation. Gradualists in America also embraced the American Colonization Society, which was organized in 1816 as a way to rid the country of both the stain of slavery and blacks without upsetting the social order or natural rights doctrines.

But slaveholders continually sought to block the path to gradual emancipation; and when reformers concluded that indirect means did not accomplish their morally urgent objectives, a crisis emerged that led to immediatist views. In 1824 the British Quaker Elizabeth Heyrick provided one of the most eloquent early pleas for immediate emancipation. Slavery, she said, was a “*holy war*” against “the very powers of darkness” that precluded any compromise with the sin. By 1830 many prominent British abolitionists had converted to immediatism, and the following year the British Anti-Slavery Society officially embraced immediate emancipation. Similarly, by the 1820s many American abolitionists concluded that the American Colonization Society was founded on racist principles and not interested in ending slavery, and reformers increasingly viewed gradualism as ineffectual. William Lloyd Garrison, the most persistent American immediatist, rejected colonization in 1829 and two years later began publishing the *Liberator*. And in 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized on the basis of the doctrine of immediate abolition.

In one sense the turn to immediatism reflected a shift in strategy; but in a much more fundamental sense it represented a conversion experience in the reformer and a shift from Enlightenment to romantic worldviews. Immediatists became “born again,” free from the fetters of original sin and ready to make the world sacred. They defined themselves as outsiders and stood apart from what they considered to be the vague and insincere policies of gradualists. Immediatism was at once their religion and their “sacred vocation”; it defined who they were, and it shaped everything they

did. And in contrast to Enlightenment thought, immediatists affirmed a sharp break with the past, an eschatological leap that transcended the previous limits of history and progress. They understood that emancipation was a root and branch operation that would severely disrupt prevailing conventions, order, and stability. Their worldview “was essentially romantic,” in the words of David Davis, “for instead of cautiously manipulating the external forces of nature, [they] sought to create a new epoch of history by liberating the inner moral forces of human nature.”

— *John Stauffer*

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; American Colonization Society; Atlantic Slave Trade, Closing of; Garrison, William Lloyd; Gradualism.

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INDENTURED SERVANTS

Indentured servitude was a widespread system of bound labor in British colonial America that foreshadowed many later aspects of slavery. Servants generally signed articles of indenture in Britain that bound them to serve a master without pay for a period ranging typically from about three to seven years. In return the masters would pay their passage to America and at the end of their time give them “freedom dues of goods” and sometimes land. Indentured servitude had become fully established in Virginia by the 1620s, allowing tobacco planters cheap labor and creating a profitable sideline for merchants in importing servants, encouraged by the headright of 50 acres for each person they paid to be brought into the colony. Essentially the same system was adopted with great success and profit in the English West Indies and wherever the British settled in North America. It has been estimated that 50 to 75 percent of British emigrants to colonial America crossed as servants, most of them going to plantation colonies.

The system developed in order to supply labor to

grow American cash crops by adapting existing elements of the English labor system, such as the hiring of unmarried agricultural laborers for “service in husbandry” and craft apprenticeship. There were a number of significant changes in the system used in America. First, the servant contracts or indentures were far longer and more formal than was usual in the case of English agricultural labor, where such agreements were often verbal and lasted only a year, the laborer frequently shifting master. This was a result of the planters’ need for a long-term workforce and the considerable investment they made in paying for a servant’s migration. Second, masters were allowed to sell their servants’ contract, as in medieval apprenticeship, a practice that had become illegal in England. Transferable contracts evolved because servants were bound in England by an agent, who sometimes engaged them under false pretenses or even kidnapped them and then sold them to masters on arrival in America. Families also sold relatives as servants because of debt, and English parishes used the system to provide cheaply for orphans.

Servants in early Virginia seem to have faced far harder work regimens and harsher treatment than was normal in Britain; they also suffered heavy mortality from disease. Court records reveal that in response servants frequently ran away, or disobeyed. As a result, a complex code of laws evolved to handle servant problems, including restricting their movement by a pass system and imposing severe punishment, including extensions of time in service. Servants also could not marry without their master’s consent, nor had they much control over their terms of work and living conditions. Whereas in the early period the difference between bound English servants and African slaves was not always clear, particularly in the Chesapeake, the development of this sort of legislation clearly defined the two groups by guaranteeing the servants legal protection from abuse and rights (e.g., testifying in court and property) denied to slaves. For any servants, generally younger ones, who arrived without a written contract the “Custom of the Country,” varying from each colony, regulated the freedom dues and length of service, which was generally longer than for those who arrived with indentures.

In many early colonies, when their time was over servants who survived gained land and might do well for themselves, but as time went on, in established colonies it became uncommon to give land to ex-servants, and freed servants had to find waged work or move to frontier areas. This resulted in a discontented class of poor white ex-servants that backed Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia in 1676, but ironically as the num-

ber of slaves grew, these poor whites became vital allies for planters against the danger of slave rebellion.

Throughout the colonial period, the type and number of servants recruited and their destinations and length of service varied considerably. At first, in northern colonies of New England no crops were profitable enough to warrant serious agricultural investment in servants, so servants were usually domestic and well treated. In the southern colonies indentured servants were at first cheaper than slaves, but as demand grew prices for servants could rise because the number of migrating servants was limited, especially if wages rose in Britain, whereas slave prices remained constant once the slave trade became well established. Following a pattern established in the West Indies, a move from servant to cheaper slave agricultural labor occurred in the Chesapeake over a longer period of time, and it was not till the turn of the eighteenth century that a major shift had occurred because of shortages in the supply of servants. At first, slaves merely were fieldhands and there was still a demand for indentured servants as domestics, skilled artisans, and overseers, but by the eighteenth century these positions were filled either by American whites or increasingly by native-born slaves trained to fill skilled positions.

During the seventeenth century most servants used as fieldhands on plantations were young, unskilled, single, male, and British, but by the eighteenth century there was a shift to more varied skilled labor for service trades and various industries such as construction, iron-works, and shipbuilding in the urbanized Mid-Atlantic region, especially New York and Philadelphia. Many of these servants came from Germany, traveling in family groups. They were transported under the redemption system in which migrants promised to pay for passage within about two weeks of arrival; if the fare was not paid, they were sold into servitude, with families sometimes being split. The “redemptioner” trade acquired an evil and dishonest reputation as the risk now lay with the migrants rather than the merchants. Thus traders could overcrowd the ships and give insufficient rations, commonly resulting in a death rate of 25 percent, frequently making it more deadly than the Middle Passage. This trade disappeared as an increasing urban underclass made cheap wage labor possible. Also in the eighteenth century, penal servitude became a significant source of labor in the colonies with the arrival of a total of fifty thousand British convicts.

By 1800 indentured servitude had grown uncommon, having been replaced by slavery or wage labor, but clearly it had played a paramount role in making British America an economic success and populating

it. Revolutionary ideas about liberty had made the idea of keeping bound white servants distinctly unfashionable, and cheaper transatlantic fares now made it uneconomic. Nonetheless, the social and economic patterns that surrounded indentured servitude remained ingrained in plantation colonies and in increasingly stratified northern cities, it was merely transferred to a new system of labor. The growth of racism may have ensured that the main comparable institution in the nineteenth century was the frequently exploitative debt contract schemes that funded migration from Japan and China to California. Its modern, carefully regulated descendant is the migrant labor system, which employs hundreds of thousands of workers in the United States, mainly in agriculture.

— *Gwilym Games*

See also: Atlantic Slave Trade, Closing of.

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INFANTICIDE

Cultural definitions of infanticide are highly variable. The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers the following definitions: (1) One who kills an infant. (2) The crime of murdering an infant after its birth perpetrated by or with the consent of its parents, especially the mother. (3) The killing of infants, especially the custom of killing newborn infants, which prevails among savages, and was common in the ancient world. Infanticide is usually carried out immediately after birth.

Infanticide has been practiced on every continent and by many ethnic groups at every level of cultural complexity. Archaeological evidence for child sacrifice dates back to Jericho, 7000 BCE. Infanticide is not currently legally sanctioned by any society, although it is still practiced. Infanticide is an action that bears moral weight relative to its embedded cultural belief systems. Cultural practices that are as widely distributed as infanticide, both temporally and geographically, tend to

have practical functions that perpetuate their existence. No single factor can account for infanticide; it serves many different societal functions. Some of these functions include: eliminating defective children, motherless infants, multiple births, and illegitimate children; interbirth spacing; regulating future adult sex ratios; and controlling population. The most common methods used to commit infanticide are suffocation, abandonment, drowning, and exposure. Infanticide in general is rarely practiced to express violence or cruelty, but rather it is usually carried out for economic or demographic reasons. The practice of infanticide among slave populations had additional dimensions.

The life of a female slave consisted of many harsh realities. For the female slave, it was race rather than gender that determined her status. A woman born into slavery could expect to be subjected to austere labor conditions, violence, and exploitation throughout her lifetime. Southern laws did not recognize the rape of an enslaved woman as a crime, and sexual abuse of female slaves was common. Any child borne by a slave became the property of her master and could be sold away from the mother at any time. According to Works Progress Administration slave narratives and contemporary court documents, infanticide was practiced among slave populations and had many motives.

Some women told of committing infanticide to free their children from a life of bondage. These acts can be viewed as a form of resistance in which the women actively exercised a form of control over the bodies of their children. Margaret Garner murdered her two-year-old infant daughter in 1856 and attempted to kill her two young sons after she ran away and realized that she was going to be recaptured. She did not want her children to live as slaves. She was tried for this crime unsuccessfully under the Fugitive Slave Law. Another woman allegedly killed her newborn to prevent her master from selling him, as he had sold her three previous children. Another woman said she killed her child to end its suffering from the continual abuse of her mistress. She claimed that the master was the father of her child and cited paternity as the cause of the abuse.

Infanticide was one method used to deal with unwanted pregnancies resulting from sexual abuse by the master. Because slave marriages were not legally recognized, technically all slave children were illegitimate. Illegitimacy and infanticide have had a strong association throughout history. Cross-culturally, biracial children are the illegitimate class that most often suffers infanticide. An enslaved woman in Virginia was convicted of killing her mulatto child, but she was released when whites petitioned on her behalf. She claimed

that “she would not have killed a child of her own color” (King, 1996).

In general, infant mortality was high among slave populations in the Americas and fertility rates were low, though there was temporal and regional variation. In 1850 slave infant mortality was twice that of whites in the United States (Jones, 1986). Owing to unhygienic living conditions, the absence of medical care for slaves, and the lack of a mother’s attention to her child necessitated by her commitments as a slave, many children died of enforced neglect (Fox-Genovese, 1988; White, 1985). In addition, some slave mothers served as wet nurses and were nursing the children of their masters at the same time as their own. These slave mothers were sometimes forced to wean their own children, and some may have consequently died from lack of nutrition. Conditions created by the slaveholder contributed to high infant mortality considerably more than acts of infanticide.

Because of scarce space and/or cultural practices, small children often slept with the mother. The mother might accidentally, or intentionally, roll over onto her child and smother it in her sleep. Recent historical and medical research suggests that many children who were supposedly suffocated by a mother were actually victims of what today is known as Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) (White, 1991). According to Michael P. Johnson, the 1850 census showed that 82 percent of the victims of suffocation were slaves. African cultural practices, such as tying up the umbilical cord with a rag for nine days, may also have contributed to high infant mortality rates (Bush, 1996).

Because infanticide is difficult to detect and prove, the act often went undetected and unpunished. But if a slaveholder suspected infanticide, even if the infant died of natural causes, the slave could be punished harshly and sometimes fatally. It was an issue of economics for the slaveholder; infanticide meant a loss of property. But for slave women it meant much more. Infanticide among slave populations was not a common act committed by women with no maternal feelings for their children, but rather an atypical, compassionate act of freedom or resistance, or a means of self-survival.

— Lori Lee

See also: Works Progress Administration Interviews.

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ISLAM

Recent studies suggest that perhaps as much as 20 percent of the Africans brought to the Americas as slaves during the era of the transatlantic slave trade may have been adherents to the Islamic faith. The presence of Muslim cultural influence was strong in portions of Brazil, especially in the so-called Hausa States, but it seemed less apparent within the slave society that emerged in the United States. One of the ultimate goals of the “seasoning” or conditioning of slaves to the Americas was the attempt to break the slave of all cultural ties with Africa. Thus efforts to eliminate any connection with religious practices of the Motherland culture would have been part of this effort. Still, in spite of these efforts, evidence persists that large numbers of slaves within the United States surreptitiously maintained the practices of their Muslim faith during the days of slavery.

Presumed evidence of Muslim association is sometimes determined by examining the manifests of slave ships and early auction records to identify the names associated with recent African arrivals. It appears that Muslim names such as Muhammad and Fatima do appear in these records, as do individuals named for the day of the week on which they were born. Common West African day names included, for male slaves, Cuffee, Cudjo, and Quashee, while female names included Phibba, Cubba, and Quasheba. These African names—whether or not of religious origin—were stripped away from recent arrivals who received new “slave names” as a means of symbolizing their cultural break with their former selves.

Some slave narratives and autobiographies published during the antebellum era acknowledge the presence of “old Muslim slaves” who continued to maintain their religious practices, like daily prayer,

despite the deterrent efforts of owners and overseers. It appears that some African slaves were punished repeatedly in an effort to break them of their religious and cultural ties to Africa. Occasionally, records indicate a limited tolerance of non-Christian religious practices among some slaves. An eighty-nine-year-old North Carolina slave named Uncle Moreau (Omar Ibn Said) was permitted to maintain the fast of Ramadan when he first arrived in North Carolina, but later in his life he abandoned Islam and was baptized as a Presbyterian (Blassingame, 1977).

Muslim slaves were preferred by some slaveowners and were distrusted by others, so when it was possible to determine an African slave's religious background planters generally sought such knowledge. There did not always exist physical evidence or scars to indicate what Africans might be Muslim. The practice of male circumcision at the age of thirteen was common throughout the Islamic world, but its adaptation and use in West Africa seemed to be sporadic. Often the geographic region from which the slave originated or the tribal ethnicity was used to determine the likelihood of a slave's association with Islam. Some slaveowners found Muslim slaves to be more civilized than their non-Muslim brethren, and for this reason the Muslim slaves were sometimes given positions of trust such as slave driver on a plantation. In Brazil, many owners came to fear the influence of Muslim slaves because they were perceived as being prone to insurrection and to use their faith to fan anti-Western defiance among their fellow slaves.

One of the most celebrated examples of an African Muslim who was enslaved in the United States was the case of Abdual-Rahahman Ibrahima (1762–1829) who labored for forty years as a slave on a Natchez, Mississippi, plantation. The son of a Timbo king from present-day Guinea, Ibrahima was an African prince who struggled over four decades to effect his manumission so that he and his family could return to their African homeland. The emancipation of the African prince and his return to Guinea was finally accomplished through the intervention of Secretary of State Henry Clay and President John Quincy Adams, who supported pleas on behalf of “the Moor” to obtain his freedom.

Muslim slaves tended to be well educated, and most came from affluent families in Africa. In many West African societies, the politically well-connected and the merchant class tended to convert first when Islam arrived in the region. The social dislocation caused by prolonged centuries of tribal conflict resulting from the slave trade and the expansion of some Muslim states in the African Sudan like Futa Jalon created con-

ditions in the eighteenth century that made anyone in West Africa liable to be captured by raiding parties. Some scholars estimate that in this era alone as many as thirty thousand Muslim slaves may have been transported to the Americas.

In the new scholarship, like that produced by Michael A. Gomez, efforts are being made to make the place of Muslim slaves more central in the discussion of slavery in the United States.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Names and Naming.

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HARRIET ANN JACOBS (1813–1897)

Born a slave in Edenton, North Carolina, Harriet Jacobs underwent severe trials before escaping to the North and publishing her narrative about the sexual vulnerability of slave women. Though attacks on southern masters' concubinage and even rape had been standard abolitionist fodder for years, Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) revealed horrors that strengthened the antislavery cause. The book was also remarkable for its portrait of free and enslaved blacks working together and for its indication that southern white women also suffered from slavery.

Born to comparative comfort, since her grandmother had a small business and was free, Jacobs was taught to read and write by a mistress whom she recalled with a sense of love betrayed. This woman's decision to will Harriet to a three-year-old niece put the young slave girl into the hands of the toddler's father. James Norcom harassed Jacobs to the extent that the slave girl felt trapped by impossible ideals of virtue and chastity. Although Jacobs foiled Norcom's designs by taking a white lover, with whom she had two children, this desperate expedient did not free her from her mistress's father's power.

Forced to hide in her grandmother's garret to elude Norcom, Jacobs finally escaped to Philadelphia in 1842 with the help of her grandmother and uncle. Aided by abolitionists, she joined her daughter in Brooklyn but was forced to flee to Boston when Norcom put slave catchers on her trail. After supporting herself and her children as a seamstress, Jacobs returned to the job of nursemaid in a New York family. Later, she moved to Rochester, New York, where her brother was an active abolitionist, but she remained unsettled because of Norcom's relentless pursuit. In 1852 Jacobs was purchased and freed by Cornelia Willis, whom she served in New York.

Jacobs asked Harriet Beecher Stowe to write the story of her life, but Stowe refused. Determined to make her experiences known, Jacobs decided to write her own book and practiced with shorter antislavery pieces, signed "Linda," which appeared in New York's reformist *Tribune*. In 1859 Jacobs arranged for the publication of her manuscript with a Boston firm. Their request for a preface from Maria Child led to one final editing and the decision that characters' identities should be disguised. Thus Jacobs's autobiography is told as the story of Linda Brent. Favorably received, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* was republished in England as *The Deeper Wrong* (1862), and portions of the book appeared in Child's *Freedmen's Book* (1865).

During the Civil War, Jacobs did relief work among former slaves in Washington, D.C., and then taught and nursed in Alexandria, Virginia. After the war, Jacobs and her daughter traveled to southern cities carrying relief supplies. In 1868 the two women sailed to England to try to raise funds for a Savannah orphanage and home for the aged, but Jacobs later advised against building because of southern racist agitation. She died in 1897 and was buried in Massachusetts, near her brother John.

— *Barbara Ryan*

See also: Child, Lydia M.; Narratives; Stowe, Harriet Beecher.

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JOHN JASPER (1812–1901)

John Jasper was a prominent Baptist preacher in Richmond, Virginia, whose sermon "De Sun Do Move" made him nationally renowned. He was slave-born on a plantation in Fluvanna County, Virginia, to Nina, a domestic slave, and Philip, a field slave and preacher. His father's death two months after Jasper's birth left Nina to raise the family. Years later, Jasper recalled the harshness of these years "when the July sun cooked de skin on my back many er day when I wuz hoein in de corn fiel, and he knowed nuthin wuth talkin bout consarnin books, but thusted fer de bread uv learnin." Jasper was eventually sold to Samuel Hargrove, who put him to work as a stemmer in his Richmond tobacco factory. While there, Jasper married fellow slave Elvy Weadon.

In July 1837, Jasper converted to Christianity. He subsequently joined Richmond's First Baptist Church and began preaching regularly. Like many fellow slaves, he taught himself to read through the Bible. "Since then, I aint keerd bout nuthin cept ter study an preach de Word uv God." Soon after his conversion, Jasper left Elvy and married Candus Jordan. They had nine children. Beginning in 1839, he gained recognition for his funeral orations in and around Richmond.

During the Civil War, Jasper preached in hospitals to the wounded. After emancipation, he moved with his congregation to the northern part of Richmond and helped found the Sixth Mount Zion Church. He preached there for some four decades until his death, gaining national reputation.

Jasper was historically significant for several reasons. First, he was an old-style preacher thundering fire and brimstone from the pulpit. This style stood in marked contrast to the more measured tones of his theologically trained contemporaries. Second, he preached in the honest dialect of poor rural black folk and new migrants to Richmond, who made up most of his congregation. "An lemme say dat it I doant giv it ter you straight," he was fond of preaching, "if I gits one word crooked or wrong, you jes holler out Hol on dar, Jasper, yer aint got dat straight an Ill beg pardon." In such ways, he linked the pulpit with the congregation, life and religion, the countryside and the town. Jasper's first biographer recalled one inspirational sermon he had witnessed: "He painted scene after scene. He lifted the people to the sun and sank them down to despair. He

plucked them out of hard places and filled them with shouting” (Hatcher, 1908). Third, he was a consummate performer. Hatcher recalled his first sighting of Jasper: “He circled around the pulpit with his ankle in his hand; and laughed and sang and shouted and acted about a dozen characters within the space of three minutes. He was a theatre within himself, with the stage crowded with actors” (Hatcher, 1908). Finally, the Bible in his hands became a liberation text through which human oppression was both understood and overcome. “I preach dis sermon, he pronounced, jest fer ter settle de mins uv my few brutherin.”

The sermon “De Sun Do Move” was the most famous feature of Jasper’s performance. Drawing upon the biblical stories of Hezekiel, Joshua, and Malachi, Jasper asserted that the earth was flat and the sun revolved around it. He delivered this sermon over 250 times, including to the Virginia General Assembly, much to the chagrin of his fellow preachers who thought the content, style and popularity outlandish. Their dislike was fueled by class tensions among Richmond’s black elite; while the organic nature of the sermon is suggested by its failure to rouse much excitement when Jasper toured northern states.

Jasper is an important figure in African American, Virginia, and religious history. He belongs to a long line of inspirational black religious leaders and he was long remembered: former slave Allen Wilson fondly recalled Jasper’s old sermons decades later during the 1930s.

— Jeff R. Kerr-Ritchie

See also: Slave Preachers.

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JAYHAWKERS

In the 1850s the jayhawkers of Kansas became a major obstacle to the expansion of slavery in the United States. In the contest to determine the status of slavery in the territory, partisan bands engaged in frequent violent episodes that foretold the future Civil War. The

antislavery forces were called “jayhawkers.” The origins of the term are obscure, and numerous conflicting explanations have been given. The jayhawkers’ resistance to the proslavery forces, or border ruffians, eventually helped make Kansas a free state.

The Kansas–Nebraska Act, signed in 1854, opened two new territories with no reference as to the status of slavery in either of them. The residents of the territories were to vote on slavery prior to the formation of state constitutions—a practice called popular sovereignty. Kansas’s close proximity to Missouri, a slave state, virtually ensured conflict since most of the early settlers of Kansas Territory were antislavery farmers from free states in the Midwest.

After slavery advocates from Missouri flooded across the border to cast fraudulent votes in the 1855 territorial elections, the region exploded in violence. In the polarized political climate of the 1850s, Bleeding Kansas became a national issue, since many people perceived the territory to be a crucial test over the future of slavery.

The jayhawkers were the frontier vanguard of the American antislavery movement, but they differed from their high-minded eastern abolitionist counterparts in important ways. Most jayhawkers wanted to exclude not only slaves but all blacks from settlement in Kansas, although most of them were content to allow the institution to remain in Missouri. By and large they had little love or sympathy for blacks—free or slave—as they saw them as competitors for land and jobs.

The key political leaders of the jayhawkers were James Lane, James Montgomery, and Charles R. Jenkinson. During the American Civil War, the jayhawkers formed Union bands that roamed the Kansas–Missouri area and engaged proslavery forces in fierce guerrilla fighting. The jayhawkers and their proslavery counterparts often matched each other in violence.

— Richard D. Loosbrock

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Popular Sovereignty.

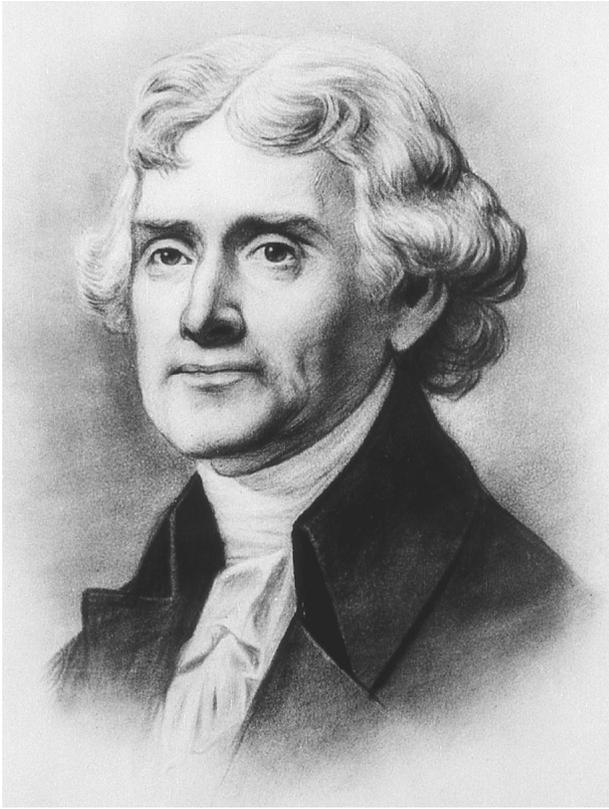
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THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826)

Thomas Jefferson, one of the most recognized figures in early U.S. history, advocated the emancipation of slaves, an end of the slave trade, and prohibition of the



Thomas Jefferson advocated the emancipation of slaves, an end to the slave trade, and a prohibition of slavery's spread in the United States' new territories. (National Archives)

spread of slavery in acquired territories of the United States. Nonetheless, no figure was more enigmatic in his views on slavery than Jefferson, who was truly trapped by the institution in both public and private life. Influenced by Enlightenment ideas, Jefferson clearly recognized slavery's moral wrong, yet when he was governor of Virginia and president for two terms, he did nothing to encourage an end to the institution. Writing in 1820, Jefferson lamented, "We have the wolf by the ears," concluding that slavery was evil but the South could not live without it. On one side he saw the concept of justice, and, on the other, self-preservation.

Born on April 13, 1743, in Shadwell, Virginia, Jefferson was educated at the College of William and Mary and studied law under George Wythe, Virginia's leading legal mind of the era. He was a significant figure in the nation's history after 1775: he wrote the Declaration of Independence, served as a minister to France, was secretary of state, was vice president (1797–1801), and served as president (1801–1809). All aspects of Jefferson's public career suggest an opposition to slavery.

His authorship of the Declaration of Independence included the concept that all men are equal; his Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom (1786) implied a sense of freedom of, at least, religion; and in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–1782), the only book he ever wrote, Jefferson stated his opposition to slavery. Historically, he believed all slaves should be freed. Yet he found emancipation incompatible with his practical actions.

Despite his political stance on slavery, Jefferson's personal actions have been questioned for nearly two centuries. Jefferson was a slaveholder—at one time, he owned more than one hundred slaves. He often considered freeing his slaves and allowing them to become tenants on his property, but financial problems kept him from doing so, as he apparently put personal economics above his social philosophy. Jefferson also believed that blacks were intellectually inferior and that the negative impact of slavery on whites was far more significant than the consequences of society supporting an enslaved race. Jefferson, a complex man, was puzzling in his attitudes on race and social relations.

During Jefferson's first term as president, *Richmond Recorder* newspaperman James Callender published a rumor that Jefferson had fathered a mulatto child by one of his slaves, Sally Hemings. Callender's attack was clearly politically motivated and lacked an accurate basis, but the charges, ironically, were made possible by Jefferson's own insistence on freedom of the press. In *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974), Fawn Brodie explored Jefferson's involvement with Hemings, the historical importance of that association, and his interest in other women. Brodie's evidence is circumstantial, however, leaving history and historians to make a final decision. Scientific studies conducted in the late 1990s compared DNA evidence from Hemings's son's descendants with that of the Jefferson family to try to determine the likelihood of the paternity of Heming's children by Thomas Jefferson. Although it is likely that someone from the Jefferson family fathered at least one of Hemings's children, the DNA evidence could not determine exclusively that Thomas Jefferson was the father of the child.

Jefferson's stance on slavery was confused by a draft he prepared in 1784 proposing the abolition of slavery in the West, in the new region of the nation gained during the American Revolution. The Articles of Confederation Congress met in Annapolis in 1784 to decide the future of that territory, and as chair of a committee assigned to establish a governmental system and land policy, Jefferson wrote a draft that became the Ordinance of 1784 (which never went into effect).

In his proposal, slavery (and involuntary servitude) was prohibited in all territories of the United States—

North and South. His plans included the areas that became Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, but only one southern representative supported Jefferson. Ironically, the antislavery provision lost by one vote, that of an absent New Jersey delegate. The Northwest Ordinance (1787) did ban slavery in a portion of the expanding nation, but in areas south of the Ohio River, slavery could exist. Although Jefferson had no connection with the Northwest Ordinance, his ideas from the Ordinance of 1784 did influence this later legislation. From the perspective of southern interests, the decision to allow slavery to spread was clearly economic.

As president, Jefferson's dichotomy on slavery persisted. Most historians agree that Jefferson's two major accomplishments as president were the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the abolition of the slave trade (1808). The contradiction lies in Jefferson's fight to abolish trade in human beings, yet allowing human bondage to expand into land purchased from France. From Jefferson's perspective, he envisioned the northern half of the Louisiana territory as a huge Indian reservation. Yet critics, citing Jefferson's earlier view of the nation as an "empire of liberty," now saw an "empire of slavery" when the administration took no action on slavery in the vast region. In the 1780s Jefferson favored limits on the spread of slavery, but he had become resigned to the fact that slavery was an economic necessity for southerners.

Jefferson's second term featured an end to the foreign slave trade, which had been the object of national scorn for years. In 1787 antislavery forces pushed for a constitutional ban on importing slaves, but an odd alliance of southern slave interests and New England shippers, who profited from the slave trade, had combined to recognize a moratorium on federal interference with the slave trade for twenty years.

In 1794 a federal law was enacted to prohibit ships access to any U.S. port when the cargo was slaves. By 1799 all states had banned importing slaves, but the cumulative impact of the legislation was ineffective. Smuggling was widespread, and in 1803 South Carolina bent to the planters' economic necessity and rescinded earlier acts. Over the next five years, an estimated forty thousand slaves were imported through South Carolina's various ports. But in March 1807 Congress passed an act that totally abolished the slave trade after January 1, 1808. Jefferson supported the legislation, but it reflected national sentiment and preference more than his presidential leadership. Ironically, the foreign slave trade continued after 1808, but in total numbers such illegal smuggling was not excessive (estimates vary, but the total was fewer than sixty thousand). Instead, slaveowners turned to natural reproduction to increase their slave numbers.

Jefferson's views on slavery survived his death in 1826. From 1829 to 1832, the Virginia legislature wrestled with the issue, but emancipation was not forthcoming, even though Jefferson had advocated freeing the slaves. Nat Turner's Rebellion (1831) was a defining reason for the outcome of the debate, but even a captured Nat Turner wondered: if all men were created equal, why then was he not free? Critics have continued to address the crucial question: Why did the father of democracy, the author of his nation's independence document, not free his slaves?

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Hemings, Sally; *Notes on Virginia* (Jefferson).

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ANTHONY JOHNSON (D. 1670)

Anthony Johnson, a black indentured servant, gained his freedom in early seventeenth-century Virginia. Through hard work, Johnson and his family built a successful tobacco enterprise. But changing racial attitudes by the middle of the century eroded the socioeconomic livelihood enjoyed by Johnson and his heirs.

Sometime during 1621, Anthony Johnson, then called Antonio a Negro, arrived in Virginia aboard the *James* as an indentured servant. Sold to a white planter named Bennett at Jamestown, Johnson was listed as a servant in early census and tax records. Perhaps impressed by Johnson's work ethic, Bennett gave him a small piece of land to farm. By the middle of the decade, Johnson married Mary, an African who had also arrived as an indentured servant.

The next records for Anthony Johnson are more revealing. By 1641 he had gained his freedom and owned both a tobacco plantation and a black indentured servant named John Casor. Johnson and his wife also raised livestock on their modest estate along the banks of the Pungoteague Creek. Since he owned an indentured servant, Johnson claimed 250 acres of land based on the headright system.

By the early 1650s, Johnson's sons John and Richard owned land adjacent to him. As shown in the tax records, the Johnson clan, despite their African ancestry, had become quite successful tobacco farmers. To this point, their race had not been a barrier to upward mobility.

Beginning in 1653, however, the fortunes of the Johnson family changed significantly. In February, a fire swept through Anthony Johnson's buildings. Johnson made every effort to recover from this setback. He petitioned Northampton County justices for tax relief based on the disaster. The justices granted relief to Mary and their two daughters. The exemption allowed the Johnsons to save money and rebuild their plantation. A year later, Anthony Johnson lost his indentured servant Casor to a nearby white planter, who claimed that the servant was held illegally. Johnson did not challenge the claim. In 1655, perhaps learning that Johnson indeed had legal custody of Casor, county officials returned him to Johnson. In 1657 another white planter contested 100 acres of land adjacent to Anthony Johnson. Again, Johnson did not defend his right of ownership. Virginia's racial climate was less hospitable than it had been even a decade earlier.

During 1665 the Johnsons relocated to Somerset County, Maryland, where they named their tobacco farm Tonies Vineyard. Despite the move, Anthony Johnson's troubles continued. Another white planter forged a letter contending that Johnson owed him for tobacco. Although Johnson was illiterate, the court upheld an attachment of his land. Anthony Johnson died in 1670, leaving his estate to his wife. Mary Johnson negotiated a forty-year lease on the land and with her sons tried to make it profitable. But her sons died during the 1670s, and Mary Johnson died in 1680.

The land was inherited by a grandson named John Johnson, Jr. It was now reduced to 40 acres, which he named Angola, in honor of his grandfather's birthplace. Perhaps because he was unable to pay taxes on the property, it was seized by a white planter. John Johnson, the last heir, died in 1721, and the Johnson name along with the hard work of Anthony Johnson perished too.

The increasing racial hostility faced by Anthony Johnson was likely exacerbated during the lifetime of his sons and grandson. Barriers to success for Virginia's blacks, as reflected in Anthony Johnson's experiences were hard to overcome. The establishment of slavery in late seventeenth-century Virginia clearly marked blacks like Anthony Johnson as inferior. Now more than before, skin color defined the changing nature of colonial America.

— Jackie R. Booker

See also: Indentured Servants; Virginia's Slavery Debate.

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JONES V. VAN ZANDT (1847)

The *Jones v. Van Zandt* case tested the constitutionality of the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. John Van Zandt of Ohio, known for his support of abolition and actively involved in the Underground Railroad, was accused of assisting a runaway slave in escaping his master, Wharton Jones. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the 1793 act and ordered Van Zandt to pay the slaveowner for his lost slave, plus the costs of his recapture, and a \$500 penalty.

Van Zandt had been driving his wagon in Ohio when he encountered several black men walking along the road. He offered them a ride, which they accepted. A few hours later two slave catchers confronted the party claiming the men were runaways. All the men were recaptured, except for one, who made his escape. Van Zandt claimed that he did not know they were runaways: he had encountered them walking along the road, in daylight, in the free state of Ohio. They had not urged him to make his wagon go faster once they were riding in it, but proceeded rather slowly, as if they were unhurried about reaching their destination. Nothing about them suggested that they were fugitives. Van Zandt claimed that he could not have known that the men were runaways, and so he should not be charged for aiding their escape.

Van Zandt made various other legal arguments to oppose the Fugitive Slave Law and to challenge the federal government's role of assisting in the recapture of runaways. Van Zandt's lawyer, Salmon P. Chase, argued that slavery was unlawful because it conflicted with the Declaration of Independence and violated aspects of the Bill of Rights, especially the Fifth Amendment. Most importantly, Chase contended that the federal government had no power to support slavery or to assist in the recapture of fugitive slaves (attacking the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, found in Article IV). The Supreme Court rejected all of these arguments in the opinion written by Levi Woodbury. Perhaps seeking political prestige and elective office in 1852 with the support of southern slaveholders, Woodbury called the fugitive slave clause one of the Consti-

tution's "sacred compromises," which could not be subverted or undone. Only three years later, Congress revised the 1793 act and replaced it with even harsher provisions in the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

Jones v. Van Zandt [46 U.S. 215 (1847)] was one of a series of slavery cases decided by the Supreme Court in the decades before the Civil War in which the justices supported slavery and rejected any argument attacking it. As in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), and *Ableman v. Booth* (1859), the Supreme Court solidly defended slaveowners' rights to recapture runaways and made many northerners uneasy about how far the Supreme Court would go to defend slavery from legal challenges.

— Sally E. Hadden

See also: *Ableman v. Booth*; Abolitionism in the United States; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*; Underground Railroad; United States Constitution.

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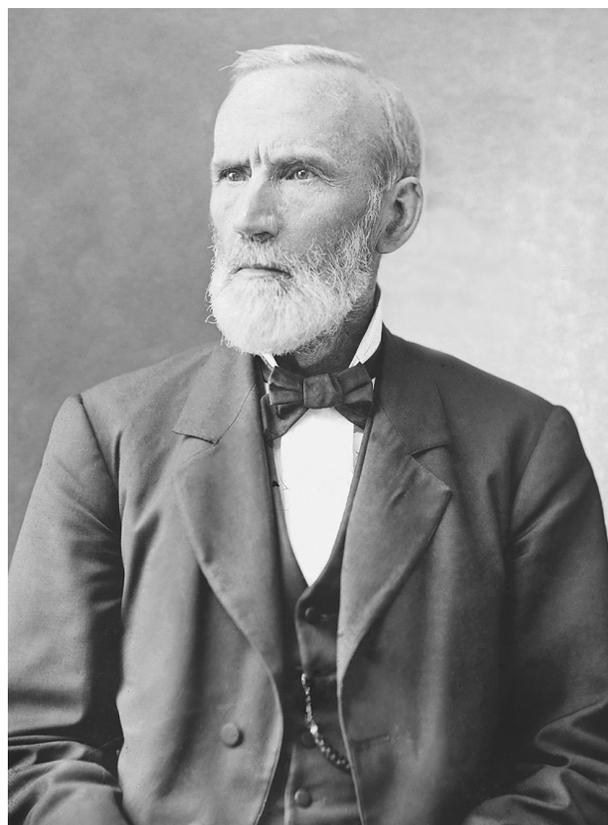
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GEORGE WASHINGTON JULIAN (1817–1899)

Throughout his forty-year public career, George W. Julian consistently stood at the forefront of antislavery politics and battles for black civil rights in the United States. Perhaps owing to his Quaker upbringing in Indiana, Julian demonstrated a moral disgust for human bondage at an early age. A devoted abolitionist, Julian began practicing law in 1840 and quickly joined such lawyers as Salmon P. Chase of Ohio at the head of the western antislavery movement. In 1845 Julian entered the Indiana legislature as a Whig, but when the Whig Party chose slaveholder Zachary Taylor as its 1848 presidential candidate, Julian bolted the organization and allied himself with the nascent Free Soil Party—an organization explicitly devoted to arresting the progress and expansion of slavery. In 1849 Indiana voters elected Julian to the U.S. House of Representatives,



A Quaker from Indiana, George Washington Julian was a devout abolitionist throughout his forty-year career in public life. (Library of Congress)

where the Free Soilers opposed the Compromise of 1850 because of its fugitive slave provisions and its noninterventionist posture regarding slavery in the territories acquired as a result of the Mexican War (1846–1848).

Julian lost his congressional seat in 1851 and did not hold another public office for a decade, though he remained politically active throughout the 1850s. He ran for the vice presidency on the Free Soil ticket in 1852, and he consistently strove to build free soil coalitions at the state and regional levels, hoping to unite disparate antislavery elements into a single party of liberty. To this end, Julian joined and promoted the Republican Party when it emerged from the fallout over the Kansas–Nebraska Act in 1854, and he helped the fledgling antislavery party gain a firm foothold in the Midwest. Julian's tireless activism commanded attention from ally and adversary alike. His antiabolitionist opponents, for example, assigned him the deprecatory moniker "orator of free dirt," while the black abolitionist Frederick Douglass once praised Julian as "one of the truest and most disinterested friends of freedom

whom [antislavery activists] have ever met” (Sewell, 1976).

In 1861 Julian began the first of five consecutive terms in Congress, where he emerged as a leading Radical Republican spokesman. From the outset of the Civil War, Julian pressed President Abraham Lincoln to proclaim a general emancipation, to enlist black troops, and to guarantee equal citizenship rights for blacks. After the war Julian joined other Radicals in denouncing President Andrew Johnson’s pro-southern plan of restoration, which contained no safeguards for the legal and civil rights of freedmen. A leading figure in the implementation of congressional Reconstruction in 1866–1867, Julian supported the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, backed the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, and even tried to introduce legislation granting suffrage to women.

After 1868 Julian turned his attention to matters of civil service reform. A vocal critic of President Ulysses S. Grant’s graft-ridden administration, Julian soon fell out of favor with the Republican Party hierarchy. He failed to win reelection to Congress in 1871 and quickly faded from the political limelight.

— *Eric Tscheschlok*

See also: Free Soil Party.

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JUNETEENTH

Juneteenth is a hybrid of the words June and nineteenth. It was first recognized on June 19, 1865. In the weeks following General Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, General Gordon Granger and a regiment of Union army soldiers sailed into Galveston, Texas, and issued a freedom proclamation for nearly two hundred thousand slaves. This was the catalyst for a number of celebrations in the state and throughout the southwestern United States. Currently a Texas state

holiday, Juneteenth is commemorated all over the country with parades, concerts, and cultural festivities.

President Abraham Lincoln signed the first Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. It was a preliminary document, announcing that emancipation would become effective on January 1, 1863. Enforcement, however, was stalled until the end of the Civil War in April 1865 and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on December 18, 1865. Texans were not notified of these developments and did not learn of their freedom until June 19 of that year.

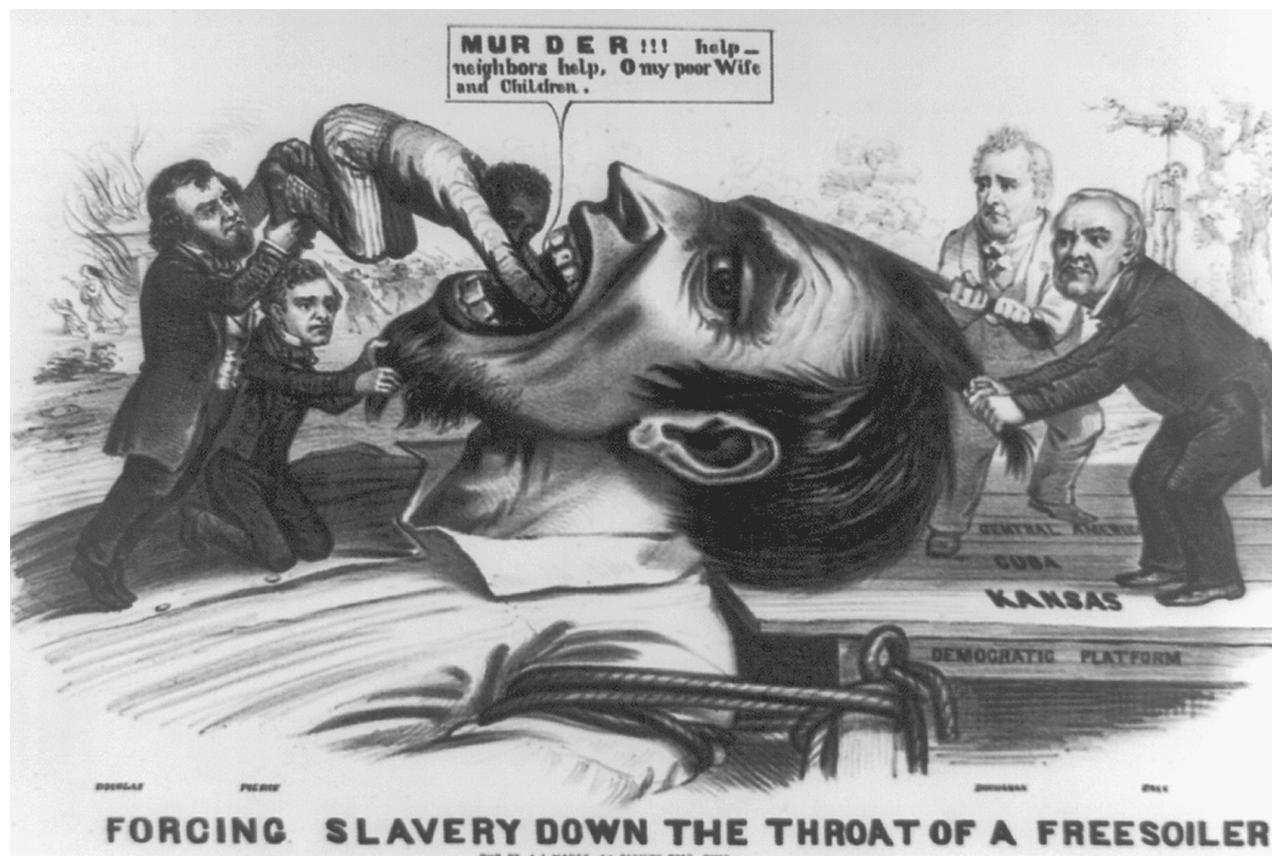
The reasons surrounding the lapse in delivering the news are legendary. One account details the sojourn of a soldier traveling by mule at the request of President Lincoln who stopped in Arkansas and Oklahoma before finally arriving in Texas. However, this does not coincide with the landing of General Granger in Galveston Bay. It is generally accepted that plantation owners purposely delayed the news announcing the end of slavery in order to orchestrate one final harvest and planting of the cotton crops.

Despite its Texas origins, Juneteenth parallels the segregation and migration of former slaves to the western and northern territories of the United States. People who believed they would never live to see freedom were eager to observe and celebrate their culture and traditions.

The initial gatherings were held in rural locations that were not subject to the laws of segregation. Later, as the freedom celebrations became more popular Houston waived its segregation rules for the event. This led to the purchase of 10 acres of land near Houston in 1872. In 1878 a community group was chartered, and they purchased the land that became Booker T. Washington Park in Mexia, near Waco. It soon became the home of the earliest Juneteenth celebrations. The traditions established at this time included a reprieve from work, the donning of elaborate costumes to symbolize freedom from the rags of slavery, barbecuing, and enjoying an elaborate picnic. Contemporary celebrations include prayer services, African art sales, and a variety of musical concerts.

Integration, the Great Depression, and World War II contributed to the decline of Juneteenth emancipation gatherings. In 1979 Houston Representative Al Edwards proposed legislation to make June 19 an official Texas state holiday. The bill became law on January 1, 1980. The renaissance of African American cultural pride and ethnic identification prevalent in the country over the last twenty-five years has helped to resurrect Juneteenth. It is now visible in a variety of places in the United States.

— *Anthony Todman*



President Franklin Pierce, presidential nominee James Buchanan, Senator Lewis Cass, and Senator Stephen A. Douglas force a man down the throat of a giant in an 1856 political cartoon that satirized the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed popular sovereignty to decide slavery-related issues in the two territories. The act nullified the Missouri Compromise of 1820. (Library of Congress)

See also: Emancipation Proclamation.

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KANSAS–NEBRASKA ACT (1854)

The Kansas–Nebraska Act, passed by the U.S. Congress on May 30, 1854, repealed the Missouri Compromise (1820), which had specifically excluded slavery from the region north of latitude 36°30'. Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced the bill organizing Kansas and Nebraska into territories that would be in a position to determine the status for slaves via popular sovereignty. This meant that whether or not slavery was instituted in the state would be decided by popular vote.

In addition to repealing the Missouri Compromise (1820), the act abrogated certain portions of the Compromise of 1850 since northern Texas, California, and

Oregon were to be free territories and the remaining part of Texas was to be settled by proslavery southerners. The problem was that if the act nullified parts of the Compromise of 1850, then slavery could be extended to other territories. Later, during the Lincoln–Douglas debates (1858), Abraham Lincoln criticized Douglas, stating that popular sovereignty did nothing to address the moral and ethical concerns of slavery. Whig congressman Samuel P. Benson of Maine noted during the congressional debate that the Northwest Ordinance (1787) indicated that for no reason was slavery to be extended. In other words, the prohibition of slavery in the territory was a compact against the extension of slavery.

Not surprisingly, the Kansas–Nebraska Act was unacceptable to those traditionalists who believed in and supported slavery vehemently. It upset many people in the North who considered the Missouri Compromise to be a long-standing binding agreement. In the proslavery South, it was also strongly opposed. Still others felt that the agitation caused by Douglas was only to guarantee that the transcontinental railroad would be built westward from Chicago. The problem was that any such plan would need the support of southerners and would thus encompass the issue of slavery. Although Douglas had no personal stance on the issue of slavery, congressional “nonintervention” may have led to the conflict between rival factions called Bleeding Kansas. After the act was passed, pro- and antislavery supporters hurried to Kansas in an attempt to influence the outcome of the first election held after the law went into effect. When the final results indicated that proslavery settlers won the election, the charge of fraud was made by antislavery proponents who argued that the results were unjustified. When the second election was held, proslavery settlers refused to vote. This refusal resulted in the establishment of two opposing factions of the Kansas legislature. It also led some historians to contend that the Civil War began when proslavery and antislavery forces began to debate over whether land north of latitude 36°30' should be slave or free territory.

The disagreement escalated until 1861. People’s opinions about the Kansas–Nebraska Act were so vehement that it was not uncommon for premeditated attacks, which often led to death, to be waged against opposing factions. Georgia native Charles A. Hamelton was the leader of the proslavery forces in the region. He originally went to Kansas to garner support for making it a slave state, but he was forced to leave. He then gathered a group of men, who, on their way to Missouri, captured eleven free state supporters, lined them on the side of a road, and fired their

weapons in what became known as the Marais des Cygnes massacre. Five of the eleven men died. The irony of this incident was that many of these men were his former neighbors. Only one of this group, William Griffith, was caught for the crime and punished with death by hanging.

Public sentiment over the incident was intense and horrific. This event was so troubling that John Greenleaf Whittier wrote a poem on the act, and it was published in the September 1858 *Atlantic Monthly*. President Franklin Pierce, in support of the proslavery settlers, sent in federal troops to stop the violence and disperse the antislavery legislature. Another election was called. However, Congress did not recognize the constitution adopted by the proslavery settlers and subsequently did not allow Kansas into the Union.

Feelings over the situation in Missouri and Kansas even prompted violence on the floor of the Senate. In the end, antislavery supporters, who comprised the majority, won the election and a new constitution was penned. President Franklin Pierce supported the new antislavery constitution, which eventually became law. Both Kansas and Nebraska chose to be free states. On January 29, 1861, prior to the start of the Civil War, Kansas was admitted to the union as a free state.

— Torrance T. Stephens

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Douglas, Stephen A.; Lecompton Constitution; Missouri Compromise; 36°30' North Latitude.

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ELIZABETH KECKLEY (C. 1818–1907)

Born a slave in Virginia, Elizabeth Keckley earned the money to buy her freedom and eventually became a successful dressmaker in Washington, D.C. Her skills were so much admired that the fashionable Mary Todd Lincoln hired Keckley frequently, and soon the former slave was a Lincoln family friend and confidante. After Abraham Lincoln was killed and his widow had re-

turned to Illinois, Keckley published an autobiographical narrative that recounted scenes from the Lincolns' private life. Keckley blamed the resultant scandal on her editor's unauthorized decision to print Mrs. Lincoln's personal letters, yet it was the dressmaker who took the brunt of Robert Lincoln's anger when he had *Behind the Scenes; or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (1868) suppressed.

No one could have foreseen this scandal when as a young slave Keckley labored as a bondswoman or when she was forced to be a white man's concubine. Yet this woman's talents appeared early enough that one master set her to earning, with her needle, the money to support his entire family. After she was taken to St. Louis, the enterprising seamstress negotiated an agreement to work herself out of slavery, and equipped with a ready needle and loans from appreciative clients, Keckley was able to purchase her own and her son's freedom in 1855. Five years later, the loans repaid, Keckley moved to the nation's capital, and became the modiste of dress-conscious ladies' choice. It was in this setting that Keckley met Mary Lincoln and became a White House intimate.

No one questioned Keckley's right to compose a narrative of slavery or even to describe her life as a free-woman during the Civil War. It was because *Behind the Scenes* revealed inside knowledge of Mary Lincoln's staggering debts and provided details on the "old clothes" sale, which titillated gossipmongers that Keckley's memoirs caused a scandal, one its author apparently did not foresee. Soon, Mary Lincoln's "dearest Lizzie" was persona non grata amid former friends, and though Keckley spent the rest of her life working as a dressmaker and teaching sewing, she did not write again.

Acquaintances from Keckley's final days recalled her as dignified and ladylike. Often, she would recall the days in which she was Mary Lincoln's friend. She contended that her editor was to blame for the narrative's infelicities, and indeed, James Redpath may have had a grudge against Lincoln's widow. But it is also possible that Keckley overestimated the friendship that Mary Lincoln felt for her. In *Behind the Scenes*, Keckley claimed that bonds of affection could exist between slaveholders and their slaves; she did not note that such sentiments rested on unequal relations to social power.

— Barbara Ryan

See also: Narratives.

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FRANCES ANNE KEMBLE (1809–1893)

Frances Anne Kemble was a famous English actress who was also well known for the publication of her antislavery *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839* (1863). Frances Anne (Fanny) and her father, Charles Kemble, both accomplished Shakespearean actors, toured the United States from 1832 through 1834. During the tour she met and eventually married Pierce Mease Butler, a wealthy Philadelphia resident. At the time of their wedding Fanny was unaware of the source of Butler's wealth—plantation lands and slaves located in coastal Georgia.

Headstrong and opinionated, Fanny Butler strongly opposed slavery. Believing she could persuade her husband of slavery's evils, she openly condemned his "living in idleness from the unpaid labor of others," and sought "to bring him to a realization of the sins of slaveholding" (Kemble, 1863). Pierce Butler reluctantly assented to his wife's suggestion that they both visit the Georgia plantations as Christian "missionaries," and in late December 1838 the Butler family arrived in Darien, Georgia. Nearby was Butler's Island, the family's rice plantation of nearly 2,000 acres, and there was another property in the vicinity, a 1,700-acre tract on St. Simons Island called Hampton Point where Sea Island cotton was cultivated. The two plantations combined had a slave population of several hundred.

Already convinced of the degrading nature of slavery when she arrived in Georgia, Fanny Butler not only confirmed but strengthened her antipathy to slavery. During this sojourn in the South she kept a diary, subsequently expanded, and eventually published as the *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839* (1863). Her chronicle reveals a particular concern for slave women as she recounts in great detail how pregnant slaves were overworked and even whipped. Laboring in the fields until delivery, female slaves were allowed only a short period to recover from childbirth. Fanny Butler condemned medical care on the plantations as barbaric. Not surprisingly, miscarriages, stillbirths, and infant mortality were shockingly high.

Slave dwellings were regarded as "filthy and wretched in the extreme," and the children were depicted as having "incrustations of dirt on their hands, feet, and faces." During her months in Georgia, Fanny



Frances Ann Kemble was an accomplished Shakespearean actress who was also well known for publishing the antislavery *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* in 1838 and 1839. (Library of Congress)

Butler did what she could to improve sanitary conditions in the slave infirmary and slave dwellings. Her journal also gives details regarding slave music, funerals, food and its preparation, and other customs.

Considered to be quite an indictment of slavery, the *Journal* was published in England in 1863. The Butlers were divorced by this time, and Frances Kemble had been persuaded by friends that publication would help the antislavery cause of Union forces during the Civil War. The *Journal* was actually published too late to have any substantial effect on Britain's foreign policy regarding the Confederacy—government opinion had already shifted from its previous pro-southern views. Nevertheless, the *Journal* gives a firsthand and very thorough account of slavery.

—*Mary Ellen Wilson*

See also: Georgia; Sea Islands.

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KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN CIRCLE

A colorful example of antebellum southern expansionism, the Knights of the Golden Circle was a secret filibustering society that sought to extend U.S. control—and slavery—throughout the lands bordering the Gulf of Mexico. Founded, according to some sources, on July 4, 1854, in Lexington, Kentucky, the organization was the brainchild of Virginia-born George W. L. Bickley (1819–1867), a physician, scholar, and journalist from Cincinnati, Ohio. A self-proclaimed crusader for "southern rights," Bickley planned to achieve sectional equality with the North by carving new slave states from territory seized in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean.

Little is known of the organization's activities im-

mediately after its formation, but the outbreak of civil war in Mexico spurred Bickley to action in spring 1859. During a convention held in White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, on August 8, Bickley announced that Mexico would be the first field of operations. In early 1860, he ordered his followers to rendezvous in Texas and prepare for active operations.

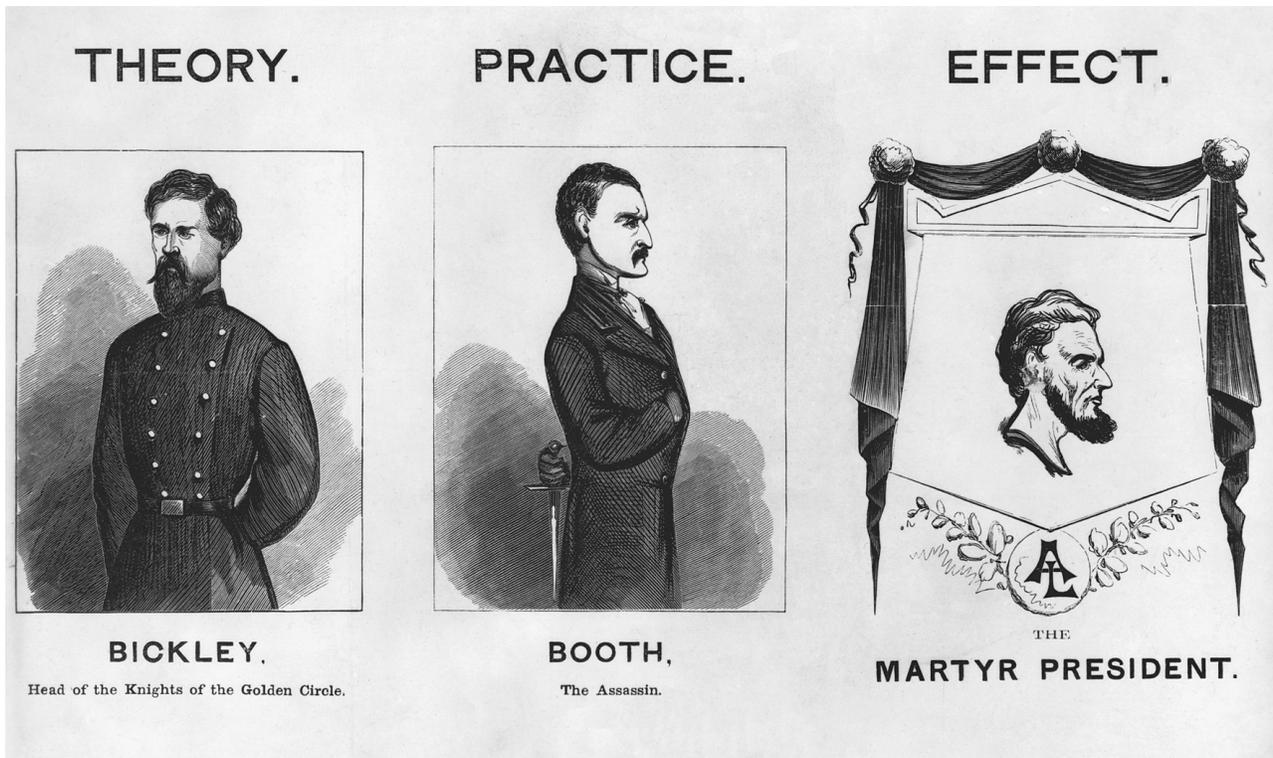
Bickley was probably encouraged because both President James Buchanan and Governor Sam Houston of Texas openly advocated U.S. intervention for the purpose of restoring order in Mexico. However, Houston, a staunch unionist, was unwilling to support Bickley's efforts to extend slavery south of the Rio Grande. He refused to sanction Bickley's invasion and on March 21, 1860, issued a proclamation against the Knights' activities.

Houston's proclamation, coupled with Bickley's failure to arrive with promised reinforcements, led his Texas followers to abandon the enterprise. Charging their leader with betrayal, the Texas Knights met in New Orleans in early April and expelled Bickley from the organization. The latter retaliated by summoning a grand convention at Raleigh, North Carolina, on May 7, where he was reinstated as president of the national organization.

Bickley immediately resumed efforts to lead his followers into Mexico, and on July 18, in an open letter published in the Richmond, Virginia, *Daily Whig*, he urged fellow Knights to rendezvous at Fort Ewen, Texas, on September 15. Claiming that Mexico's liberal faction would welcome the Knights as allies and colonizers, Bickley predicted that the Conservatives' defeat would pave the way for the "Americanization" of the strife-torn nation. Published in newspapers throughout the South, Bickley's address assured southerners that the acquisition of Mexico would prevent the North from reducing the slave states to "vassalage." He further promised that the abolitionists would be silenced, the South's free black population would vanish, and cotton production would soar.

Arriving in Texas on October 10, "General" Bickley established his headquarters in San Antonio and began recruiting activities throughout the state. However, the secession movement that swept the South after Abraham Lincoln's presidential victory led Bickley to abandon the Mexican venture. He announced to his followers that, henceforth, promoting secession, not filibustering, would be the society's mission.

Leaving Texas in late 1860, Bickley spent spring and summer 1861 in a futile effort to promote secession in the crucial border state of Kentucky. He eventually established a recruiting camp across the state line in



Founded by George W. L. Bickley, the Knights of the Golden Circle was a secret filibustering society that sought to extend U.S. influence—and the practice of slavery—throughout the lands bordering the Gulf of Mexico. (Library of Congress)

Clarksville, Tennessee, but disbanded his volunteers in late summer 1861 after a dispute with Confederate leaders in the state. Bickley later attempted to organize a mounted command in Virginia before securing a place as a rebel surgeon.

Deserting the Confederate cause in 1863, Bickley was arrested by Union military authorities in July as he attempted to return to his former home in Cincinnati, Ohio. The ex-filibuster chief was charged with spying and kept under close confinement until his release on October 14, 1865. He reportedly died a “broken man” in Baltimore on August 3, 1867.

Often confused with a similarly named secret anti-war society that existed in the North during the war, Bickley’s “Knights of the Golden Circle” was a separate organization that arose from the sectional discord and expansionism that characterized the 1850s. Far from being a man of action, like William Walker, Bickley, whom many regarded as a fraud, never saw the fulfillment of his grandiose scheme. Nevertheless, many northerners regarded Bickley’s organization as symbolic of the South’s determination to preserve and extend slavery. In this respect, the organization contributed

significantly to the sectional misunderstanding that led to war.

—James M. Prichard

See also: Filibusters; Lopez, Narciso; Walker, William.

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LADIES' NEW YORK CITY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (1835–1840)

The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society was founded at the time of the Second Great Awakening, a religious revival movement of the early nineteenth century that encouraged women in particular to use their moral superiority to reform society. With the encouragement of their ministers, women founded and joined the many moral reform movements and benevolent societies of the time, including the antislavery movement. Members of the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society considered slavery a moral and domestic evil, which motivated their efforts toward emancipation. In addition to being deeply religious, the New York women also believed strongly in the "woman's sphere," an ideology that placed women's activities within their homes and left public actions to men. The society's documents bear witness to the fact that, aside from its more radical cause, the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society looked and operated similarly to other benevolent and moral reform societies.

The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society circulated petitions to Congress and the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly, distributed antislavery tracts, and collected funds for the national society. In addition, a special auxiliary sewed antislavery articles for sale. In 1836 the group sponsored a series of parlor lectures featuring the Grimké sisters in an effort to widen the society's audience. Besides organizing this lecture series, the members hosted a four-day national convention of antislavery women in May 1837 and sent eighteen delegates and eighty corresponding members to the meeting.

The society represented the most homogeneous of the autonomous female antislavery societies in the United States. All of the women belonged to evangelical denominations, and unlike either the Boston Female Antislavery Society or the Philadelphia Female Antislavery Society, the New York women did not attempt to integrate black women into their society.

In 1840, during a debate within the American Anti-Slavery Society over the role of women in the abolitionist movement, the members of the male New York City Anti-Slavery Society, led by Lewis Tappan, walked out of the American Anti-Slavery Society's convention and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society members walked out with the men, many of whom were husbands and fathers. Shortly thereafter, these ladies declared themselves an auxiliary of the newly formed men's organization. After 1840 no record exists of further organizational activity by this women's group, although many members' names later appear on the rolls of more conventional reform societies.

The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society thus operated for only five years. Its members took up abolition based on their religious beliefs and with the encouragement of their ministers, and they left the movement for the same reasons they entered it. Although the New York City women were mostly conservative abolitionists in their beliefs and actions, they surpassed most of the city's women in their understanding and commitment to action outside the domestic sphere. In addition, most contemporary women shared their conservative ideology, which probably contributed to a favorable climate to antislavery and made New York one of the first states to put abolition on the ballot.

— Sydney J. Caddel-Liles

See also: Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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JOHN LAURENS (1754–1782)

Born into a well-respected South Carolina family, John Laurens earned distinction as a Revolutionary War soldier and diplomat. His father, Henry Laurens, was a planter, Continental Congress delegate, and diplomat. Young John enrolled in school in London in 1771, but after a year he and his two brothers traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, to attend a liberal-minded institution following classical studies. In September 1774 Laurens returned to London to study law. Though married, Laurens returned to America in April 1777, without his wife and daughter. Using family influence, he joined George Washington's staff as aide-de-camp. Young, ambitious, and brave to the point of rashness, Laurens

fought at Brandywine, Monmouth, and Germantown, where he was wounded. His continental education served him well as his French fluency made him a valuable liaison. Laurens returned to South Carolina in May 1779, where he was both an elected official in the state assembly and a soldier. Though captured when Charleston fell in May 1780, he was paroled in a prisoner exchange.

Laurens shifted his career when Congress appointed him special minister to the Court of Versailles in late 1780. Though unconventional, Laurens successfully negotiated French aid and returned to America in August 1781, with ships, supplies, and money for the cause of independence. Laurens immediately joined Washington's force at the Yorktown siege, and he negotiated the surrender terms for Cornwallis's British army.

Returning to South Carolina, Laurens was again elected to the state assembly. He maintained his military commission and commanded American forces near Charleston. In a meaningless and insignificant skirmish with a superior British unit at Chehaw Neck on the Combahee River (August 17, 1782), Laurens was killed, a result of his rash behavior as a military commander.

Laurens was a product of his age and his education. He was essentially a republican and a progressive, a believer in the rights of man. As early as 1776, he advocated emancipating blacks for their participation in military service. Washington's Continental Army utilized whatever troops the states provided, and reluctance to use blacks as troops disappeared owing to impending shortages. Congress acted on March 29, 1779, recommending that Georgia and South Carolina form separate black battalions, 3,000 troops in all. Slaveowners would be compensated up to \$1,000 per able-bodied male up to age thirty-five. The troops would be outfitted at government expense, freed at the war's end, and paid fifty dollars each. Congress selected Laurens to elicit South Carolina's support for the idea; he was the ideal choice. When his father had earlier mentioned freeing his slaves, John wrote to him in 1778 suggesting raising a troop of blacks to fight as a unit. But young Laurens found South Carolina's planters horrified by the thought of black troops. A key shortage of available soldiers in South Carolina led General Benjamin Lincoln to support using blacks in his ranks. General Nathanael Greene shared this view.

In early 1782, with Laurens back from his French mission and serving in the state legislature, the state assembly took two votes on enrolling black troops. Despite the presence of the popular and gregarious Laurens, the measures failed. Georgia also refused the

request, even when facing superior British forces. Slaveowners and planters had spoken, proving that fear of the British paled in comparison to images of blacks earning their freedom through military service.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Compensated Emancipation.

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JOSHUA LEAVITT (1794–1873)

Joshua Leavitt was a prominent American antislavery newspaper editor and political activist. A Yale graduate, he took up the practice of law in Vermont in 1821 but abandoned it two years later to become a Congregational clergyman. Like many Congregationalists, he was opposed to slavery, and he supported the American Colonization Society's efforts to purchase slaves, free them, and transport them to Africa. In 1825 he wrote his first antislavery articles for the *Christian Spectator*, an evangelical magazine with close ties to Yale Theological Seminary, his alma mater. In 1831 he became editor of the New York *Evangelist*, a weekly newspaper devoted to reforming American society.

By 1833 Leavitt had changed his views about abolition. Realizing that colonization was unfair to blacks who had been born and raised in the United States, he decided that slavery could best be ended by convincing slaveholders to free their slaves voluntarily. That same year he cofounded the New York City Anti-Slavery Society and became the recording secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He also bought the *Evangelist*, which he used as a pulpit from which to preach voluntary emancipation. His constant harping about abolition alienated most of his southern subscribers and many northern ones, especially those who were more interested in other reform movements such as temperance. On one occasion, he had to hide from an angry proslavery mob to avoid being done bodily harm. By 1837 the *Evangelist's* circulation had dropped to the point that the threat of bankruptcy forced him to sell the paper.

Shortly thereafter, Leavitt was named editor of the *Emancipator*, the official weekly newspaper of the American Anti-Slavery Society that was struggling to survive. Here he found an audience eager to hear his fire-and-brimstone pronouncements concerning the need to abolish slavery, and he soon turned the paper around. At about the same time, he realized that slaveholders would never free their slaves voluntarily, and he began to insist that direct political action was required to coerce the slave states into giving up slavery. This position brought him into direct opposition to the prominent abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who declared that the very act of voting in a federal election supported slavery because federal law and the U.S. Constitution supported slavery. Leavitt cared little for this argument, and in 1839 he called for the nomination of antislavery candidates independent of both major political parties. This stance cost him many subscribers from the ranks of Garrison supporters and from supporters of the Whig Party, many of whom were already working to end slavery through the political system.

In 1840 Leavitt heeded his own call by joining the abolitionist Liberty Party. He enthusiastically supported James G. Birney, its candidate for president, and he traveled extensively to build a party organization at the grassroots level. Shortly after the election of 1840, in which Birney polled fewer than one hundred thousand votes, Leavitt opened an office in Washington, D.C. For the next five years he reported back to the nation what Congress was doing about matters pertaining to slavery, and his reports did much to increase antislavery sentiment in the North. Meanwhile, his editorials helped to bring the slavery question to the floor of the House of Representatives, despite that body's rules against debate on that topic.

Leavitt became sole owner of the *Emancipator* in 1840, and the next year he moved its offices to Boston, where he merged it with the *Free American* and began publishing under the auspices of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. From 1844 to 1847 he served as chairman of the Liberty Party's national committee. In 1848 he sold the *Emancipator*, but he continued to work privately for abolition.

— *Charles W. Carey*

See also: American Colonization Society; Birney, James G.; Gag Resolution; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

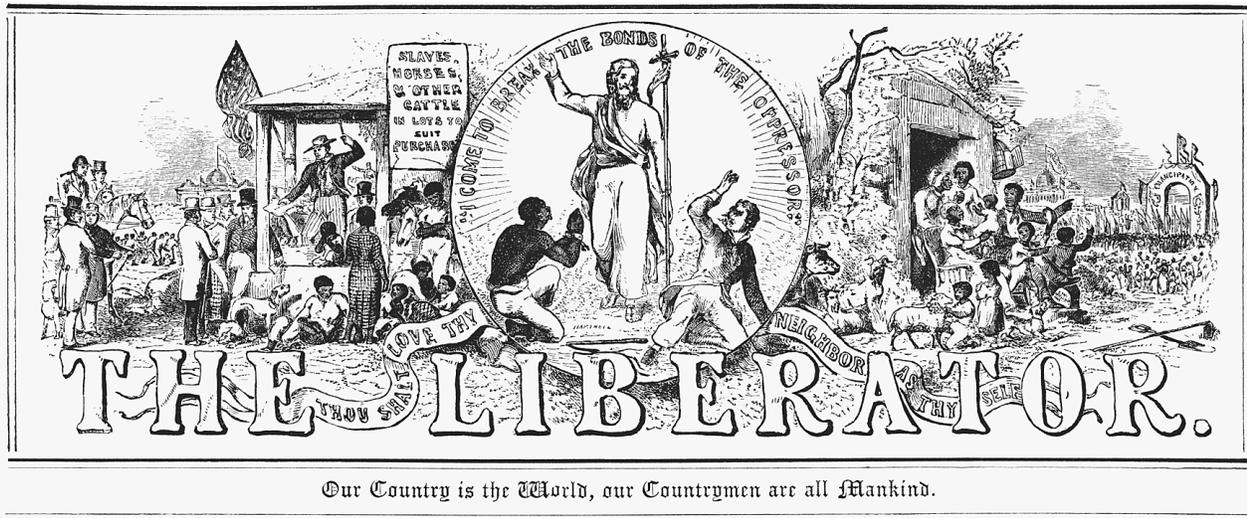
The Lecompton Constitution was drawn up in 1857 by proslavery Kansans to admit the territory into the United States as a slave state. The Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854) had established that slavery in the area would be decided by popular sovereignty, which led to anti- and proslavery forces battling in Kansas over the slavery question. Kansas's proslavery party met from September 7 to November 7, 1857, at Constitution Hall in Lecompton, territorial capital of Kansas, to frame the Lecompton Constitution.

The constitution stated the functions of the state government and included provisions for slavery. It maintained that the legislature could not deny owners property rights to their slaves, nor could it emancipate slaves without compensation to owners or prevent immigrants from bringing slaves into the area. It also protected the legal and civil rights of slaves with provisions for trial by jury and protection against brutal punishment.

The vote on the Lecompton Constitution was not a choice between accepting or rejecting the constitution. The choice was between adopting the Lecompton Constitution "with slavery" or "with no slavery." "With no slavery" meant that "slavery shall no longer exist in the territory of Kansas, except that the right of property in slaves now in this Territory shall in no manner be interfered with." In short, whatever the outcome of the vote, slavery would still exist in Kansas.

Angered by this deception, Kansans who opposed the extension of slavery into the territory boycotted the polls, and on December 21, 1857, the constitution "with slavery" was ratified by a vote of 6,226 (2,720 of which were fraudulent, mostly from Missouri border ruffians) to 569. Another vote on January 4, 1858, this one involving both the free state contingent and the proslavery faction—but largely boycotted by the proslavery people—denounced the Lecompton Constitution 10,226 to 162.

Despite Kansans clear mandate to repudiate the Lecompton Constitution, Democratic president James Buchanan recommended to Congress on February 2, 1858, the admission of Kansas under the corrupt Lecompton document. Coming on the heels of the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) decision, which stated that Congress could not pass a law depriving persons of their slave property, Buchanan urged Congress to accept Kansas as a slave state under



Masthead of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *Liberator*, ca. 1850. (North Wind Picture Archives)

the Lecompton Constitution. The U.S. Senate passed Buchanan's legislative recommendation, but Illinois Democrat Stephen A. Douglas denounced the illegal constitution and prevented it from passing in the House of Representatives.

Partly to avert further division in the Democratic Party, the English Bill (named after its author, William H. English of Indiana) was proposed as a compromise to offer Kansans a third vote on the slavery issue. Although it did not directly confront the slavery issue and sought to spare Buchanan the embarrassment of his political blunder, the English Bill attached land grants to the voting. Kansans would vote to either accept or reject the standard 4 million acres of land for new states (considerably less than originally requested).

On August 2, 1858, in a strictly supervised election, Kansans voted 11,300 to 1,788 to reject overwhelmingly the land grant offer and indirectly repudiated the Lecompton Constitution. The renunciation of the illegal Lecompton Constitution demonstrated Kansas' preference for remaining a territory rather than becoming a slave state. Kansas was admitted into the Union as a free state in 1861.

The Lecompton Constitution split the country on several levels. Kansans first battled each other over the legality of slavery in their territory. The Topeka (anti-slavery) and Lecompton (proslavery) factions clashed in a civil war that alerted the rest of the country to the divisiveness of the slavery question. The national Democratic Party and the U.S. executive and legislative branches also passionately debated the validity of

the Lecompton Constitution, further demonstrating the frenzied state of the nation over the slavery issue. The conflict that the Lecompton Constitution provoked foreshadowed the American Civil War.

—Julianne Phillips

See also: Democratic Party; Free Soil Party; Kansas–Nebraska Act; Popular Sovereignty.

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THE LIBERATOR

The *Liberator* (Boston, 1831–1865) was a radical abolitionist weekly newspaper owned and edited by William Lloyd Garrison. It provides an excellent record of Garrison's views on slavery, antislavery, national politics, contemporary events, women's rights, nonresistance, institutional religion, and racism over the antebellum period and prints many of his speeches, most of which have not been published elsewhere. Its accounts of anti-slavery meetings animate the passion and range of ideas within the antislavery movement.

The paper describes the activities of the Garrisonian antislavery societies, in particular the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and smaller affiliated groups. It reports the speeches and experience of both prominent and lesser known abolitionists, and it is a useful source of proslavery, antiabolitionist, and non-Garrisonian antislavery texts and Garrison's responses to them. Equally as significant, the *Liberator*—or Garrison speaking through it—helped set the terms of the antislavery debate; the paper's astute deployment of the American Revolution's patriotic language and the religious language of apocalypse and its oppositional stance forced others to respond in kind. Although neither the first antislavery newspaper nor the one with the largest subscription list, it was the best known, longest lived, and most influential.

Garrison began the paper to advocate abolition to both North and South, for he believed the entire nation was implicated in the sin of slavery. Most of the paper's subscribers lived in the North and West and in the first ten to fifteen years were predominantly free blacks, but the subscription lists do not accurately depict the *Liberator's* influence. In 1831, for instance, the paper was exchanged with some one hundred southern newspapers. For southerners and many northerners as well, the *Liberator* embodied abolitionist propaganda, reliably printing the very worst ideas (according to southern readers) in consistently extreme language. Southern newspaper editors printed excerpts from the *Liberator* along with attacks on both it and Garrison, and they and their readers wrote letters to him. Garrison published these letters in the front-page feature, "The Refuge of Oppression," and the more scurrilous the better.

The *Liberator's* reputation was made in 1831 when a southern newspaper editor, trying to explain Nat Turner's violent uprising, claimed Turner had been incited by abolitionist propaganda and specifically by the *Liberator*. Clearly, Turner did not need abolitionists to identify the cruelty and injustice of slavery, and the *Liberator* was a new, struggling, and obscure paper, one of which few Americans were aware. Even so, the claim stuck. Since even moderate or nominal abolitionists received similar accusations, Garrison functioned as a representative abolitionist for the South as his newspaper was an easily identified target. The language of the *Liberator* was not moderate; Garrison believed he needed strong language to win the war against slavery.

Garrison made the *Liberator* a powerful propaganda tool by exploiting the newspaper's form and meaning. The outstanding character of a newspaper, particularly

the tremendously popular penny papers, which first appeared in the 1830s, is variety. The *Liberator* offered speeches, proslavery gibes, clippings from southern papers, editorials, descriptions of abused slaves, reports about Congress's doings, poems, and, for a time, small illustrations in addition to its large and impressively illustrated masthead. Although Garrison wanted to "diversify the contents of the *Liberator* so as to give an edge to curiosity" (January 1, 1831), he also kept the reader focused on a small body of abolitionist truths. Hence the paper fell between the new kind of popular newspaper and the older sort of political paper, which made no pretensions to express anything other than a partisan opinion.

In fact, Garrison turned his newspaper into a pulpit, imbuing it with the language and moral force of the sermon, following a long tradition of joining the sacred and the secular in the press and pulpit. A vigorous religious press had begun in the 1820s, and the pulpit had always been a place to comment on vital secular topics and to urge congregations to carry sacred lessons into the world. The substitution of page for pulpit was essential for Garrison, who was mild mannered and, unlike some other abolitionists or the charismatic revivalist preachers, an ineffective orator. The *Liberator's* sermon-speeches and editorials have all the fire and force his oral delivery lacked. Through his newspapers, Garrison's words gave him a moral and social stature, even heroism: just because he published the *Liberator*, he was hailed as a modern Martin Luther or John the Baptist, and he became a catalyst for inciting mobs and riots. In a sense, Garrison became the *Liberator*; as a poem on the first page of the first issue (January 1, 1831) put it:

*My name is LIBERATOR! I propose
To hurl my shafts at freedom's deadliest foes!
My task is hard—for I am charged to save
Man from his brother!—to redeem the slave!*

Although most of Garrison's early subscribers were free blacks, he directed much of the *Liberator* at a white audience or else at "Americans," who were implicitly white. Perhaps he did not feel a need to appeal to free blacks because he believed they already sympathized with his cause. But this force on a white audience also assumed that black Americans lacked the power to end slavery, that they needed white "liberators."

Garrison published the *Liberator* every week for over thirty years, an astonishing record for any antebellum newspaper, and more so for one that constantly rested on the edge of financial collapse. In the early years Garrison did much of the work himself—writ-

ing, setting type, printing, and even delivering the papers to Boston-area subscribers. In later years other prominent abolitionists assumed editorial duties, among them Oliver Johnson and Maria Weston Chapman. The *Liberator* finally suspended publication on December 29, 1865; with the Civil War over, Garrison believed the *Liberator* had accomplished its task.

— *Andrea M. Atkin*

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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LIBERIA

Liberia was settled in 1822 by freed slaves from the United States; its organizers intended to fight the slave trade being conducted along the western coast of Africa as colonists spread the Christian religion and "civilization" among the indigenous population. Under white governors appointed by the American Colonization Society, the colonists had little success in persuading Africans to abandon either domestic slavery or the coastal sale of slaves.

After gaining independence in 1847, the Americo-Liberians continued dressing in European clothes, speaking English, and modeling their government and society after their "mother" country. Their stated policy toward the African population was assimilation, but they maintained almost complete separation despite a system of apprenticeship that brought children into their homes as servants. They did mix somewhat more with the five thousand "Congoes," Africans freed by the U.S. Navy from slave ships captured before reaching the Americas. The native African population considered the Congoes Americo-Liberian slaves, but the Congoes adopted Christianity and English and became a buffer between the fifteen thousand Americo-Liberians and the 2 million natives.

Using trade goods supplied by U.S. and European donors, the Americo-Liberians purchased control of 600 miles of coastline, but they made little impact on the hinterland before 1900. Pressured by British and French expansion during the late 1800s, the Americo-Liberians claimed as much of the interior as possible,

but they had no way of imposing their will until the founding of the Liberian Frontier Force (LFF) in 1908. Relying on U.S. assistance, they established the LFF but never adequately paid or disciplined its members. The LFF pillaged, raped, and enslaved hinterland peoples who did their best to escape its depredations. The national government imposed a "hut tax" in 1916 and used the LFF and taxes to saddle the interior with district commissioners, who used their official positions to establish plantations manned by forced labor and to extort rice from the local people. Complaints by the chiefs and missionaries led to the hiring of white commissioners from the United States in an effort to reform local government. When a U.S. commissioner arrested a slave-owning district commissioner and had him marched in chains to Monrovia, the Americo-Liberians reacted with indignation at the Americans' racism, and by 1921, they had forced all foreign commissioners out of the country.

Market farming in the interior proved unprofitable because there were no roads to transport products to the coast, so the Americo-Liberians turned to exporting labor. The government sold licenses to Germans and later to the Spanish to allow them to recruit workers. A scandal ensued when the Spanish employed Americo-Liberians as agents to produce labor for the unhealthy cocoa plantations on Fernando Po, a Spanish island in the Bight of Biafra. The League of Nations investigated and found that both fraud and later the LFF had been used to capture Liberians for export. The vice president of Liberia had been the principal organizer—both he and the president resigned.

Domestic slavery was outlawed in the 1930s, but there was little basic change following the scandal. Firestone Tire Company established a massive rubber plantation and, bowing to the pressure of Americo-Liberian planters, accepted the forced-labor system, paying chiefs to "recruit" labor. As late as 1965, one-quarter of all wage laborers in the country were forced workers.

After World War II, the Liberian government dropped assimilation in favor of a unification policy and established a Bureau of Folkways to generate respect for indigenous cultures, but that policy made little difference in ethnic relationships. The International Labor Organization (ILO) found that Liberian laws did not meet the standards set by the 1930 international labor convention and that forced labor remained legal. In response to international condemnation, in 1961 the government made it illegal for chiefs to use force or threats to recruit labor but still retained that right for the state. In 1962 Liberia repealed the forced-labor and cultivation laws, and Firestone

stopped paying chiefs for labor recruitment. Nevertheless, in the mid-1960s, a U.S. group, Growth Without Development, reported that “recruitment” continued.

The Americo-Liberians remained in control of the government, exploiting most of the population, until 1980 when Sergeant Samuel Doe, an African, overthrew and murdered the Americo-Liberian president in a coup. Rebellion and ethnic warfare followed. Despite U.S. support, Doe was overthrown and murdered and the country descended into anarchy and civil war. In 1997 Charles Taylor, a warlord of indigenous and Americo-Liberian ancestry, won the presidency. He made his followers “security forces” in his government. A United Nations-sanctioned court in Sierra Leone convicted Taylor of crimes against humanity, and rebel organizations backed by neighboring countries took over the country. Both Taylor’s government and the rebels enslaved Liberians as soldiers and as sex slaves.

The U.S. State Department, the ILO, and non-governmental organizations reported forced labor to be an enduring feature of Liberian society. Local leaders forced farmers to work on “community projects” for private benefit. The Liberian government lagged behind in ratifying international agreements such as ILO Convention 182 to end the worst forms of child labor. Taylor encouraged foreign logging operations that practiced forced labor and some NGOs reported that President Taylor used forced labor on his private farm. Without a functioning national government, international slavery resumed in a fashion as Liberia exported sex slaves to Belgium and the Netherlands in 2003.

— Dennis J. Mitchell

See also: American Colonization Society.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809–1865)

As president of the United States during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), which freed African American slaves in parts of the Confederacy unoccupied by Union forces, and he laid the legal groundwork for the eventual eradication of slavery in the United States. Lincoln is often associated with giving freedom to an enslaved people and restoring the values of equality contained in the Declaration of Independence to the forefront of the American experience.

Economic issues rather than slavery dominated Lincoln’s thinking during his early career as an attorney and a leading Illinois politician, particularly the problems of ensuring equal opportunities for white Americans in an increasingly complex national economy. He absorbed his father’s antislavery attitudes, and he never publicly defended slavery. Yet he said little about the institution while serving in the Illinois state legislature (1834–1840) and the U.S. Congress (1846–1848). As a lawyer, he defended the rights of slaveholders and runaway slaves alike with no apparent moral qualms.

By the early 1850s, Lincoln concluded that slavery’s degradation of free labor and entrepreneurship was anathema to his ideals of equal economic opportunity for all citizens. The period’s national political crises also propelled the problems associated with slavery to the forefront of Lincoln’s political consciousness. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise line by the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854), which opened newly acquired western territories to slavery, and the extreme proslavery language of the Supreme Court’s *Dred Scott* decision (1857), led Lincoln to believe that some white southerners and northern white Democrats were engaged in a secret plan to make slavery a national institution. Searching for a constitutional and political basis to combat this plan, he concluded that the Declaration of Independence contained an antislavery ideal that the Constitution’s language and provisions should fulfill. By setting the Declaration’s high ideals of equality as the moral goal toward which the republic must always strive, Lincoln believed the Founders had placed slavery “in the course of ultimate extinction.”

Lincoln carried his ideas with him upon joining the fledgling Republican Party in 1856. He avoided the radical plans of some Republicans and abolitionists for an immediate and possibly violent end to slavery, calling instead for preventing slavery’s spread into western lands while leaving it untouched to die of its own accord in the South. He also supported colonization schemes to ship ex-slaves to Africa, and he expressed



Sculpture of Abraham Lincoln, the “Great Emancipator,” standing over a crouched slave who wears shackles on his arms. (Library of Congress)

doubts as to whether the two races could ever live together in peace. Lincoln was also keenly aware of the virulent prejudice exhibited by many of his white neighbors toward African Americans, and he was sometimes compelled to cater to those prejudices to win votes. During an unsuccessful campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1858, for example, he stated, “I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races” (Donald, 1995).

Once elected president in 1860 and facing the country’s subsequent dissolution, Lincoln declared that he had no intention of making war on slavery. “My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union,” he wrote, “and is not to either save or destroy slavery” (Donald, 1995). He quashed early emancipation schemes by Union generals John Frémont and David Hunter, and was ambivalent toward congressional legislation such as the Confiscation Acts that appeared to be legal precursors of emancipation.

Lincoln began a gradual movement toward emancipation in 1862 for several reasons. Abolitionist leaders

like Frederick Douglass and Charles Sumner constantly pressured Lincoln to end slavery; the war itself created tremendous pressures on the institution as thousands of African Americans escaped into Union-held territory, and their presence demanded clarification of their legal status; and a manpower shortage compelled Lincoln to contemplate the unprecedented employment of African American soldiers, which would necessarily be accompanied by the promise of freedom. Primarily, Lincoln himself achieved a deeper and more profound understanding of the war’s ultimate meaning. He began understanding that Americans required a loftier goal than restoration of the Union to justify the war’s dreadful cost. He believed that what was at stake was nothing less than the future of all humankind’s free institutions.

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Ever mindful of public opinion, he crafted the document carefully to avoid antagonizing northerners on such a sensitive subject. It freed only those slaves in areas of the Confederacy that were not yet occupied by Union forces and was devoid of the inspirational eloquence that characterized the Gettysburg Address and other speeches. But Lincoln’s proclamation ended national legal protection that had been afforded human bondage in America for over two centuries, and paved the way for the Thirteenth Amendment’s final eradication of slavery. Lincoln believed the Emancipation Proclamation was his greatest achievement as president.

With emancipation came a variety of related policies and measures from Lincoln’s administration designed to hasten slavery’s demise. Chief among these was the recruitment of African American soldiers, which Lincoln encouraged to help freedmen erase slavery’s stigma. He also tried quietly to persuade leaders of the conquered South to allow African Americans limited legal and political rights. Lincoln’s assassination in 1865 cut short whatever further efforts he may have made in behalf of freedmen; we will never know what his policies might have been concerning slavery’s legacy.

Lincoln’s actions concerning slavery have been debated ever since his death. Generations of Americans, white and black, revered him as the “Great Emancipator.” Beginning in the 1960s, however, some Americans began questioning this reputation, arguing that he freed the slaves because of wartime necessity, rather than any internal antislavery or egalitarian values. Perhaps Frederick Douglass provided the best assessment of Lincoln’s legacy in this regard. “Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent,” Douglass declared, “but

measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined” (Cox, 1981).

— *Brian Dirck*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; American Colonization Society; Border War (1854–1859); Civil War; Confiscation Acts; Douglas, Stephen A.; Douglass, Frederick; *Dred Scott v. Sanford*; Emancipation Proclamation; Lincoln–Douglas Debates; United States Constitution.

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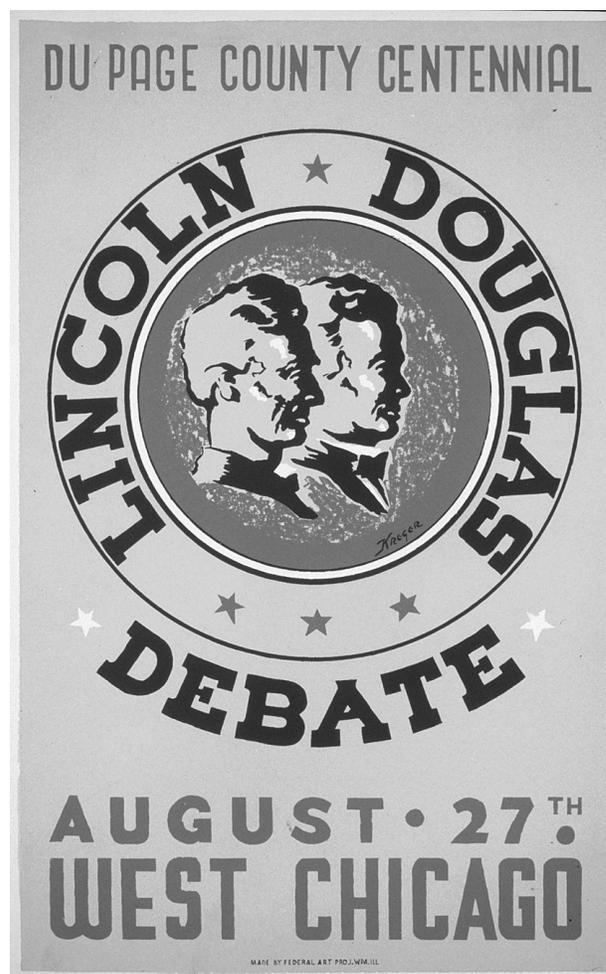
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LINCOLN–DOUGLAS DEBATES (1858)

In the summer and fall of 1858, two candidates for the U.S. Senate from Illinois, Republican Abraham Lincoln and Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, faced each other in a series of seven debates. This in itself was unusual because since the state legislature would decide who would fill the Senate seat, such a campaign for this office was unprecedented. The tense political climate of the period made these debates even more significant, as they represented an articulate statement of conflicting views on slavery and its expansion, a capstone of a generation of controversy during which these issues dominated the American political scene.

The participants were polar opposites, both physically and politically. Senator Stephen A. Douglas was one of the most powerful politicians in the United States. Nicknamed “the little giant” because of his small stature and oratorical prowess, Douglas had extensive political experience. After serving several terms in the House of Representatives, he had been elected to the U.S. Senate in 1846. As a member of that body, he rose to chair the important Committee on Territories, and as such, he sponsored the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854), which brought the debate over slavery in the territories and the idea of popular sovereignty to the political forefront.

Douglas believed that the settlers of each territory should be allowed to decide the slavery question for themselves; popular sovereignty was the solution to a



Poster for the centennial celebration of the Lincoln–Douglas debate, 1858. (Library of Congress)

persistent political problem. First, he believed that under the U.S. Constitution, states, not the federal government, had the authority to enact legislation dealing with slavery. Second, he believed the institution would die out without any federal intervention. Third, he understood that his political future, and that of his party, rested on a fragile coalition of northern and southern Democrats, which a strong stand on either side of the issue would dissolve. So Douglas, the consummate politician, chose what he believed to be a safe, moderate position. When Kansas erupted in civil war over the issue of slavery, Douglas’s critics argued that popular sovereignty was merely another way to protect slavery’s westward expansion. One of his most vocal opponents was a tall, rough-hewn former Whig, Abraham Lincoln.

In 1858 Lincoln was not a politician of national stature. He had served several terms in the Illinois legislature and a single term in Congress. A successful

Springfield lawyer, he had left the Whigs over the issue of slavery in 1856 and joined the fledgling Republican Party. Lincoln believed slavery was a moral wrong and opposed its expansion. He argued that the institution was a corrosive force in American society, and he felt it should be eliminated as quickly as possible. Therefore Lincoln and Douglas represented the two opposing views on the expansion of slavery that dominated American politics before the Civil War.

The debates themselves were a departure from political tradition because Senate candidates normally did not campaign, as the state legislatures elected senators and the party that controlled the state assembly usually elected powerful party leaders to such a post. In 1858 the controversy over the expansion of slavery and the resulting political turmoil meant that for the first time, the Senate election was an important issue in the Illinois legislative races. It was, in fact, a referendum on the future of slavery in the United States.

The voters had an unprecedented opportunity to evaluate the Senate candidates after the *Chicago Times* suggested that Lincoln and Douglas debate across Illinois. Lincoln quickly agreed and was followed, somewhat more reluctantly, by Douglas. As the incumbent, Douglas realized that he had much more to lose than his relatively unknown Republican challenger. Seven debates were scheduled, all similar in content and form to modern political forums.

The first debate, in Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, set the tone for those that followed as the issue of slavery expansion came to the forefront. Douglas declared that it was “the sovereign right of each State to decide the slavery question . . . for themselves, without interference from any other states or power whatsoever” (Jaffa, 1959). According to Douglas, this right also extended to territories, which should be allowed to decide the question through the democratic process. He went on to accuse Lincoln and the Republican Party of being “in favor of the citizenship of the negro” (Jaffa, 1959). Lincoln denied that he favored black equality, but he admitted that he believed the institution was a moral blight on the nation. He argued that “we shall not have peace upon the question until the opponents of slavery arrest the further spread of it” (Donald, 1995). During the second debate in Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln questioned Douglas’s support of the *Dred Scott* decision (1857), as it seemed to contradict the continued endorsement of a popular sovereignty position. Douglas’s response, which thereafter became known as the Freeport doctrine, was to assert that slavery could effectively be prohibited from any region if local police regulations were not in place to enforce it.

The debates had far-reaching effects, the least of

which was the outcome of the 1858 Illinois legislative races. Voters, to some degree, cast their ballots for legislators based on the senatorial candidates. Although Democrats carried both houses of the state legislature and reelected Douglas to the Senate, the Republicans showed impressive strength. Also, Douglas, who had been reluctant to enter the debates, lost much of his national prestige. Southern Democrats questioned his view of the use of the federal government to protect slave property, and northerners accused him of pandering to slave interests. In attempting to take a moderate position, Douglas became something of a pariah in an increasingly polarized political climate. Lincoln, the heretofore unknown, emerged from the debates with a national political reputation.

Most importantly, the debates brought increased attention to the issue of slavery and its expansion. Two years later, in the presidential campaign of 1860 in which Lincoln and Douglas were both candidates, the debates took on increased political importance. Douglas, whose earlier positions had angered southerners, could not unite the Democratic Party. Lincoln, however, was able to use his speeches to attract Free Soil Democrats and former Whigs to win the election. So this series of debates, which began as a forum for senatorial candidates in Illinois, contributed in no small way to the course of American history during its most trying time.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Douglas, Stephen A.; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Freeport Doctrine; Lincoln, Abraham; Popular Sovereignty.

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LITERATURE

Slavery was legally abolished in Great Britain by the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies (1834–1838) and in the United States by the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and the Thirteenth Amendment (1865). Nevertheless, slavery, as a topic, pervaded

all aspects of Western literature and remains central to a large body of works, especially in the United States, even today.

Historically, the discourse of slavery is detectable in literature as diverse as Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko; or, The History of a Royal Slave* (1678), Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814), and Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). On entering London's Tate Gallery, built on the proceeds from British sugar plantations, or when singing "Amazing Grace," written by John Newton, a slave-ship captain who underwent a conversion to abolitionism, or when listening to a Billie Holiday rendition of "Strange Fruit," the all-pervasive nature of slavery and oppression in Western art can be recognized.

Slavery often appears in literature, not as subject, but as a sensational backdrop to a story that is essentially about other things, as in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* (1936). Literary texts also use the subject to articulate other concerns about the power structures of the day. Thus Behn's *Oroonoko* comments specifically on female oppression and the struggle for political power in seventeenth-century England, and in Austen's *Mansfield Park*, Sir Thomas Bertram's departure for interests in the West Indies precipitates a moral collapse in the comfortable and respectable nineteenth-century English country home, leaving only the modest and withdrawn Fanny to raise the issue of slavery and its relationship to the beautiful Mansfield Park. She does this, however, through an underlying theme in the text: that of the nature of the patriarchy under which all of the weak and the powerless live. In Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* slavery is also used as a metaphor for male tyranny. Jane's cousin is called a "slave driver" when he forces her to stand still as he hurls books at her head and, later, the Creole blood of Bertha, Rochester's wife, is used as a signifier of that dark other that was to be both feared and oppressed.

In the nineteenth century slavery was an obvious presence in British novels. A perceived analogy between British workers and the slaves of the Americas was exploited in factory novels, such as Francis Trollop's *Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy* (1839) or Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848). Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and her second novel, *Dred* (1865), were used by British workers and philanthropists to build support for the Reform Act of 1867, which began the emancipation of British labor. It was felt that the lives of factory workers were little better than those of slaves. This analogy was strenuously refuted by African Americans, most famously by James Baldwin in *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), in which he argued that Uncle Tom wore his badge upon his face and

could not, therefore, better his lot through education and social mobility.

More directly, pro- and antislavery literature abounded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Proslavery literature, given the traditional association of darkness with evil in Western culture, commonly used the myth of barbarism to assert its arguments. Thus Thomas Jefferson, in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (written in 1781–1782), compares the American slave to the Roman slave and, after commenting on the artistic and intellectual capacities of the latter, concludes that it is nature, not slavery, that creates distinctions between black and white. Some writers used biblical and providential arguments to justify slavery, while others, such as Edward Long in *The History of Jamaica* (1714), searched for a scientific and anthropological rationale, prefiguring the nineteenth-century pseudoscientific justifications perpetrated by Josiah Nott and others.

Any relationship between blackness, nature, and slavery was systematically refuted in the antislavery literature, perhaps indicating the degree to which these ideas were associated in the common mind. Writers insisted that it was slavery, not skin pigmentation, that was responsible for the African's condition. The colonial argument, prior to the American Revolution, that all men were created equal was extended to include slaves in writings such as James Otis's *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764) and David Cooper's *A Serious Address to the Rulers of America* (1773), while a mischievous footnote to John Trumbull's *M'Fingal* (1775), pondering the nature of liberty, insists that the thirteen stripes on the new American flag are to be associated with neither prison bars nor the stripes on the backs of slaves. Trumbull, like other American satirists such as Artemus Ward and David Ross Locke, wrote against slavery, but the author of the most famous antislavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was able to draw her "facts" of the book from a vast quantity of slave literature circulating at the time in narratives, histories, tracts, and pamphlets.

Many slave narratives used their sensationalist appeal, with gruesome tales of cruelty, beatings, and lynchings, to turn public opinion against slavery. Because it was illegal to teach a slave to read or write, many of the narratives had to be transcribed or even written by white abolitionist editors, as was Harriet Ann Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861). Others were written by African Americans themselves, most famously the narratives, essays, and works of Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave. Douglass was an activist and established the antislavery newspaper, the *North Star*. His *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Dou-*

glass (1845), besides relating the story of his escape to freedom, finds common ground with other literature of the period through its questioning, like Emerson and Thoreau, of what it is that separates the human from the animal and in what forms, therefore, did human freedom exist. For Ralph Waldo Emerson, the question was largely esoteric but not for Henry David Thoreau. He was involved with the antislavery movement, and he took a political and moral stand against it. He delivered speeches, such as his “Slavery in Massachusetts” speech in 1854, and profoundly stirred by his meeting with John Brown at Emerson’s home in 1857, he wrote three lectures: “A Plea for Captain John Brown,” “The Last Days of John Brown,” and “After the Death of John Brown.” For Douglass, questions of human freedom were not abstract but vital. His capacity to “think himself free” empowered his emancipation.

The African American voice on slavery in literature, however, was at best marginalized and at worst silent. It was an oppressive silence, broken only sporadically during the centuries of slavery and then by slaves like the poet Phillis Wheatley (c. 1755–1784), who had been taught by her “owners” to read and write and did not, in any direct sense, question her servitude, regarding it as the price paid for bringing her to God. In the period following emancipation, recuperation began. Charles Waddell Chesnut wrote *The Conjure Woman* (1899), a series of dialect stories about slavery told by an African American gardener to his northern employers that denied the plantation’s romanticism and slavery’s glorification and emphasized the divisions between black and white. The poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar blended the use of African American dialect and refrains with a rich mixture of pathos and humor in his collected poems, *Lyrics of Lowly Life* (1896). There were others, but it was with the age of the Harlem Renaissance and writers such as Jean Toomer (who published *Cane* in 1924), the poets Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen, and the novelist Zora Neale Hurston that writers began to write a literature that allowed those who had suffered under the oppression of slavery to speak with their own voice.

The Harlem Renaissance, fueled by the interest in jazz, was not a school and the aims of its writers differed, but a popular term at the time described these self-assertive and racially conscious African Americans as the “new Negro.” The term marked the shift of the black intellectuals from the agrarian South to the urban North, and a movement from the world of Booker T. Washington to that of W. E. B. DuBois. These writers created characters and perspectives that considered African Americans as people; as subjects in

their own literature rather than as the objects of other peoples’ literature. They countered the invisibility of their people, as passive Uncle Toms or as the singing and dancing caricatures of the minstrel shows, with strong literary characters who spoke to their own people.

The writers of the Harlem Renaissance did not, on the whole, deal directly with stories of slavery. It exists in their texts as a brooding and inevitable presence—in the laconic question in Countee Cullen’s poem of the same name, “What is Africa to me?” or in the attitudes and actions of Janie, whose grandmother was born into slavery, in Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). Janie is bullied into marrying a staid and much older man because that will keep her “safe” from the atrocities common to her grandmother’s experience. After World War II, works such as Richard Wright’s *Native Son* (1940), Ralph Waldo Ellison’s *Invisible Man* (1952), and the poetry of Gwendolyn Brooks confront the social and psychological problems inflicted by the racism, bigotry, and stereotyping that was the legacy of slavery.

The Black Arts movement of the 1960s was a call to action. Amiri Baraka’s “Black Art” (1969) declares: “We want ‘poems that kill’/Assassin poems, Poems that shoot/guns.” The movement, essentially a cry for civil liberties, gave impetus to an explosion of new African American writers, among them those who worked to reclaim their peoples’ past. The theme emerges in Alice Walker’s “Everyday Use” (1973) when Dee, named for her Aunt, decides to break with her past and call herself Wangero, but in so doing loses her own identity. Other writers confronted the silences of slavery by remembering those whose existence as slaves meant that their stories remained untold. On a popular level, Alex Palmer Haley wrote *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1975), which traced his own slavery background back to Africa. The television series that followed demonstrated to people worldwide what the loss of country, home, language, freedom, even one’s name, meant and what it could mean for generations to come. Toni Morrison’s *Beloved* (1987) similarly explores the ongoing legacy of slavery in terms of the nature of possession and freedom. *Beloved*, the child Sethe killed rather than allowed to live in slavery, returns. The return brings little joy. *Beloved* takes possession, holding Sethe from life just as her would-be lover, Paul D., is held from life by the memory of slavery’s atrocities. As Sethe loosens her hold on life, it is the black community itself that frees her, and ultimately, it is from among this community that depictions of slavery in literature have found their finest form.

— Jan Pilditch

See also: Autobiographies; Chesnutt, Charles W.; Douglass, Frederick; Locke, David Ross; Narratives; Stowe, Harriet Beecher; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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DAVID ROSS LOCKE (1833–1888)

David Ross Locke was born in New York State and spent his working life as a freelance printer and journalist, mainly in Ohio. He was the author of a number of political pamphlets and a popular lecturer. During the American Civil War, he invented his famous pseudonym Petroleum V. Nasby, late pastor uv the Church uv the New Dispensation, Chaplain to his excellency the President, and P.M. at Confederate x roads, kentucky. The character, a dissolute and illiterate country preacher, satirized the southern cause during the Civil War through his own fervent support of it. This support took the form of a long series of misspelt letters and ludicrous arguments, after the manner of Artemus Ward, Seba Smith's Major Jack Downing letters, and others. Although it must be admitted that Locke's Petroleum V. Nasby is the most conniving, rationalizing, and generally appalling of all the writers of misspelt letters. If it is the satirist's duty to lash the vice and folly of humanity, it is no accident that this epitome of all cracker-box philosophers should emerge in the course of the Civil War. His very presence, his disruption of logic and grammar, signify the deep disharmony felt among the general population. The Petroleum V. Nasby letters appeared for the first time in the Findlay *Jeffersonian* on March 21, 1861.

The misspelt letters made their point through a series of puns, ludicrous spelling, deformed grammar, incongruous juxtaposition, and anticlimax. Petro-

lium V. Nasby, an office seeker who unfailingly points to the superiority of his lineage remarks: "My politiks hez ever bin Dimocratic, and I may say, without egotism, I hey bin a yooseful member uv that party. I voted for Jackson seven times, and for every succeedin' Dimocratic candidate ez many times as possible." Nasby is the most corrupt of men and despite his enthusiasm for the southern cause is unable to fight. On reading in the newspaper that the government had instituted a draft, Nasby writes on August 6, 1862: "I know not wat uthers may do, but ez for me, I cant go. . . . My teeth is all unsound, my palit aint eggsackly rite, and I hev hed bronkeetis 31 yeres last Joon. At pesent I hev a koff, the paroxisms uv wich is friteful to behold."

This appalling human frame embodies a collection of equally appalling values that are supported by spurious appeals to God and nature. When the Civil War ends, he reacts to an election taking place, after passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, by rigging it. Nasby drags voters from jails and poorhouses and sobriety was not a requirement: "One enthoosiastic Dimekrat, who cost us \$5, hed to be carried to the polls. He hed commenced early at one uv the groseries, and hed succumbed afore voting." The way in which misspelling can reinforce satire is evident in the spelling of Dimekrat. Elsewhere in Nasby's letters the word is spelt "dimocrat," but here the issue of bribing voters is paramount, and this so that the Fourteenth Amendment, which gave black Americans voting rights, could be voted down by the "liberty-lovin freemen uv Ohio."

If Harriet Beecher Stowe was told by President Lincoln that she was the "little woman who started a war," then David Ross Locke was the writer who was credited with helping him win it. Lincoln is said to have read the latest Nasby letters to his cabinet for a little comic relief before outlining the Emancipation Proclamation. *The Nasby Papers* by David Ross Locke were published in 1864, the first of many collections, and a political novel, *The Demagogue* was published in 1891.

— Jan Pilditch

See also: Civil War; Literature.

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LONG-STAPLE COTTON

Long-staple cotton (*G. barbadense*) was one of the most valuable commodities produced in the antebellum South. Various known as Sea Island cotton and black seed cotton, this type of cotton had a long growing season and therefore flourished in the Caribbean basin and in the Sea Island region just off the South Carolina and Georgia coastline. Long-staple cotton was the first variety of cotton to be commercially cultivated in the United States, but its regional distribution as a “cash crop” was limited by climatic considerations.

Long-staple cotton was valued as an exportable commodity for many reasons. The smooth black seeds of the cotton boll did not stick to the cotton lint and were therefore relatively easy to remove by hand. It was possible for slave laborers to remove the cotton lint from the cotton seed by hand without the necessity of using any type of blade-based gin (though roller-gins were used on some plantations). In addition, the long-staple cotton was so named because the cotton fiber that was produced within each boll tended to be long and relatively silky. Textile manufacturers in Great Britain and in the northern United States valued the product greatly.

Sea Island cotton was not cultivated in South Carolina and Georgia during the colonial era but was only introduced into the region in the 1780s. At this point, long-staple cotton still vied with rice and indigo as regional exports—the southern cotton boom had not yet occurred. That transformation would take place as new technologies encouraged the cultivation of short-staple cotton (*G. hirsutum*), which could grow practically anywhere in the upland South almost like a weed. Alexander Bissett of Sapelo Island, Georgia, sold the first bale of long-staple, Sea Island cotton in 1788, and by the early 1790s the product was selling for 10.5 cents per pound. The value placed on this product was clearly noted, and by 1805, Sea Island cotton reached an all-time high of \$2.00 per pound. It was said that the finest French mills imported only Sea Island cotton because of its high quality, and during the nineteenth century, Britain’s Queen Victoria reputedly only used handkerchiefs made out of Sea Island cotton.

In 1792 Eli Whitney arrived in Savannah to study law and to tutor the children of General Nathanael Greene, a hero of the American Revolution. While he was living in Mulberry Grove, Georgia, the Massachusetts native recognized the problems inherent in cultivating cotton in the area—particularly the difficulty of removing cotton seeds from cotton fiber by hand. Whitney’s ingenious solution to this problem—the de-

velopment of the cotton gin—would do much to transform the agricultural economy not only of coastal Georgia and South Carolina but also of the entire antebellum South. In addition, the expansion of cotton cultivation would trigger an insatiable demand for slave laborers throughout the region.

It would be false to argue that slavery was a more benign institution in the days when long-staple cotton was cultivated exclusively, but slavery was certainly more localized and a smaller part of the local economy during this earlier era. The expansion associated with the cotton boom that brought the cultivation of short-staple upland cotton would extend the region of cultivation westward to the Mississippi and beyond to East Texas. This rapid expansion of territory to be cultivated carried with it the demand for tens of thousands of additional slave laborers to make the cotton economy viable.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Georgia; Sea Islands; South Carolina.

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NARCISO LOPEZ (1798–1851)

The pivotal year 1848, which saw the acquisition of the vast Southwest from Mexico, also witnessed great enthusiasm throughout the United States for the annexation of Cuba—one of Spain’s last colonial possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The same year saw Cuban revolutionaries issue a proclamation stating that the island’s future lay with the rising American nation. Foremost in promoting trade with the United States, and determined to thwart Spanish efforts to abolish slavery,

Cuban annexationists contended that admission to the Union would see the island's "farms and slaves . . . double their value" (Brown, 1980).

Led by General Narciso Lopez, a native of Venezuela, who married into a Cuban planter family, these patriots planned a revolt for June 29. Once a loyal Spanish soldier, Lopez fought against Latin American revolutionary, Simon Bolívar, and served in the Carlist War, a Spanish civil war in the 1830s fought over problems of succession. Although he subsequently held several administrative posts in Spain and Cuba, he was apparently driven to support the island's anti-Spanish faction by serious financial reverses.

Ironically, Lopez and his followers were betrayed by the American government who, in the process of negotiating the purchase of the island, exposed the plot to Spanish authorities. Lopez barely escaped capture, fled to New York, and with the support of Cuban exiles and American expansionists, raised a private army to liberate Cuba in 1849. However, President Zachary Taylor's strong stand against filibustering, coupled with legal and military precautions taken by federal officials, effectively thwarted Lopez's invasion plans.

When federal authorities foiled efforts to organize a second expedition, Lopez transformed his base of operations from New York to New Orleans. Strongly proslavery, Lopez was well known in Cuba for harsh sentences against free blacks while serving as president of the military commission in the early 1840s. Although he failed to persuade prominent southerners like Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis to lead a new expedition, he received substantial support from Governor John A. Quitman of Mississippi who believed that the annexation of Cuba as a slave state would balance the recent admission of California to the Union as a free state.

"Cuba fever" spread rapidly through the South, and by spring 1850, Lopez had assembled an invasion force of nearly 600 men. Sailing from New Orleans, he landed on Cuba's northern coast on May 19 and captured the Spanish garrison at Cardenas. The local populace failed to rise, and Spanish reinforcements forced Lopez's "liberators" to reembark hastily and sail for Key West. Closely pursued by a Spanish warship, the filibusters scattered upon reaching Key West, narrowly avoiding arrest by local federal officials.

Lopez and sixteen followers, including Quitman, were subsequently indicted by a federal grand jury for violating the Neutrality Law (1818), which banned private military expeditions from American soil against foreign nations. Released after three hung juries compromised the government's case, Lopez promptly organized a fourth expedition. Ignoring a proclamation

by President Fillmore, Lopez sailed from New Orleans on August 3, 1851.

Lopez's 400 filibusters landed at Bahia Honda on August 11 and marched inland only to discover, as before, that Cuban support failed to materialize. Discipline soon fell apart, and Lopez's force was overwhelmed by Spanish troops. Colonel William L. Crittenden of Kentucky and over fifty others were shot in Havana on August 16, while over 162 filibusters were sent to Spain in chains. Hunted down by Spanish troops, Lopez himself was captured and publicly garroted in Havana on September 1.

The news of Crittenden's fate, which reached New Orleans prior to Lopez's capture, sparked anti-Spanish riots that wrecked the Spanish consulate there. However, the American government was unwilling to protest Spain's harsh measures against what was regarded as an illegal expedition. Spain subsequently released all surviving prisoners after the U.S. Congress voted a \$25,000 indemnity for the damage in New Orleans.

For many Cubans and Americans, Narciso Lopez died a martyr for liberty. However, as one historian contends, he was in reality "an agent of annexation." Many of Lopez's followers subsequently participated in Quitman's abortive filibuster expedition against Cuba and fought under William Walker in Central America.

—James M. Prichard

See also: Filibusters; Quitman, John A.; Walker, William.

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LOUISIANA

Slavery in Louisiana falls into two periods: the colonial, alternating between French and Spanish rule from 1699 until 1803; and the American, from 1803 until emancipation at the end of the Civil War. Unlike develop-

ments in the Caribbean and along the Atlantic coast of North America, colonial Louisiana was not initially a plantation society. Large-scale slave ownership did not become crucial until after the mid-1700s when varieties of sugarcane and a method of sugar processing suitable to Louisiana's climate were introduced. During the American period, cotton became Louisiana's most widely cultivated crop north of the latitude of Baton Rouge. As the size of plantations grew and commodity production became more profitable, Louisiana slavery became harsher and legendary.

After the French claimed Louisiana in 1682, colonizers established permanent settlements in 1699 at Biloxi, Mississippi and in 1702 at Fort Louis on Mobile Bay, Alabama. The colony's first slaves were Indians, who numbered eleven in the 1704 census and eighty in the count four years later. Colonists quickly became dissatisfied with Indian slaves, however, and in 1706 petitioned for Africans. Although the date the first Africans arrived in the colony is unknown, the first black child was born in 1712 and the black population at that time totaled approximately twenty. In 1719, a year after the founding of New Orleans, French ships brought in five hundred slaves. This number increased modestly at first and then dramatically. At the end of the French rule in the 1760s, slaves in the colony numbered approximately ten thousand; by the end of the Spanish colonial era, there were about twenty-eight thousand; and in 1860, under the Americans, the number reached a peak of 331,726. Despite the introduction of African slaves, Indian slavery continued on a small scale. Individuals from the two groups sometimes ran off together, held each other in bondage, mated to produce offspring referred to in the colonial records as *grifes*, and on occasion joined in conspiracies against the colonial governments, including the 1729 massacre of the French at Natchez. Following this revolt the French clamped down on the slave trade to Louisiana, allowing only one ship to enter the colony between 1731 and 1769. The trade resumed afterward, however, under the Spanish. Another major conspiracy against slavery occurred in Pointe Coupée Parish in 1795, bringing together Africans, Indians, Europeans, Americans, and free people of color motivated by ideas of egalitarianism and the revolutions in France, the United States, and St. Domingue. Again, in 1811, five hundred slaves began a march on New Orleans, killing whites, burning plantations and crops, and taking weapons and ammunition. Planters organized a militia, reinforced by the U.S. Army, and massacred sixty-six slaves during the revolt. Others were captured, tried, and executed—their heads raised on poles along the Mississippi River Road to intimidate others who might be tempted to rebel.

Although slaves destined for Louisiana were taken from several regions of Africa, two-thirds of the direct arrivals during the French colonial rule came from the Senegambia, with the Bambara being the largest group, and thereby, the most significant contributors to the formation of the colony's Afro-Creole culture. The Spanish continued to bring slaves from the Senegambia, taking others from Central Africa, the Bight of Benin, and the Bight of Biafra. The 1791 Revolution in St. Domingue strengthened French and Afro-Creole culture in Louisiana as many slaveowners along with their slaves fled Hispaniola and settled in the colony. This occurred again in 1808 as another migration of St. Domingue exiles came to Louisiana from Cuba, where they had originally sought refuge. Although slaves from elsewhere in the United States had been brought into Louisiana during the colonial period, this number increased dramatically after 1803. This was due in large part to the exhaustion of the soil in the Upper South, creating a surplus of slaves in that region, and the cotton boom in the Lower South and Southwest, leading to a demand for labor. Consequently, Louisiana's Afro-Creole culture became partially Anglicized, and in this form following Reconstruction spread throughout much of the rest of the United States.

Slaves arriving in Louisiana from Africa were often technically skilled and had considerable knowledge of tropical crop production. Their experiences in Louisiana varied considerably, however. Although cotton planters in the northern part of the state attempted to maintain a sexually balanced labor force and increased their slaves through sexual reproduction, sugarcane planters in the South needed more males than females and consequently depended on a continuation of the slave trade with Africa. In urban areas, such as New Orleans, slaves worked as domestic servants or skilled laborers, such as blacksmiths, masons, metalworkers, and carpenters, some of whom leased themselves out for hire and returned a portion of these earnings to their owners. Government authorities responsible for maintaining levees and constructing roads, wharves, and public buildings also purchased the labor of slaves. On such jobs, slaves sometimes worked alongside free people of color. This segment of the population grew slowly under the French but increased dramatically under the Spanish, who allowed masters to manumit their slaves with little interference from the government and slaves to more easily purchase their own freedom, a practice known as *coartación*. Free people of color, many of whom were of mixed European and African ancestry, were often educated, held property including plantations, and in

some cases owned slaves. Although the number of free people of color in Louisiana increased from seventy-five hundred to over twenty-five thousand between 1810 and 1840, their proportion of the state's population of African descent declined from 18 to 13 percent during this period.

In several of its features, slavery in colonial Louisiana developed along lines similar to those in French and Spanish societies in the Caribbean and gave rise to cultural patterns that endured, in part, into the American period. These included: (1) tolerance of widespread interracial matings so that large numbers of mulattoes existed alongside pure Africans; (2) creation of a syncretic religious tradition, Voodoo, that drew on Catholicism and traditional African beliefs; (3) continuation of African language or ethnic communities that facilitated marronage; (4) production of language patterns that evolved into a form of widely spoken Creole French; and (5) continuation of African traditions of drumming, dancing, and cooking to produce the most Africanized slave culture on the North American continent.

— *Claude F. Jacobs*

See also: Derham, James; Durnford, Andrew; German Coast Uprising (1811); Pointe Coupée Conspiracy (1795); Rillieux, Norbert.

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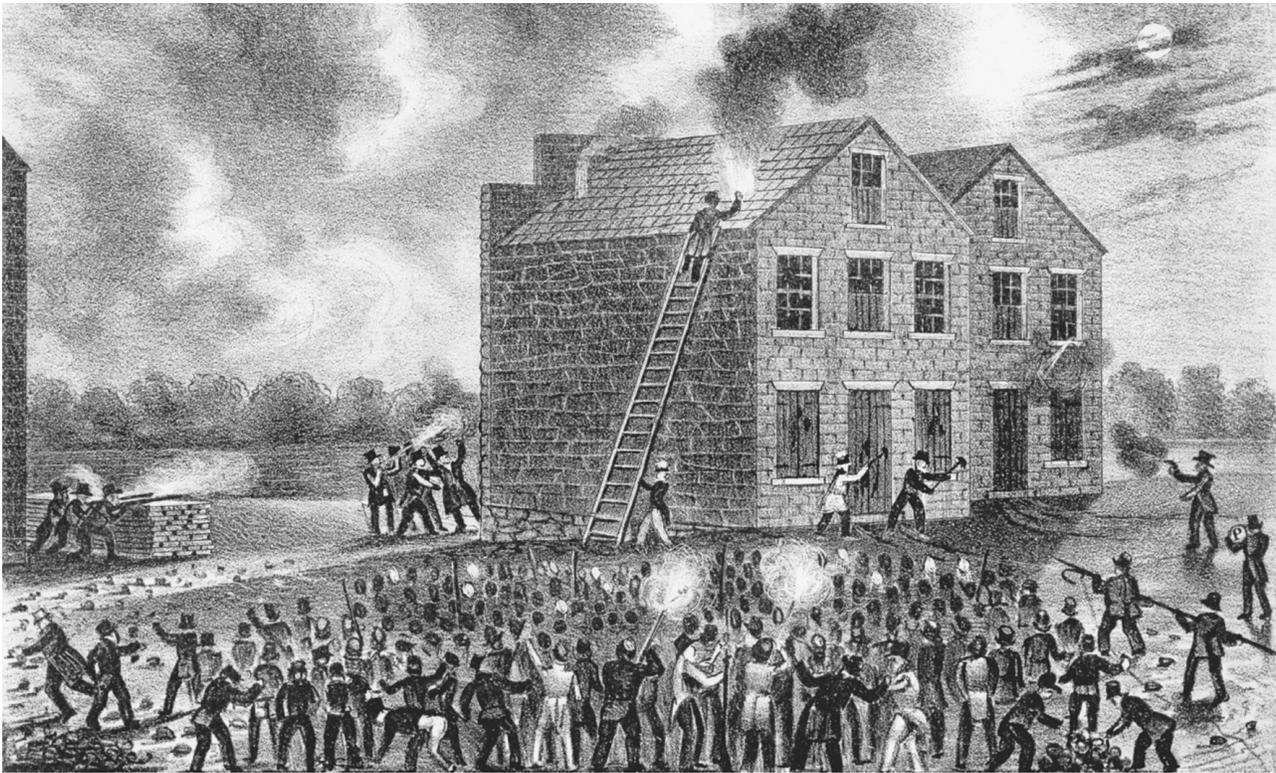
ELIJAH PARISH LOVEJOY (1802–1837)

Elijah Parish Lovejoy was an abolitionist, antislavery activist and advocate, newspaper editor, and publisher, who earned a reputation as an uncompromising opponent of slavery. He was born in Albion, Maine, on November 9, 1802. His parents, the Reverend Daniel Lovejoy and Elizabeth (Pattie) Lovejoy, were both of

New England origin. A brilliant young man, Lovejoy attended Waterville (now Colby) College and graduated with honors in 1826. He taught school for about a year and then moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where he continued teaching. Perhaps influenced by his father, young Lovejoy entered the ministry. He attended the Theological Seminary at Princeton and was licensed to preach in 1833 by the Philadelphia Presbyterian Church. He returned to St. Louis that same year, this time driven by a deep sense of mission and determined to contribute to the antislavery cause.

In November 1833 he began publishing and editing the *St Louis Observer*, a Presbyterian weekly. He was driven by an inner revulsion against slavery, and an inner determination to destroy the institution. He transformed the paper into a vocal antislavery organ. Early in his antislavery crusade, Lovejoy came under the influence of Garrisonian moral-suasionist ideology. Followers of the New England abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison embraced moral suasion, and nonviolence, and believed strongly that the most viable and effective weapon against slavery was the force of moral condemnation and exposition. Lovejoy accepted the creed and became a radical pacifist who rejected violence, while persistently criticizing and exposing slavery's evils. Such persistence, Lovejoy and other nonviolent abolitionists felt, would eventually influence public opinion against slavery, bringing down the institution in the process. Consequently, although his editorials were harsh and often fiery, Lovejoy remained a pacifist at heart.

But St. Louis proved intolerant of his antislavery activities, and opposition to Lovejoy developed, becoming increasingly militant and life-threatening. He was confronted with the choice of either moderating his criticism or leaving the city completely. He chose to leave. He strongly believed in his constitutionally given right to protest and criticize slavery and vowed not to "give ground a single inch." His unpopularity deepened with his coverage of the public roasting of a St. Louis mulatto sailor in May 5, 1836, for killing a white deputy. The perpetrators were never punished. Lovejoy reported the incident in his paper, bitterly denouncing the perpetrators and the judge who was lenient on them. Enraged by Lovejoy's coverage, public sentiment against him turned violent, and fearing for his life and his family, his antislavery friends advised Lovejoy to leave the city. He relocated across the Mississippi River in Alton, Illinois, home to many antislavery New Englanders. But even there Lovejoy was not completely safe. An antiabolitionist mob from St. Louis followed him to Alton and destroyed his press as it stood on the dock.



An anti-abolition mob attacks the warehouse of the *Alton Observer*, a newspaper in favor of abolition, in Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837. Editor Elijah P. Lovejoy, a leader in the movement, was shot dead defending his press. (Library of Congress)

Altonians initially welcomed Lovejoy and expressed regret over the destruction of his press, pledging to assist him in replacing it. They also made clear their discomfort with abolitionism, and Lovejoy allegedly promised to restrict the content of his newspaper to religious matters. Illinois was not quite an ideal haven for abolitionists. The state legislature recognized the constitutional right of southerners to maintain slavery and had condemned abolition. Nevertheless, abolitionist sentiments were rising in the state, and Lovejoy felt at ease, believing that he had finally found a safe place to propagate antislavery ideas. He replaced his press, thanks to the generosity of antislavery friends in Ohio.

The *Alton Observer*, like its predecessor, assumed the character of a staunch opponent of slavery, and soon the tone of his writings and his activities became worrisome to Altonians. Lovejoy criticized and condemned slavery and gave wide publicity to antislavery activities, both local and distant. He supported abolitionists and began to advocate forming an abolitionist society in Alton. On July 4, 1837, the paper called for an antislavery meeting in Alton to consider establishing a state branch of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Opposition to

his activities mounted. However, after several deliberations, the society was finally formed on October 26.

The formation of an antislavery society brought the wrath of Altonians down on Lovejoy, and people began publicly discussing the possibility of violence to stop him. His press was destroyed by mobs three times, and each time a replacement arrived from Ohio. When the third press was destroyed, Lovejoy, with the concurrence of Alton's mayor, decided to arm himself in order to protect his family and press against further attacks. He thus abandoned pacifism, believing that self-defense was justified in such a situation of helplessness and vulnerability. Unfortunately, the townspeople were just as determined to end his editorial career permanently. Lovejoy sought protection for his property and his right to free speech, but to no avail. The mayor claimed that he lacked the necessary force with which to protect Lovejoy, and advised him to consider leaving town. Angry mobs invaded his home several times, threatening the safety of his family. Finally, Lovejoy was compelled to abandon nonviolence. Determined not to be bullied any longer, Lovejoy procured guns with which to protect his family and business. Explaining his resolve, he

wrote in the *Liberator*, “But dear-bought experience has taught me that there is at present no safety for me, and no defense in this place, either in the laws or the protective aegis of public sentiment. I feel that I do not walk the streets in safety, and every night when I lie down, it is with the deep settled conviction, that there are those near me and around me, who seek my life. I have resisted this conviction as long as I could but it has been forced upon me.” For Lovejoy, the die seemed cast. He was abandoning Garrisonian nonresistance and pacifism. He would fight back.

His fourth press arrived from Ohio, and just as in the past, a mob gathered to destroy it. Lovejoy stood his ground, beside a group of armed supporters, in defense of his new press. Tension mounted, and in the ensuing confrontation, shots were fired. Lovejoy was hit and fatally injured. He died on the spot, thus becoming a martyr of the antislavery cause—in fact, the American Anti-Slavery Society proclaimed him the “first martyr of American liberty.” Fellow pacifists bemoaned Lovejoy’s decision to defend himself and seemed to blame him for his death.

Lovejoy’s death strengthened the abolitionist movement. Angry meetings were held throughout the country to denounce his killing, and thousands of men and women were drawn to the antislavery cause. His death also reduced northern antagonism to abolition, giving abolitionists a freer and more permissive atmosphere in which to meet, speak, publish, and agitate. Lovejoy’s devotion to antislavery and the sacrifice of his life for the cause inspired generations of abolitionists, black and white. Perhaps the most outstanding was John Brown, who at a memorial meeting in Ohio, vowed to dedicate his own life to the destruction of slavery.

— *Tunde Adeleke*

See also: Alton (Illinois) *Observer*; Antiabolition Riots; Beecher, Edward; Brown, John; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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MADISON COUNTY SLAVE WAR

The 1859 Madison County, Kentucky, “slave war” resulted from a series of misunderstandings and prejudices that occurred in and around the small settlement of Berea, Kentucky. Encouraged by the abolitionist Cassius M. Clay’s emancipation of his slaves in Kentucky, followers of Reverend John G. Fee, a noted abolitionist, settled in the Berea area in 1855 and established a school and church where the principles of racial equality were taught. Clay became disenchanted with the teachings of those at Berea and gave them little support after 1856, but Fee continued his efforts to attract recruits and to raise money for the colony.

In October 1859, Fee traveled throughout New England to garner support for a proposed college at Berea, and while in the North, he was invited to speak to Henry Ward Beecher’s congregation at the Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn. During his speech, Fee invoked the name of the abolitionist, John Brown. The Kentucky papers reported the incident in a sensational manner, and calls for Fee and his followers to be driven out of Kentucky, or to be arrested, were numerous.

Madison County citizens were outraged at Fee’s words. On December 5, 1859, a group of influential residents met in the courthouse at Richmond, Kentucky, to discuss the situation regarding the Berea community. Among their resolutions was a pledge to stop Fee and his followers by “fair and proper means and measures.” On December 23, 1859, sixty men rode to Berea to warn the inhabitants to leave the state within ten days, or be forced out. Kentucky governor Beriah Magoffin refused to send the militia to protect them.

Fear of mob violence prompted a group of ten families consisting of thirty-six people to leave their homes, and twenty went to Cincinnati and free territory. Although feelings among many slaveowners ran high against Fee and the Berea community, some Madison County residents did not feel completely negative about the Bereans, as at least one-third of the students at the Berea school were from slaveholding families.

The threat of violence did not end with the exodus of some of the Berea residents. In March 1860, a group of twenty-five armed men rode into the community to

find that John C. Hanson, one of the former residents, had returned to settle some business and to sell his sawmill. This time the proslavery people met resistance, and shots were exchanged. The infuriated mob returned to Richmond to get reinforcements, and the following day a larger force of over two hundred returned to Berea and destroyed Hanson's mill. Cannons were ordered from Lexington to aid in the attack. Hanson escaped capture and fled the state, and because of continued threats and violence, in April 1860, some sixty additional members of the Berea community left Kentucky for the free states.

Madison County experienced some of the same difficulties that occurred in Kansas and Nebraska just a few years earlier, though on a smaller scale. The clash of antislavery forces with proslavery forces gave Madison County a foretaste of what Kentucky and the nation would endure with the coming of the Civil War.

— Ron D. Bryant

See also: Brown, John.

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MARGARET MERCER (1791–1846)

As an antislavery advocate, teacher, and author, Margaret Mercer is considered to have been Virginia's preeminent female supporter of Negro colonization. Driven by religious motives, Mercer entered into altruistic activities as a young woman, beginning by supporting church activities as well as giving money and time during the Greek War of Independence from Turkey (1821–1832). Her main focus, however, was her interest in antislavery causes, specifically those embodied by the American Colonization Society (ACS). The goal of the ACS was to provide funds for free blacks to emigrate to Africa and to encourage the emancipation of slaves by asking slaveowners to send their slaves to the newly created colony of Liberia. The ACS believed that this manner of dealing with slavery would ultimately rid the United States of the practice. ACS supporters also clearly stated that removal of free slaves to Africa would open up job opportunities for white citizens and would eventually

accomplish the creation of a white (and therefore more acceptable) populace.

Mercer, the daughter of a Maryland governor (John F. Mercer, served 1801–1802), emancipated the fifteen slaves she inherited from her father, diligently worked on fund-raising for the colonization project, sponsored education projects in the Liberian colony, and was a forthright voice in the argument for Liberian colonization. Eventually, enthusiasm for the ACS began to wane among some of its leading members, who felt the ACS was ineffective and divisive among abolitionists. The American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race was organized in its stead, and Mercer, deeply offended, turned her efforts to teaching. She was the author of two books published in 1837: *Studies for Bible Classes* and *Popular Lectures on Ethics or Moral Obligation for the Use of Schools*. Mercer died of tuberculosis in Virginia.

— Maria Elena Raymond

See also: American Colonization Society.

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MASON–DIXON LINE. *See* Free Persons of Color.

MIDDLE PASSAGE

The label Middle Passage has long been used to describe the voyage of slaving vessels from African to American ports. Beginning in the sixteenth century, this involuntary voyage was taken by over 11 million people before slave trading ended in the nineteenth century. Voyage lengths could vary considerably. Gambia River slavers made the passage to Barbados in as little as three weeks, while those from Angola to Virginia or Cartagena might take several months. Abolitionists and then historians have used descriptions of the treatment of slaves aboard ship, the terror experienced by the captives, and the high mortality rates on some of the voyages to demonstrate some of slavery's worst aspects.

Before embarking on the transatlantic voyage, slaves had already endured significant trauma. Most had been enslaved by fellow Africans, as Europeans rarely ven-

tured into the interior to capture slaves and purchased them from African merchants instead. Some slaves had been sentenced to their status for criminal activity, indebtedness, or religious infractions while others were victims of political disorders or wars of aggression by imperialist African nations. Prior to 1700, over half of all slaves were prisoners of war, but in the eighteenth century, banditry and large-scale kidnapping expeditions were responsible for about two-thirds of the slaves delivered for coastal sale. Exhausted from long treks from the interior and crowded conditions of detention in pens awaiting the arrival of European traders, slaves were often ill because of inadequate diets and fouled water supplies. In all, most slaves spent at least six months from capture until being placed aboard ships for transport across the Atlantic. Adding to their misery was the terror of seeing the ocean and hearing the pounding of the surf for the first time and their fear that the mysterious white men with long hair and strange languages might be cannibals.

After boarding the sailing ships, the slaves faced almost indescribable conditions. Although women and children had some freedom of movement, men were usually shackled in pairs. Slave traders bought primarily men because planters in the tropics preferred them for plantation laborers. Throughout the slave-trading era, men outnumbered women by nearly two to one, and children under ten seldom constituted more than 10 percent of the cargo. Whenever possible, captains permitted slaves on deck during the day, but at night and during stormy weather, they faced the horrors of the conditions below deck.

Olaudah Equiano, an eighteenth-century slave from the Niger Delta, published an account of his travail. He related that slaves first noticed an overwhelming smell when forced below deck. There was little breeze through portholes or ventilators, and sanitation facilities rarely were adequate. The resulting foul odor overcame Equiano, as it did countless others, who not only became ill but also found it difficult to eat amid the horrid stench. It became common knowledge that one could smell a slaving vessel five miles downwind.

Some captains preferred packing their slave cargoes more tightly than others. Below deck on most ships there was seldom more than 5 feet of headroom. The “tight packers” installed shelves to halve the headroom and increase the number of slaves transported. Eighteenth-century abolitionists circulated widely a diagram of a Liverpool slave ship named the *Brookes*, which showed a cargo of slaves barely having enough room to move. The captain had allotted an area of only 6 feet by 16 inches for each man to lie in.

Although it is doubtful that the *Brookes* was typical

of most of the slave ships, even under ideal circumstances on the “loosely packed” vessels, the space allotted to slaves for the passage was seldom half that provided on ships for indentured servants, soldiers, and convicts. By the eighteenth century, the typical slaving vessel carried nearly two slaves for every ton of displacement. With slaving vessels averaging 200 tons by 1750s, the average slaving voyage carried over 350 slaves, and several far exceeded that figure, with a few carrying up to seven hundred slaves. During the years of peace in the eighteenth-century Atlantic, nearly 170 vessels carried slaves in these cramped conditions.

The meals furnished by ship captains usually depended on the African region where they procured their cargoes. They supplied plantains and manioc for Angolans, yams for slaves from the Bight of Biafra, and rice and cornmeal for those from the windward coast of Africa. Most captains supplemented these meals with boiled horsebeans and, on rare occasions, a small ration of meat. Two meals a day were common, served with water.

The cramped vessels were horrible disease environments in which Europeans and Africans with little immunity to each other’s diseases spent much time in close contact. Yellow fever, measles, malaria, leprosy, scurvy, and syphilis were all threats, but smallpox and gastrointestinal disorders, particularly dysentery, often were the biggest killers. Smallpox outbreaks could claim half or more of the slaves during a voyage, as could dysentery. Dr. Alexander Falconbridge, testifying to the British Parliament when that body was investigating the slave trade in the late eighteenth century, explained that a combination of having to keep slaves below deck in bad weather and an outbreak of dysentery created a hell of blood, mucus, and fever that could kill dozens. Even when it did not kill large numbers, the “bloody flux,” as contemporaries called dysentery, often so weakened the slaves that they were unable to handle the harsh work environment of the plantations in the Americas. Crew members also faced great risks, as a higher proportion of the crew members than the slaves died during the Middle Passage. Overall, about 17 percent died in the eighteenth-century voyages, but on English slave ships late in the century nearly 22 percent perished, mostly while they obtained cargoes along the African coast.

Most slave ships had at least one doctor on board. Even the most successful ones could do little more than urge captains to keep the holds as clean as possible, to provide the slaves with ample opportunities for exercise and fresh air, and to supply adequate rations of food. Some doctors used traditional herbal treatments they encountered along the African coast. Yet,

given their limited knowledge of hygiene and medicine, the doctors could do little when there was an outbreak of disease on board.

The psychological trauma endured by many slaves often was more devastating than the physical ailments. Slaving crews often noticed that a few slaves became so unresponsive that they even refused to eat. To combat this “fixed melancholy”—a depression caused by shock, fear, or the memory of lost home and family—some crews made the slaves dance on deck each day. If the slaves remained unresponsive, crews used threats, violence, and even forced feeding to keep them alive. Occasionally, nothing could be done, and despondent slaves committed suicide by leaping overboard.

The treatment of slaves on the voyages was invariably harsh. Lashings were routine for minor infractions, and sexual assaults on female slaves were commonplace. Captains hired about twice as many crew members for a slaving voyage as for a normal Atlantic crossing, taking about one crewman for every ten slaves to feed and control the cargo. The crewmen were well armed because of a constant fear of slave mutinies, and there certainly was good reason to be concerned. There were nearly four hundred revolts on slave ships crossing from Africa to the Americas. In addition, there were almost one hundred attacks from the African shore on ships or the longboats transporting slaves to slaving vessels.

As ships neared the American markets, the captains began preparing their cargoes for sale. They gave the slaves extra food rations and plenty of water to drink. Crews bathed and shaved the slaves, coated their skin with palm oil to give it a healthier looking sheen, and dyed the gray hair of older slaves. Some captains even provided tobacco and pipes to raise spirits, but it was too late for some. So weakened after surviving the horrors of the passage, perhaps as many as 5 percent of slaves died while awaiting sale or shortly after being sold.

There long has been an effort to determine the mortality rate on the Middle Passage. A few voyages experienced very high death tolls. In 1716, the *Windsor* lost 216 of its 380 slaves before arriving in Brazil. Sixty-five years later, the captain of the *Zong*, a ship from Liverpool, started a voyage with 440 slaves; 60 of them died en route to the West Indies, and 132 others were so sick that the captain ordered them thrown overboard to collect insurance for losses at sea. Such catastrophes were rare. The overall mortality rate was 12 percent, although through the early seventeenth century, the rate hovered around 20 percent. By the late eighteenth century, losses on British slave ships remained under 10 percent of their cargoes.

Historians have offered a number of explanations for

the improvement. Some have suggested that captains, with an ever-closer eye on profit margins, slowly moved away from the tight packing of ships. Others have argued that captains decided to sell slaves in the closest ports, thus shortening voyages and improving the chances of reaching markets with a higher percentage of their cargoes. Drawing upon information on over twenty-seven thousand voyages identified in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Project, historians have found that those two factors played only a small role, although they did find that very lengthy voyages led to much higher mortality rates. Beyond the small gains achieved by sailing shorter distances, perhaps the doctors' increasing use of citrus juices to combat the ravages of scurvy and their efforts to improve sanitation aboard ship also contributed. Whatever the explanation, mortality on the Middle Passage declined, as it did on voyages carrying troops, contract laborers, convicts, and free immigrants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Despite the ever-greater likelihood that slaves would survive the journey, there is no way to minimize its horror. The ridicule, whippings, sexual exploitation of women, poor rations, disease, disorientation, and terror combined to create a living hell for those forced to sail the Middle Passage.

— Larry Gragg

See also: Diseases and African Slavery in the New World.

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MISSOURI

When the Missouri Territory applied for statehood in 1819 with a proposed constitution that recognized the existence of slavery within the state, the action touched

off a national debate on the expansion of slavery into the western lands recently acquired through the Louisiana Purchase (1803). Although this debate was settled by compromise, the argument prefigured later sectional animosity of the late 1840s and 1850s that would ignite as the same question resurfaced after the United States acquired additional western territories as a result of the Mexican War (1846–1848). Compromise would be less successful in healing the national rift over slavery, and the United States would find itself inextricably drawn toward civil war over the question of slavery's expansion into the western territories.

Slavery first came to Missouri when the area was colonized as part of French Louisiana in the early eighteenth century. The French colonizers made an effort to establish a series of frontier outposts connecting the poles of New France (i.e., Quebec) with Louisiana (i.e., New Orleans) and extending throughout the heartland of the North American continent. As such, French colonial settlements were established at Ste. Genevieve, Kaskaskia Island, and St. Louis to extend French hegemony into the interior of North America. According to the standard labor regimen of the day, the French introduced African slaves into these settlements to labor as artisans, household servants, and eventually, once the settlements were firmly established, within the area's saltworks and as agricultural laborers. This practice continued during the era when the Louisiana Territory came under Spanish colonial control (1763–1803), as the Spanish, too, used slave labor within their colonial establishment.

The United States acquired the Louisiana Purchase territory from France in 1803 after the area had been retroceded by the Spanish. When the United States took formal possession of Upper Louisiana (i.e., Missouri) in the spring of 1804, the colonial population of the region, albeit small, included a number of slaves who had labored for either French or Spanish colonial masters in the region. Although the white Creole colonials became citizens of the United States by treaty arrangement, their slaves were also transferred as chattel property and were not granted the benefit of citizenship by the transfer of national sovereignty in the region.

In many respects the Missouri Territory, like much of the entire Louisiana Purchase lands, was an unknown quantity at the time of American acquisition. It was not until after the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–1806) successfully explored the Missouri River Valley and traversed the continent to the Pacific Coast and back, that many came to understand and appreciate the bountiful lands of the Missouri Territory and the possibilities that they presented for settlement and

agricultural development. William Clark, a leader of the famed expedition, eventually served as territorial governor of Missouri and did much to conclude treaties with Native American tribes in the region that would clear the way for the establishment of farms, plantations, and towns throughout the Missouri Valley. According to the historic custom of the community, slave labor extended into these new settlements.

Pioneer settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia were attracted to Missouri, especially after the War of 1812, by the legendary fertility of the Missouri valley's alluvial bottomlands, and the population of the territory swelled as did its slave population. Large plantations tended to be rare in Missouri, but the ownership of small numbers of slaves by landed farmers tended to be the dominant pattern that emerged in the state. By the time that Missouri sought statehood in 1819, roughly ten thousand slaves, or 15 percent of the territorial population consisted of slaves. By the time of the Civil War, there would be nearly one hundred fifteen thousand slaves in Missouri.

The area of Missouri that sustained the largest population of slaves in the antebellum era was the Missouri River Valley region of the northern part of the state. Physical geography and cultural demographics limited the practical use of or desired ownership of slaves in other Missouri regions. The Ozark Plateau in south-central Missouri produced a region of hills and mountains where large-scale agriculture involving the use of slave labor was marginal. In urban St. Louis some slaves were used as house servants and as workers on the wharves, but the ever-expanding German immigrant population that swelled in the city during the late 1840s and 1850s had decidedly antislavery sentiments. Even though the population of slaves in Missouri increased substantially in the decades leading up to the Civil War, slaves as a percentage of the state's population declined to the point where less than 10 percent of the state's population in 1860 consisted of slaves.

As a state of the Upper South, Missouri was not ideally situated for cotton cultivation by either climate or geography, and the state's primary agricultural pursuits were focused on cultivation of tobacco and hemp and the raising of livestock. Missouri slaves were engaged in all of these pursuits throughout the Missouri Valley settlements. In some parts of the state, slaves continued to be used in an industrial setting in both the saltworks and the lead mines of the state. Slaves working in Missouri may have had some of the most diversified experiences of all the slaves in antebellum America.

Missouri slaveowners played a significant role in neighboring Kansas as that state sought to employ

popular sovereignty to determine whether the region would join the union as a slave or as a free state. So-called border ruffians from Missouri crossed the boundary into Kansas to settle in proslavery towns and to influence both with their ballots and with force if necessary the justice of their position. Similarly, free soil advocates from Iowa and elsewhere—the Jayhawkers—also entered Kansas to counter the effects of the “border ruffians” on the territory. By the mid-1850s, as “Bleeding Kansas” erupted into factional violence, the wisdom of popular sovereignty was called into question by a divided nation that saw no easy solution to the question of slavery and its potential expansion into the western territories.

Missouri was the scene of some of the more spectacular legal battles involving slaves in the antebellum era. Missouri was the point of origin for the famed *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) decision, which originated as a case in the historic courthouse in St. Louis in 1846. Similarly, a slave woman named Celia was involved in a historic case in Callaway County in 1855 when she was charged with murdering her master, a man who had repeatedly raped her over the course of several years.

Since most of Missouri’s slaves were located in the northern part of the state, a region adjacent to the free states of Iowa and Illinois, it was common for many Missouri slaves to run away and seek freedom either in the adjacent states or in Canada. Both Iowa and Illinois had many active supporters of the Underground Railroad who assisted Missouri fugitives to make their way to freedom.

Though it remained a slaveholding state, Missouri did not leave the Union during the Civil War, but it remained a border state. As such, the state was the scene of much of the fratricidal violence that a war of brother against brother might bring when families often divided their allegiance to the North or to the South. Keeping Missouri within the Union was one of the key war aims of Abraham Lincoln, and he resisted all efforts that might drive the state into the hands of the Confederacy. Lincoln prevented General John C. Frémont from implementing an announced plan that would have emancipated all Missouri slaves who sought refuge with the Union lines. In Lincoln’s view, such a policy would have torn Missouri from the Union.

— Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Missouri Compromise; Tallmadge Amendment; 36°30' North Latitude.

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MISSOURI COMPROMISE (1820)

The Missouri Compromise (1820) raised the important question of whether or not slavery would be allowed to expand into the Louisiana Territory that the United States had purchased from France in 1803. Although the territory in question was west of the Mississippi River, the most important debate over the issue occurred in the nation’s capital. Representatives and senators from North and South clashed over the sensitive issue of slavery in heated debate, the likes of which would not be seen again until the 1850s.

The long-term cause of the Missouri crisis was the gradual evolution of slavery in the United States. Following the American Revolution, the northern states began to abolish slavery, and many northerners began to question the place of slavery in a country that had fought a war for liberty and that professed in its Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal and possessed inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Many southerners, however, retained slavery despite the inconsistency between slavery and a war fought for independence. Southerners defended slavery by asserting that the Revolution had preserved liberty, including the protection of private property, which included slaves. Although they clung to slavery, many southerners often professed the wish to be rid of slavery. Those statements kept hopes alive in the North that the institution of slavery could be abolished, but such hopes grew dimmer after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. After 1793, the cultivation of short-staple cotton, which had been difficult to grow because of the lengthy cleaning by hand of the cottonseeds, became the staple crop of choice in the lower South states. As cotton planters exhausted eastern lands and searched for new lands, they moved west into new territories such as Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Slavery came with

the planters and soon covered the lower South from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico. This rapid expansion of slavery, and slave states, worried many northerners who saw the prospect for abolition fading.

In the summer of 1818 the residents of Missouri Territory applied to Congress for the right to form a state government and draft a constitution. Henry Clay presented this petition on December 18, 1818. Little happened until February 13, 1819, when James Tallmadge, a Republican congressman from New York, introduced an amendment that sought “the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes” (*Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2d sess.). His amendment also provided that all children born into slavery in Missouri were to be freed when they reached the age of twenty-five. After furious debate on February 15, 1819, the House passed the Tallmadge Amendment, but the Senate rejected it. Northern representatives and senators overwhelmingly supported the measure, while southerners overwhelmingly opposed it.

During the months between the close of the Fifteenth Congress and the opening of the Sixteenth Congress, antislavery sentiment blossomed in several northern states. Newspaper articles, private and public letters, and mass meetings condemned the spread of slavery to Missouri and urged northern congressional delegations to vote against statehood for Missouri. This outpouring of antislavery sentiment contributed to bitter sectional feelings between northerners and southerners as well as a siege mentality among supporters of slavery in Missouri. In many ways these editorial exchanges in rival newspapers offered a preview of what was to come when Congress resumed its deliberations on the Missouri Question.

When Congress returned to the issue of slavery in Missouri in December 1819, one of the main questions was whether the national legislature had the authority to regulate slavery. Northerners tended to argue that the federal government had previously regulated slavery by alluding to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 as precedent. Several northern congressmen also argued that the general welfare clause, the commerce clause, the migration and importation clauses, and the territorial authority clause of the Constitution vested power with Congress to regulate slavery in the territories. Southerners replied that slavery was a state institution and Congress could not regulate it. The debates in the winter of 1820 also featured northern attacks on slavery and southern defenses of it. Northerners criticized slavery as an unrepugnant institution and asserted that slavery blighted the southern landscape and made a

mockery of national values such as liberty for all men. Southern defenders of slavery counterattacked, offering readings of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence and defending the right of slaveholders to move their human property to Missouri. In addition, southerners stated that efforts to exclude slavery from Missouri would make the residents of that state second-class citizens, unable to share in the common rights enjoyed by Americans living in other states.

After months of heated debate, Congress, led by Henry Clay, speaker of the House, decided to affect a compromise. Maine, then a province of Massachusetts, sought admission to the Union as a state. Southern members of Congress decided to hold up the admission of Maine, in effect using Maine as a bargaining chip to get Missouri admitted into the Union. The ploy worked. The resulting compromise admitted Maine to the Union as a free state and allowed the Missouri legislature to decide the future of slavery in that state, although most observers expected Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state. Through this arrangement the balance of power in the Senate remained equally divided between North and South. Another crucial part of the compromise called for a line to be drawn in the Louisiana Purchase at 36°30' north latitude, a line that represented the southern border of Missouri. Land north of this line in the remaining territory of the Louisiana Purchase, except for Missouri, would be free territory. Land to the south of the line would be open for settlement by slaveholders.

In the second session of the Sixteenth Congress, which met in the autumn of 1820, there was an episode that nearly scuttled the agreement reached only months earlier. Missouri's constitutional convention included a provision in the new state constitution that called for the legislature to prohibit the immigration of free blacks and mulattoes into the state, an action that raised the thorny question of black citizenship. Northern opponents of this proposed measure asserted that the Constitution made no mention of color as a prerequisite for citizenship, while southern supporters of the proposed law pointed to custom for evidence to buttress their position. Southerners noted that states in both the North and the South denied suffrage to most free blacks, prohibited interracial marriage, and forbade free blacks from serving in the militia. These arguments proved quite powerful because they expressed a common belief that blacks were inferior to whites, and no northern opponent of Missouri's constitutional stipulation expressed unqualified sentiments that contradicted such beliefs.

As a result of this provision in Missouri's constitution, Congress delayed the admission of Missouri

into the Union. Competing resolutions for and against the offending clause lacked majorities in Congress, and once again, Henry Clay managed to affect a compromise. This second compromise required the Missouri legislature, in a solemn public act, to ignore the principles of their state's constitution and not pass laws that contradicted the federal Constitution. The Missouri legislature responded by passing a law stating that Congress lacked the right to order such a bill and that the order of Congress lacked binding authority on the state. President James Monroe accepted this law, and Missouri became a state on August 10, 1821.

The Missouri Compromise revealed an important lesson to the political generation of that day. Slavery had to be kept from becoming a topic of debate in Congress. The heated passions expressed during the debates exposed a growing antislavery sentiment in the North and a growing commitment to slavery in the South. Slavery in the territories provoked a crisis that shook the nation to its foundation in 1819. In the heated politics of the 1850s, slavery in the territories provoked a crisis that resulted in civil war.

— James C. Foley

See also: Missouri; Tallmadge Amendment.

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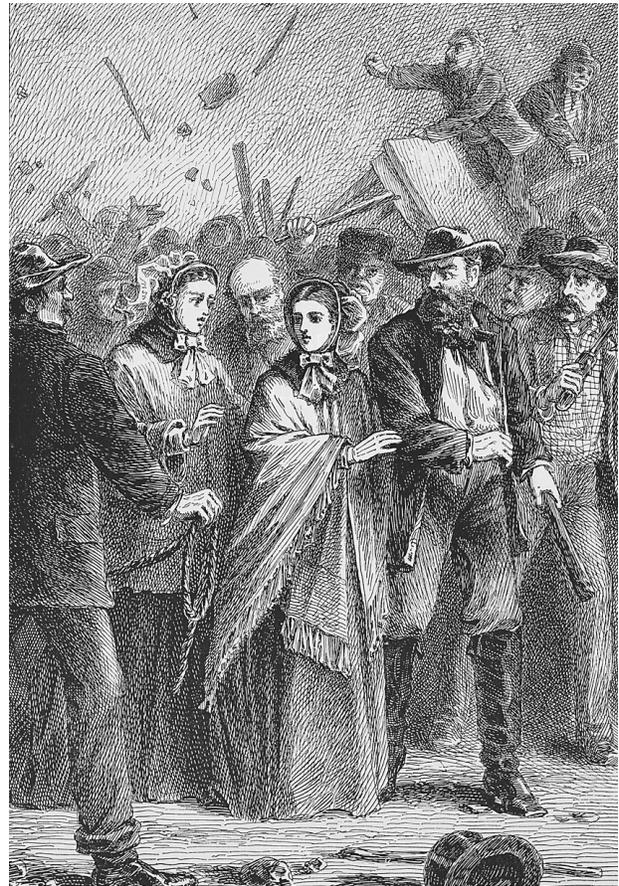
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MIXED-RACE AMERICANS. See Miscegenation; Mulattoes; Octoroons; Passing; Quadroons.

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT (1793–1880)

Quaker minister, abolitionist, and early feminist, Lucretia Mott has long been acknowledged as the most universally respected antebellum feminist-abolitionist. Unusu-



Depiction of Lucretia Mott during a confrontational meeting. Mott and several other women reacted to discriminatory treatment from the American Anti-Slavery Society by forming the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Their initiative sparked the creation of similar female abolition groups across the nation. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ally well educated for a woman of her time, Mott had a Quaker education that supported the development of her intellectual prowess and scholarly reputation. Following a long-standing Quaker tradition of opposition to slavery, Lucretia and her husband James Mott became involved in antislavery activities in the 1820s and supported the antislavery teachings of Elias Hicks. Lucretia was chosen to be a Quaker minister in 1821.

Both Lucretia and James were devout supporters of the free-produce movement, a Quaker-instigated reform devoted to promoting goods produced without slave labor. Through her ministering, Mott persuaded women to purchase wool and linen instead of cotton, maple sugar instead of cane sugar, and to make other appropriate substitutions.

In August 1830, William Lloyd Garrison visited the Mott home in Philadelphia. He convinced them that immediate emancipation, not colonization in Africa, was the only viable solution to the slavery problem and urged them to increase their activism. The Mott residence soon emerged as the hub of Garrisonian abolitionism in Philadelphia. In 1833 Lucretia and several other women were invited to attend the first national antislavery convention in Philadelphia at which the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed.

Spurred by the national convention's call for the creation of more female antislavery societies, Lucretia founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Besides serving as corresponding clerk for the organization, she was its principal leader and activist throughout her years in the movement. Most of the women members were Quakers, though some were Unitarians and Presbyterians. The society also included several middle-class black women. It was unique among women's antislavery organizations in its efforts to provide for the needs of Philadelphia's African American community. The women also petitioned Congress to abolish the domestic slave trade and to eradicate slavery in Washington, D.C., and the territories. They raised funds for the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, collected a vast library of abolitionist literature, and popularized free-produce purchasing practices.

Although Lucretia acknowledged the importance of raising money for the abolitionist cause, she resisted the efforts of male abolitionists to define money-making as the sole function of the female societies. Nor did Lucretia confine her abolitionist efforts to all-female organizations. She was an outspoken, prolific activist in both the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, serving on the latter's executive committee.

Lucretia was a major organizer of the First Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women held in New York City in 1837. In 1838, when the Second Annual Convention convened in Philadelphia, a mob of seventeen thousand, incensed by the role of women in the city's much-despised abolitionist activities, disrupted the proceedings. The attendants were forced to flee when the mob destroyed Pennsylvania Hall by fire. Lucretia and her fellow organizers refused to dissolve the convention, instead moving the site and proceeding with the convention.

In 1840 Lucretia and James attended the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Although other American women were sent as delegates from various

antislavery organizations, Lucretia was the only woman among the five delegates sent by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Despite her considerable stature in American abolitionism, Lucretia (and all other women delegates) were not permitted to participate and were forced to sit in the adjoining gallery.

Although this event is often credited, erroneously, as the impetus that impelled Lucretia and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to organize the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, the actual motivating force behind Mott's feminist activism was her need to redress the years of obstacles that men placed in the path of women abolitionists. Lucretia believed that such impediments unjustly restricted women's ability to eradicate the evils of slavery and seriously limited the potential of the abolitionist movement.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s Lucretia lectured widely throughout the eastern United States, speaking against slavery. An eloquent orator, she also addressed the legislatures of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. During the Civil War, she was a member of the Women's National Loyal League, which petitioned Congress in support of a thirteenth amendment. Long distressed by the pervasiveness and intractability of racial prejudice in Philadelphia, she led a committee of the Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of Freedmen in investigating the practice of barring African Americans from the passenger cars in that city. In 1866 she was selected president of the divisive American Equal Rights Association, which was formed to push for universal suffrage. From the late 1860s until the time of her death in 1880, Lucretia continued her interest and involvement in the women's rights and suffrage movements, peace organizations, and the free religion movement.

— *Judith E. Harper*

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Immediatism; Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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MULATTOES

In the United States, mulatto, a term of Spanish and Portuguese origin, technically identified a progeny of one black and one white parent. Popularly, however, it signified an individual with any mixture of black and white ancestry. Debates over the categorization and status of mulattoes within the American racial order began during the colonial era and continued well into the twentieth century.

Interracial bonding began soon after the first Africans landed in the English colony of Virginia in 1619. The first mulattoes were the offspring of European indentured servants and Africans and were of uncertain legal status. Although colonial authorities did not prohibit miscegenation, they discouraged it by enacting a series of legislation. The first of such laws was instituted in 1662 and stipulated that children of mixed parentage inherited the status of their mothers and therefore, those born of slave women would likewise be enslaved. This same act also imposed double punishment for any "Christian who shall commit fornication" with an African person. Growing disdain for free mulattoes born of white women led to a 1691 decision specifying that persons of such "abominable mixture" would be "bound out" as servants for thirty years and their mothers suffer five years of servitude or a heavy fine. Furthermore, the Virginia assembly banished European Americans in intermarriages from the colony. In 1705 a six-month jail sentence was imposed on whites in such unions.

Although estimations of mulatto populations varied throughout American history, owing partly to differing and unreliable census-taking practices, it is generally agreed that in spite of such obstructive antimiscegenation laws, the number of people of mixed heritage grew steadily. In 1755 the colony of Maryland counted 108,000 European Americans and 45,000 African Americans. Among the black population were 3,600 mulattoes, 1,500 of whom were free. After the American Revolution (1775–1783), the number of free people of color increased dramatically. In the 1790s, 60,000 lived in the United States, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, their numbers would grow to 108,000, approximately 11 percent of the entire African American population. In spite of the fact that some mulattoes were manumitted, the great majority remained in bondage as slaves.

During the antebellum era, most mixed-race individuals lived in the South. At this juncture, there were two Souths, differentiated by the treatment of mulattoes within each region. The Upper South included

North Carolina and areas northward and westward, and was characterized by the presence of a large mulatto population early in the colonial period. Many were free but relatively poor and rural, similar to their Euro-American forebears. Anxiety over emancipated mulattoes passing for whites was prevalent and hence the "one-drop rule," which categorized an individual with any African American blood as "black," dominated in all avenues of life but was not made into law. In such a situation, a biracial society was reinforced.

In contrast, mulattoes appeared later in the Lower South and grew slowly in numbers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most were born of well-to-do Euro-American fathers and those few who were unfettered dominated the free black communities and lived in prosperity. Beginning in the 1790s, their numbers were augmented by a huge influx of West Indian mulattoes who emigrated to Louisiana and South Carolina. Before the 1850s, successful free mulattoes were valued by Euro-Americans as "a barrier between our own color and that of the black—and in case of insurrection, are more likely to enlist themselves under the banner of the whites" (Berlin, 1974). Influenced by racial policies practiced under French and Spanish rule, European Americans valued people of mixed heritage above the slave. The manumitted African American masses were thus deemed to be a third intermediary caste, especially in South Carolina and lower Louisiana where free mulattoes were most affluent. A review of local and state records reveals that they rose highest in position in these regions with 242 property-holding planters by the mid-nineteenth century.

According to the Census of 1850, mulattoes comprised 1.8 percent of the national total population and numbered 406,000 out of an African American population of 3,639,000. By 1860 they grew to a little over five hundred thousand. In the Old Slave South, those areas settled prior to 1750, approximately half were free. In contrast, only 10.4 percent were not enslaved in the New Slave South. During the antebellum era, miscegenation occurred most frequently between upper-class Euro-American planters and mulatto slave women who were often perceived as breeders and objects of sexual pleasure. As a result, they suffered from their owners' aggression and produced numerous "white children of slavery." Although some of these mixed offspring were liberated, most were used for bonded labor.

As the sectional conflict between the North and the South grew in the 1850s, so did hostility and animosity against free mulattoes. Motivated by fresh fears of abolitionism from abroad and internal insurrections, the Lower South, traditionally a haven that esteemed

individuals of mixed lineage, grew increasingly intolerant and joined the Upper South in clamoring for “two classes, the Master and the slave [since] no intermediate class can be other than immensely mischievous to our peculiar institution” (Williamson, 1980). In 1856 the New Orleans newspaper the *Picayune* urged the removal of all free people of color, who were considered to be a “plague and a pest in our community.” Order and stability through rigid dichotomies of slave or free, black or white, were desired and implemented; there was no longer any room for a triracial society. Increasingly, the one-drop rule predominated. Stripped of their privileged position, free mulattoes who had previously identified with white southerners before and at the beginning of the Civil War (1861–1865) turned to African Americans for alliance. During the Reconstruction era (1863–1877), they assumed leadership roles in helping to better freedmen’s lives. Miscegenation with Euro-Americans was minimal throughout this time period. For the most part, whites, blacks, and people of mixed parentage all came to accept the one-drop rule. At the same time, however, literary portrayals of the “tragic mulatto” began to appear, thereby continuing the discussion of the ambiguous status of these individuals. By 1910, the number of mixed offspring, mostly of mulatto and African American parents, would grow to over 2 million.

— Constance J. S. Chen

See also: Octoroons; Quadroons.

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MUTILATION

The institution of slavery has seldom been humane. Although some historians like Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman in *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974) argue that white slave masters treated their slaves with respect and kindness, the documentary evidence suggests that slavery was a horrible practice. Thus it was not unusual for slaves to

be subjected to cruel and unusual punishment—including mutilation.

The mutilation of slaves was often implemented under the guise of punishment, or for the purposes of doing things for the slaves’ personal well-being. Punishment through mutilation is well recorded, and it was more often an act of brutality rather than one of rehabilitation. The record shows, for example (in the case of Captain Philippe Loit), that a common practice was to break the teeth of female slaves considered to be recalcitrant. Other accounts show that mutilation was no different than death. For many ship captains on the Middle Passage, one means of trying to prevent slaves from jumping ship was to recapture those who had jumped and to behead them in front of other slaves.

Documents also show that on the Middle Passage, ship captains would make use of a tool called the *speculum oris*, an instrument shaped like a pair of scissors with serrated blades that was forced in the mouths of captives who refused to eat. On sugar plantations in the West Indies, slaves who fell asleep in the mill because of the long work hours might have a limb cut off as an example to the other slaves of the dangers of falling asleep on the job. Slaves were also placed in metal cast-iron weights or boots in which it was not unusual for them to lose an appendage. Such practices were not nearly as horrendous as other acts practiced by slave and plantation owners. In Grenada, slaves were taken to open forums for punishment in which mutilation was not out of the ordinary. One female slave taken to St. George’s, Grenada, in 1789 was supposed to have her finger removed as punishment. However, she was suspended from a crane and her thighs, breast, and back were split open. In Jamaica, it was not extraordinary for female slaves to have their skin peeled off from heel to back and breast to waist. One 1692 account tells of a freed slave whose master and mistress had cut off her ears.

Moses Roper, who had lived as a slave in the Carolinas and Georgia recalls in her narrative of her master pouring tar on her head and face and setting her on fire, and following up this action by placing the fingers of her hand in a vise and removing her fingernails and having another man smash her toes with a sledge hammer. Other tools of mutilation included the thumbscrew and pickets, the latter being used so extensively in Jamaica that the weight of standing on them more than likely resulted in the mortification of feet. Accounts also indicate the use of nails being inserted or hammered into body parts such as appendages and ears and hammers being used to knock out teeth. Some slaves who accidentally touched

whites had their hands or the body part used in the touching cut off. Breaking legs in piecemeal fashion, removing sensory organs, and castration were just additional means for masters to get their point of control across to captives.

A broad range of activities were used to justify acts of maiming and mutilation. Frederick Douglass in his *Narrative* stated that looking at a person in the wrong way, saying certain words, making a simple mistake, and running away, could result in permanent injury or death for slaves. Mutilation of slaves was so bad that in French colonies, Louis XIV published the *Code Noir* to curtail cruelty.

Since slaves in most parts of the New World were under the complete control of their masters, it was difficult to gauge the true extent of mutilation practices. Moreover, slave codes in the United States were developed and implemented in all slave states to maintain and enhance this absolute control and justify the power of whites to treat Africans as they willed. Consequently, the slave patrols created to enforce the codes often employed mutilation to discipline slaves who were considered to be breaking the law.

The system of slavery was an inhuman institution in which descendants of European ancestry main-

tained control over slaves through beliefs and brutish actions against slaves. Although practiced by Africans, the Chinese, and Arabs, slavery as used by Europeans was replete with atrocities that often resulted in the mutilation of slaves. This may be why many have noted that slavery practiced in the Americas was quite unlike slavery instituted by prior civilizations.

— *Torrance T. Stephens*

See also: Punishment; Slave Patrols.

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SLAVERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES

SLAVERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES

A SOCIAL, POLITICAL,
AND HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

VOLUME TWO

Junius P. Rodriguez, Editor

A B C  C L I O

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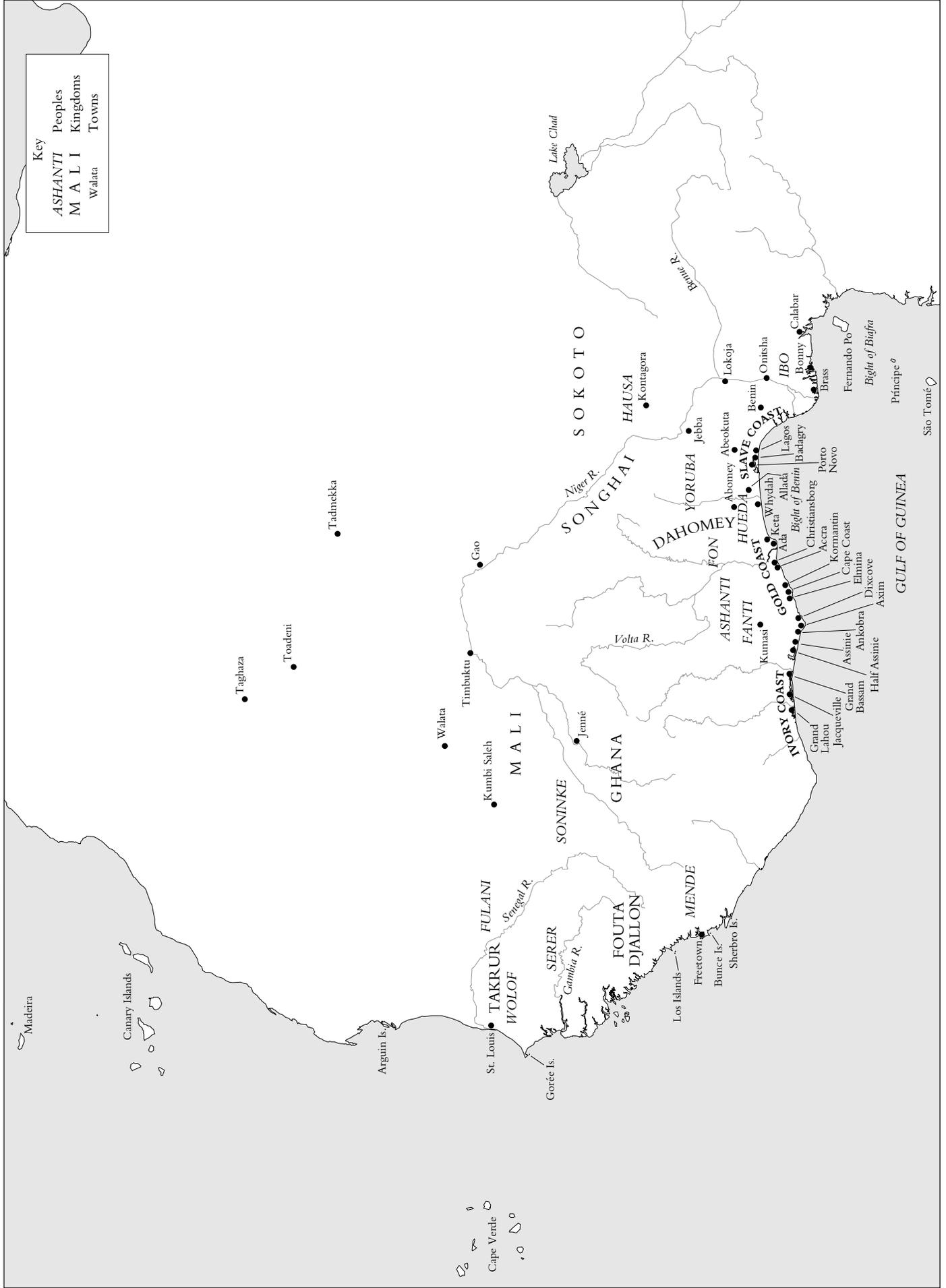
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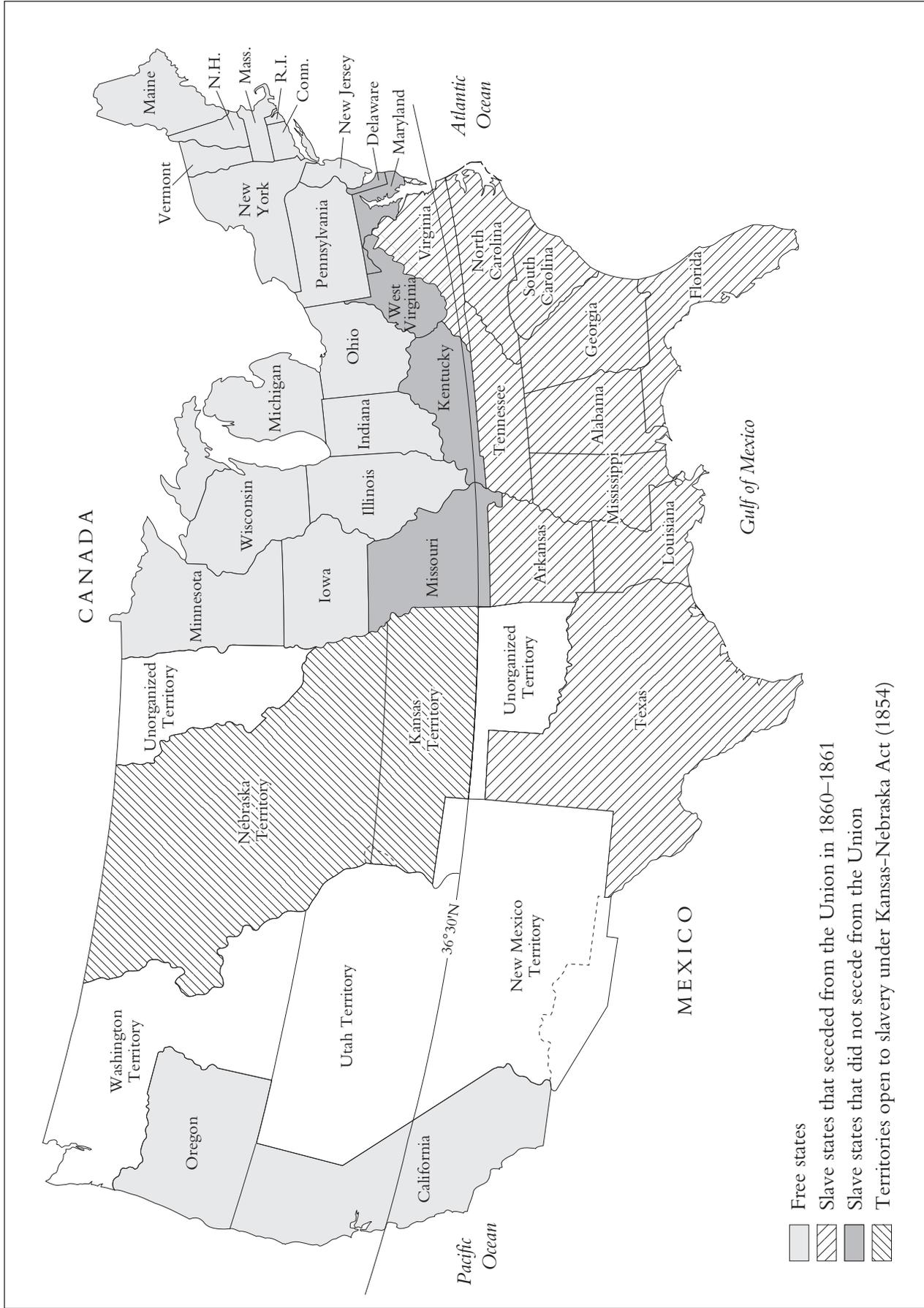
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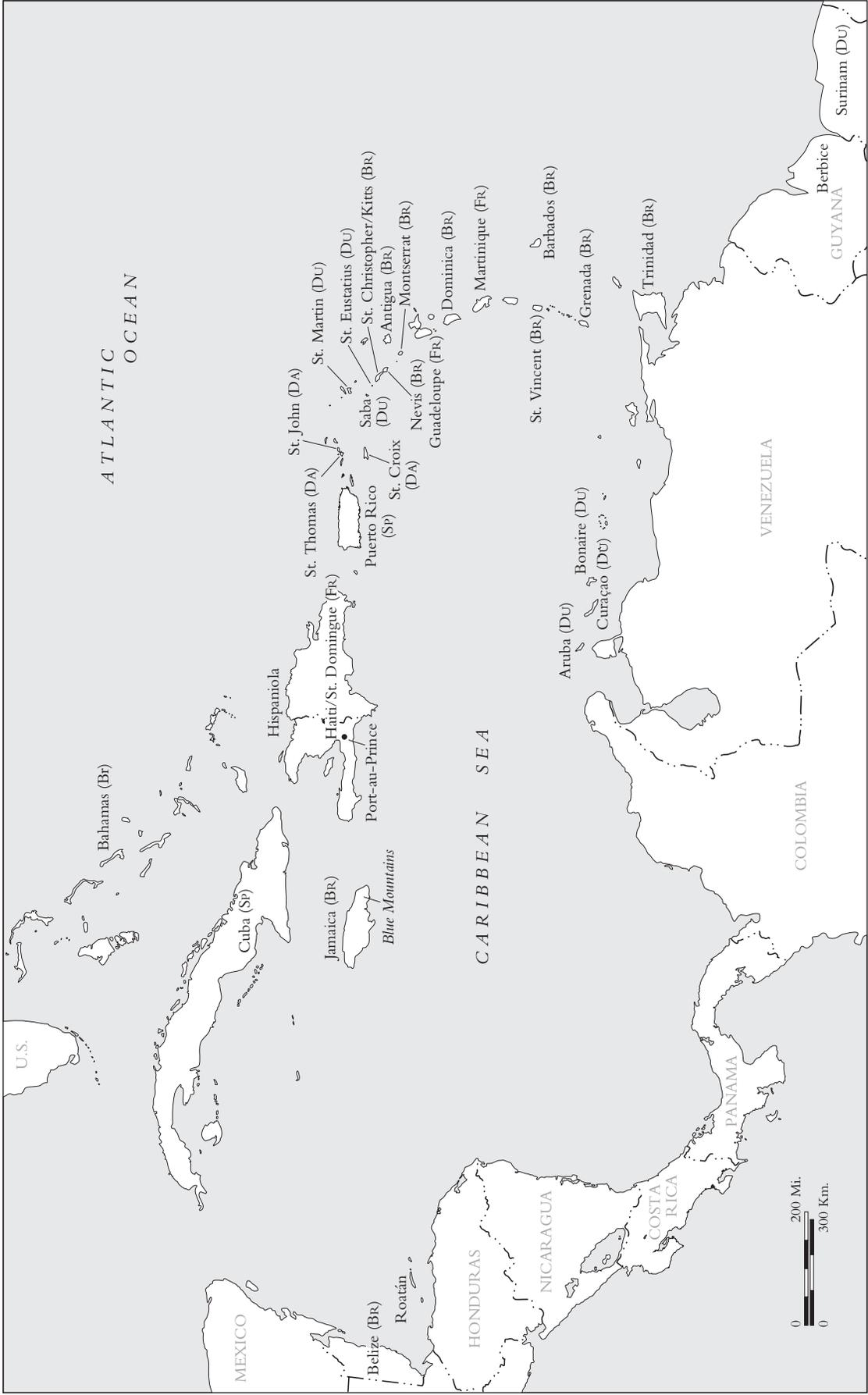


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SLAVERY
IN THE
UNITED STATES

Entries



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NAMES AND NAMING

The idea that all human beings must have a unique social identification is found in all cultures and all strata in a society. Besides being an identifying tool, names may also have a classifying role. The question here is how slaves, the human category on the lowest level in society, have been named and socially identified. For proprietorial identification, a normal custom was to mark a slave by piercing the ears, branding with a hot iron, cutting of the ears or the nose, scoring the nostrils, or tattooing the name of the slaveowner on the skin. Another way to “mark” the slave was to give the individual a special kind of slave name—a type of name used only for slaves.

In nearly all cultures, a name is more or less intimately tied to an individual, the persona, but it has been stated that this tendency was not the case for slaves, for the slave had no “personality” and owned neither his body nor his name. The name was bestowed upon him by the salesman or a master, and hence, it was “owned” by the master. It may be correct that the slave did not own his official name, but when discussing the name of slaves, it is important to make clear that there are at least two vital aspects regarding naming and the use of proper names. A name is a kind of social identification label, and a name may be part of one’s self-identifica-

tion, tied to one’s persona. These two linguistic labels may not be the same, and it is obvious that slaves often had names of both these two categories: one name or “social identification label” given by the owner and another (or several) name(s) used by the slave and by friends and relatives in a close social context.

In Ancient Greece and Rome, slaves could be given a name indicating their place of origin (*Lydos, Syros, Asia*). Some were given eponyms (*Hermes, Eros, Cleopatra*). A special case for Rome was the slave names with the master’s *praenomen* (the first of the usual three names) in the genitive with the suffix *-por* (*-puer*, that is, ‘boy’), for example, *Marcipor, Publipor, Quintipor*.

The West Africans who were deported to the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were normally given a new single, simple name. The most common of these slave names were *John, Henry, George, Sam, Jim, Jack, Tom, Charles, Peter*, and *Joe* for males; *Mary, Maria, Nancy, Lucy, Sarah, Harriett, Hannah, Eliza, Martha*, and *Jane* for females. Of course, this practice led to a frequent duplication of names, and to avoid confusion, there was often a descriptive addition—*Old, Big, Fat, Little*, and so on. Another naming practice used was to name the slave after the birthplace or the place where the slave was bought: *Richmond, Williamsburg, Albemarle*. A third naming principle used by the slaveowner was to bestow upon him or her a name from the classical world, such as *Cato, Caesar, Hector, Pompey, Jupiter, Titus, Virgil, Cupid, Primus, Cato, Scipio, Venus, Diana, Juno, Flora, Agamemnon*. For Jamaica records show that classical names, such as *Venus, Bacchus*, and *Chloe*, were

popular. A fourth case was to give the slave a biblical name: *Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Isaac, Noah, Cain, Abel, Esther, Rachel, Leah, Delilah, Rhoda, Sarah*.

There are some interesting records from the year 1741 from Barbados, where we get an insight into the different naming and addressing practices among the slaves. These records give us both the Christian name (probably given by the slaveowner) on the slave as well as the plantation name (probably used by the slave and friends and relatives). Among the men, the Christian name *Joseph* had a plantation equivalent (*Cuffey*); *Samuel* was *Etto* or *Sambo*; *Davis* was *Quashey*; and *Thomas* was *Quoffey*. Similarly, females given the Christian name *Phillis* were known as *Occo*; *Jane* was *Adjubah* or *Jiba*; and *Diana* was *Dada*. For boys, *Thomas* was *Tuma*; *Anthony* was *Tong*; *Danie* was *Quaccoe*; and *Edward* was *Cuffey*. For girls, *Mercy* was *Gong*; *Penelope* was *Jobbah*; *Pheoby* was *Affiba*; and *Or-rinda* was *Obah*.

Many of the slaves of West African origin already had a Christian personal name, but whether that Christian saint's name was kept is uncertain. It has been assumed that a Konglolese name such as *João* can lurk behind many *Johns* and *Johnnies*. A few anglicized Fanti and Ibo names are also recorded—for example, *Duke (Orek)*, *Cobham (Akabom)*, and *Becky (Beke)*.

Early slave lists from the two Carolinas show that about 15 to 20 percent of the slaves had kept their African names, such as *Quamino, Musso, Cush, Foot-bea, Teebee, Banabar, Gimba, Ankque, Juba, Mingo, Simba*. Hence few slaves in the North America and the British Caribbean were known by their original name, but there is at least one kind of name that is found in the early records of sales and shipments all over the area that saw an import of African slaves, namely, the so-called West African day names, such as *Cuffee, Cudjo, Quashee* for males and *Phibba, Cubba, Quasheba* for females. In the Fanti language, a male born on a Sunday could be named *Quisi*, a female *Akosua*, on Monday *Kujot* : *Ajua*, Tuesday *Quabina* : *Abmaba*, Wednesday *Quaku* : *Ekua*, Thursday *Quahu* : *Aba*, Friday *Kufi* : *Efua* and Saturday *Quamina* : *Ama*. On Jamaica the same set of names has been recorded as for Sunday *Quashie* (male): *Quasheba* (female), *Cudjoe* : *Juba, Cubena* : *Beneba, Quaco* : *Cubba, Quao* : *Abba, Cuffie* : *Phibba*, and for Saturday *Quamin* : *Mimba*. Of these, the most common in the United States was *Cuffee* ("male born on Friday").

A name such as *Sambo* bears witness to another naming principle that West African slaves took with them to North America, namely, the principle of naming the

child according to the order of its birth in relation to its brothers and sisters. *Sambo* means "the second son."

— *Stefan Brink*

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NARRATIVES

Critics define slave narratives as first-person autobiographies written by slaves and ex-slaves that describe their lives in servitude and their efforts to become free. In the process, the narratives create for the speakers both individual identities and a collective history. Many slave narratives consist of written versions of speeches given at abolition meetings by escaped or free slaves, and they often retain an oral flavor.

More than six thousand slave narratives exist, ranging in length from hundreds of pages like those of Olaudah Equiano and Frederick Douglass to one-page interviews conducted with slaves and ex-slaves by abolitionist periodicals, historians, and the Federal Writers Project of the 1930s. During the struggle for abolition, more than one hundred book-length slave narratives appeared in America, Brazil, Great Britain, Cuba, France, and Germany, which often proved commercially successful for their publishers. For example, the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* sold 11,000 copies in the United States between 1845 and 1847, and 30,000 copies in Britain by 1860.

Slave narratives served as powerful weapons in the abolition struggle. Plantocrats justified slavery because they saw Africans as subhuman. Slaves wrote their narratives to refute those who believed Africans incapable of reason, socialization, and moral improvement. In that sense, writes Henry Louis Gates, Jr., the "slave narrative represents the attempts of blacks to write



Title page from the narrative of Olaudah Equiano. More than six thousand slave narratives exist; they range in length from several-hundred-page recountings to one-page interviews conducted with slaves and ex-slaves. (Library of Congress)

themselves into being" (Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xxiii). Because of this, most slave narratives contain a central scene in which the slave first encounters a "talking book" and ultimately becomes literate.

Writers like David Hume, Georg Wilhelm Hegel, and Immanuel Kant viewed Africans as inferior because their nations lacked written histories; slave narratives respond to this challenge, according to Gates (1988). "Accused of lacking a formal and collective history, blacks published individual histories that, taken together, were intended to narrate, in segments, the larger yet fragmented history of blacks in Africa, then dispersed throughout a cold New World" (Davis and Gates, 1985, p. xxvi). Fragmentation thus becomes part of the narrative structure because the speakers often interrupt their autobiographies proper to relate the experiences of other slaves. Consequently, most slave narratives share common scenes and an organization that is more anecdotal than chronological. This structure allows slave narrators to present themselves as both unique individuals and representatives of slaves generally.

Rhetorically, slave narratives advance two lines of argument. The first appeals for freedom based on the "natural rights" discourse of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The second appeal relies on eighteenth-century sentimentalism, decrying such practices as the public flogging of women, the separation of families, and sexual violence, at the same time raising religious concerns about the Africans' potential Christian salvation.

Frances Smith Foster groups slave narratives into two categories: according to their characterizations of slavery and their presentations of the narrators. Those published between 1760 and 1807, when both Great Britain and America outlawed the slave trade (though not slavery itself), often recount tales of adventure told by African narrators of noble birth, who condemn slavery for its brutality and curtailment of physical freedom, rather than for its dehumanization. One example is *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African (Written by Himself)*, published in 1789. Both honest and evil masters owned Equiano, a child of Igbo nobility. During the Seven Years' War, he served in Canada with General James Wolfe and sailed the Mediterranean with Admiral Boscawen, accompanied the Phipps expedition to the Arctic, and lived in Central America with the Miskito Indians. Pre-1807 narratives describe Edenic moments in Africa where family and traditional life are being enjoyed and then come the kidnapping, the Middle Passage, the slave auction, and finally, after portraying the daily evils of slave life, freedom.

The emphasis of slave narratives changed between 1831 and 1868, a period corresponding with the rise of antebellum interest in African American issues after the Missouri Compromise and the *Dred Scott* decision. These later texts, which feature American-born slave narrators of common ancestry, indict slavery as an institution. Both categories of slave narratives share common features, such as biblical imagery, in particular references to Moses leading the Israelites out of slavery. Both use Christianity as a basis for abolition, arguing that blacks have souls and therefore must be saved. Post-1831 narratives begin with the innocence of childhood, contrasted with the moment when the child first comprehends the meaning of slavery. Next follows a desire to be free, escape or manumission, and freedom, though in the end, racism often confronts the disillusioned ex-slave on arrival in "free" states or Canada.

The published narrative customarily included material by white abolitionist intermediaries attesting to the

voracity of the narrative and the (usually Christian) character of the narrator. For example, the second edition of *The History of Mary Prince*, which appeared in London and Scotland in 1831, opens with a “Supplement” by her abolitionist sponsor and editor Thomas Pringle, and closes with letters of character reference, one from her former master. The third edition even includes testimony by Pringle’s wife Margaret, verifying that she had inspected Prince’s body and seen the scars received from her whippings. Consequently, it resembles legal evidence as much as autobiography, for while Prince does speak for herself, the text also includes material that uses her own body as evidence.

Prince’s *History*, then, makes a sentimental appeal as it describes her beatings, ill treatment, excessive amounts of work, and emotional trauma, while the supplemental material adds an empirical defense of Prince’s claims. For critics and historians, the editorial apparatus that accompanied the slaves’ narratives illuminates the power inequities between abolitionist publishers and slave narrators, particularly in the roles that religion, violence, and sexuality played in constructing the slave narrators’ personae. The former slave felt and responded to pressure to conform to an “improved” image of the black person in order to “deserve” freedom. At the same time, many slave narratives appear “double voiced” and, by sophisticated rhetorical strategies, resist this pressure.

The slave narrative profoundly influenced the stylistic and thematic development of the African American novel, as seen in such works as Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man*, Zora Neale Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, Richard Wright’s *Black Boy*, and the works of Toni Morrison and Alice Walker.

— *Arnold Schmidt*

See also: Autobiographies; Proslavery Argument; Works Progress Administration Interviews.

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NATIONALISM. *See* Black Nationalism.

NUMBERS. *See* Volume of the Slave Trade.

NASHOBA PLANTATION

One of the grandest experiments ever conceived, Tennessee’s Nashoba plantation promised to end slavery. Based on cooperative labor and established by the first American woman to act publicly against slavery, this colony hoped to emancipate slaves gradually by demonstrating how they might be responsibly educated and then freed.

Nashoba plantation began in response to the common belief that slavery had left African Americans morally and intellectually unfit for freedom. Rather than argue for the immediate freedom of African Americans, Scottish-born Frances Wright proposed a plan to wean slaves from the confines of bondage and convince slaveholders of the merits of another system. As a foreigner, she may not have realized just how deep the roots of slavery were in the South or that it constituted much more than an economic structure.

Located on 1,940 acres one and one-third miles from Memphis along both sides of the Wolf River (Nashoba is the Chickasaw word for “wolf”), the project may have been doomed from the start by its poor location. Although cheerfully described by its seller as pleasant woodland, the plantation’s virgin land was later described as containing second-rate soil. The property may have been cheap because it was malarial, as nearby swamps were filled with mosquitoes that rose in huge clouds at dusk.

Blissfully unaware of the inherent barriers to prosperity, Nashoba’s founders moved boldly ahead in late 1825. Influenced by the French Marquis de Lafayette’s attempt to emancipate bond servants gradually on his New Guinea plantation, his protégé Wright decided to make her own attempt at destroying slavery. Considering both the masters’ and the slaves’ positions, Wright hoped to make emancipation financially appealing to slaveholders while simultaneously demonstrating the ability of African Americans to prosper.

At Nashoba, slaves earned freedom through the requirement that they perform enough labor to reimburse the plantation for their purchase price plus 6 percent interest as well as food and clothing costs. As they worked, adult slaves would learn a trade and how to read, to fig-

ure, and to write, while slave children received a full education. The slaves, understanding the noble purpose of the experiment, would theoretically work much harder than slaves normally worked. The plantation's profits would be used to buy additional slaves and continue the expanding enterprise. Slaveholders, seeing that this sort of enterprise was more profitable than slavery itself, would copy it, which before very long would lead to the end of slavery in America.

Wright opposed colonization, but she bowed to political realities and made colonization a basic part of the Nashoba plan. She expected the freed slaves to leave the United States, perhaps emigrating to Haiti or move into the Mexican territory. No recorded African American reaction to the plan appears in any black-published books or newspapers, but the Nashoba plan may have been regarded as just another colonization scheme. The Nashoba slaves did not have a vote. Most whites also lacked enthusiasm for the project.

A wealthy woman, Wright bought Nashoba's land with her own money and ultimately lost half her wealth in the venture. She spent most of the funds buying tools, building cabins, and purchasing slaves. In 1826 newly bought slaves Willis, Jacob, Grandison, Redick, Henry, Nelly, Peggy, and Kitty arrived at Nashoba. The cheapest slave cost \$500 and the most expensive \$1,500. A pregnant woman with five small children later joined the group. Wright and her sister Camilla, along with an ever-changing number of whites, completed Nashoba's population.

Despite the project's ambitious goals, Nashoba's slaves remained subordinate to the whites. Although no corporal punishment occurred while Wright remained on the premises, this experimental plantation probably did not appear too different from any other to the blacks, particularly since they still were expected to complete the heaviest tasks. Once Wright left the area in 1827 because of ill health, Nashoba's managers abandoned her goal of slowly trying to build a sense of importance and self-respect in people who had earlier been denied the right to develop those traits. The whites now demanded unconditional obedience and used beating as a punishment.

Wright planned that Nashoba would be much more than an emancipation experiment. She saw it as a prototype of advanced living, with women having equal status with men and free education provided to all children regardless of color. But, worried by her illness, Wright decided to change Nashoba's legal structure, for she feared that the blacks might be returned to slavery if she were to die. In Nashoba's revised deed, Wright shared property ownership with ten other

trustees: Lafayette, Camilla Wright, famed utopian socialist Robert Owen and his son Robert Dale Owen, Owenite socialist and merchant William Maclure, socialist James Richardson, Robert Jennings, Illinois pioneer George Flower, former Shaker Richesson Whitby, and prominent New York lawyer Cadwallader Colden.

While Wright was away, Richardson, the plantation overseer, created a huge scandal by advocating and practicing free love with one of the African Americans under his charge. Sexual relations between white masters and black slaves were certainly not uncommon in the South, but open advocacy of miscegenation was taboo. The colony, beset by bad publicity, sickness, and business setbacks, failed in 1830.

Wright kept her promise to free the remaining colonists by escorting them to Haiti, paying the expenses out of her own pocket. Although the plantation failed, Nashoba remains an innovative attempt at abolition, the remarkable dream of a most remarkable woman.

— *Caryn E. Neumann*

See also: Gradualism; Wright, Frances.

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NASHVILLE CONVENTION (1850)

The mid-nineteenth century sectional debate in the United States about slavery threatened to drive a permanent wedge between North and South. Although the Missouri Compromise (1820) maintained a shaky balance between free and slave states, new territorial acquisition led to heated arguments about slavery's expansion into the new areas.

The debate continued throughout the Mexican War (1846–1848), as people wondered about slavery's status in territories that might be gained from Mexico. Pennsylvania representative David Wilmot introduced a proviso prohibiting slavery in any territory ceded from Mexico, which outraged southerners. The northern-dominated House of Representatives passed the Wilmot Proviso, but southerners blocked its passage in the Senate. Angered by attempts to block slavery's expansion, South Carolina statesman John C. Calhoun called for action. In 1849 he called on the slave states to

hold a convention in Nashville, Tennessee, the following year to discuss plans to protect slaveholders' rights.

Meanwhile, Kentucky senator Henry Clay proposed a congressional compromise that seemingly offered a solution to the conflict. Clay's plan divided the land ceded from Mexico by admitting California as a free state and allowing residents of the New Mexico and Utah territories to choose their status. Two elements of the plan favored antislavery supporters, as Clay's bill would end both the Washington, D.C., slave trade and Texan claims for a wider western border. In addition, Clay's compromise benefited slaveholders by creating the tough Fugitive Slave Law, which would promise federal support in returning runaway slaves.

By June 1850 enthusiasm for the Nashville Convention had dwindled considerably in light of Clay's proposal. The convention's 175 delegates represented only nine of fifteen slave states, with 102 of the delegates representing Tennessee. As the convention opened, radicals led by the South Carolina delegation called for immediate secession. They were overruled by more moderate colleagues, who hoped to find a solution while remaining loyal to the Union.

Delegates proposed twenty-eight resolutions stressing their convictions that as U.S. citizens, slaveholders had the constitutional right to take property (slaves) into the territories. Furthermore, delegates believed that the Constitution gave slaveholders the privilege of federal protection of their property. They stressed that any violation of these rights was unconstitutional. As evidence of goodwill, the convention reluctantly agreed to accept the dividing line established by the Missouri Compromise and urged Congress to settle the matter, either by recognizing slaveholders' rights or fairly dividing the territories.

After offering these resolutions, the convention adjourned to await the outcome of Clay's proposal. After much debate, Congress passed Clay's bill, which became known as the Compromise of 1850. Although fifty-nine delegates reconvened the Nashville Convention to protest the Compromise of 1850, most southerners accepted the Compromise and remained loyal to the Union, hoping for a permanent solution to the slavery expansion debate.

Ultimately, the Nashville Convention accomplished little, but it gave Americans a preview of the debates that would arise during the following decade. Not only did the Nashville Convention give secessionists a chance to express their ideas, but it also indicated the measures that some southerners were prepared to take to protect their way of life and the institution of slavery.

—Jason H. Silverman

See also: Calhoun, John C.; Compromise of 1850; Fire-Eaters; Wilmot Proviso.

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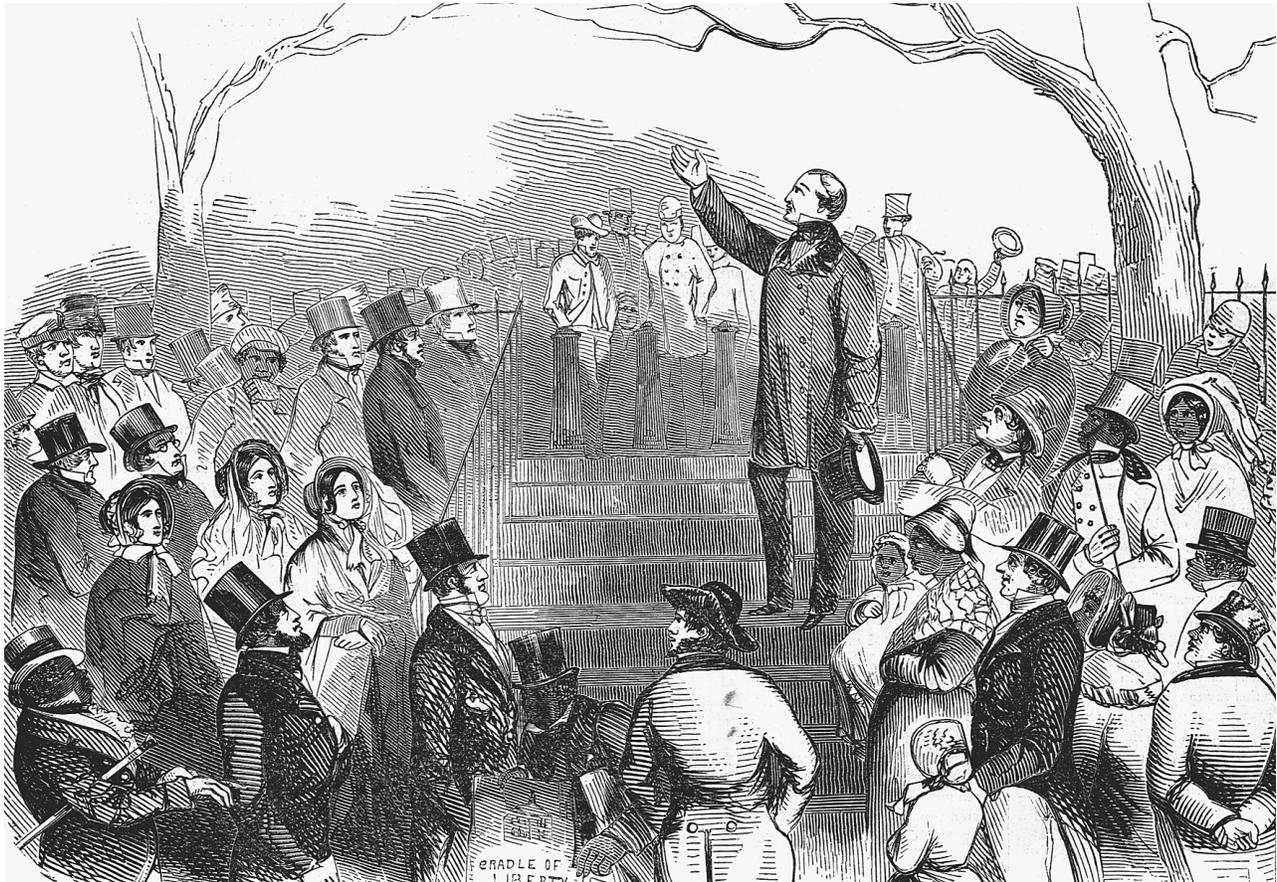
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NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD

The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* was the official journal of the American Anti-Slavery Society from June 1840 to April 1870. The society then published from May to July 1870, the *Standard: A Journal of Reform and Literature*; from July 30, 1870 to December 23, 1871, the *National Standard: An Independent Reform and Literary Journal*; and from January to December 1872, the *National Standard: A Temperance and Literary Journal*. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* was published weekly, and except between July 1854 and November 1865, when it was published in Philadelphia, it was published in New York City. The *Standard* was well served by a distinguished succession of editors, among them, most notably, Lydia Maria Child, who was technically coeditor with husband, David L. Child, from May 1841 to May 1843.

Immediate emancipation was the goal of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the *Standard* made a strong religious appeal for abolition. Chastising the American church and calling God abolition's "most efficient ally," it also initially recognized the value of political action. The year of its founding saw the American Anti-Slavery Society torn apart over tactics (specifically William Lloyd Garrison's nonresistant contention that governments are by nature immoral, which offended the politically minded abolitionists) and over the rights of women. Some dissenters founded the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and others founded the Liberty Party. Consequently, the language of that party's prospectus was inclusive and appropriate for an umbrella organization, in regard to both gender and tactics. But in 1844, David Lee Child, now serving as editor after charges of meek editorial style had prompted his wife to resign, resigned himself after disunionism and nonresistance (a form of Christian anarchism) became the official creed of the society. Modes of action were no longer to be left up to individual members. Later, the American Civil War brought the society firmly behind the president and the Republican Party.



Founded by William Lloyd Garrison in 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society distinguished itself from other antislavery societies by resisting colonization and openly promoting “immediatism,” the belief that immediate, determined measures must be adopted for the emancipation of every slave. (Corbis)

Recruited in 1840 by William Lloyd Garrison, who supported women’s rights, Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880), appointed with her husband, first served alone because of his poor health. She gave the *Standard* a literary flavor that made it appealing to educated readers. The *Standard*, in fact, was the first American journal to publish William Blake’s poetry (“The Little Black Boy” on March 10, 1842), which appealed to the Unitarian circle that contributed to the society. Child’s “Letters from New York,” describing life in the city and commenting on current events and reforms such as nonresistance and the woman question, were published in the *Standard* and then published in two volumes in 1843 and 1844. However, they were refused by the publisher because of the letters’ abolitionist assertions, which had already been muted by the author in an act of self-censorship.

The *Standard* published material from the American Anti-Slavery Society and from other abolitionist groups in America and abroad; letters from frequent

correspondents such as Charles K. Whipple, “D.Y.,” Samuel J. May, Jr., Henry C. Wright, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Wendell Phillips; extracts from a wide range of newspapers; and material from various religious denominations. A miscellany of news, not always focused on reform, was regular, along with excerpts or works by prominent authors. Reform causes other than slavery were discussed, and after the onset of the Civil War, the focus of coverage changed from abolition to prospects and potentialities for the life of the slaves as freemen and freewomen.

— Charles D’Aniello

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Child, Lydia M.; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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NEGRO CONVENTION MOVEMENT (1830–1854)

In August 1830, reacting to the Cincinnati antiblack riots of the previous year, prominent blacks officially convened in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to launch the Negro convention movement. This annual tradition involved black delegates from different parts of the country, coming together to deliberate and exchange ideas about their problems and determine appropriate solutions. The movement, which also signaled the beginning of organized black abolitionism, was equally a response to the larger challenges of slavery, discrimination, and the denial to blacks of citizenship rights and privileges. The Cincinnati riots, therefore, were just the precipitating force. In the aftermath of the riots, Hezekiah Grice, a free black from Baltimore, corresponded with leading blacks across the nation on the imperative of organizing to more effectively deal with the challenges of slavery and discrimination. The convention movement brought together blacks of diverse social backgrounds. The first national convention officially opened in August 1831 in Philadelphia. Delegates at this convention affirmed their strong antislavery commitments and embraced moral suasion, believing that improvement in the material and moral condition of blacks would influence public sentiment in favor of abolishing slavery and discrimination. Moral suasion also nurtured a universalist ethos, inducing blacks to embrace the doctrine of one humanity and to welcome white participants. Blacks held five national conventions from 1831 to 1835, all but one of them in Philadelphia. Convinced of the potency of moral suasion, blacks deemphasized political strategies and demands, while emphasizing self-effort and moral and material elevation instead.

By the late 1830s, however, the confidence blacks reposed in moral suasion had evaporated. The moral and material elevation of blacks had not made any significant dent in slavery and racism. Instead of acceptance and commendation for their efforts, successful blacks became the targets of angry antiabolitionist mobs. The

conventions of the 1840s, both state and national, therefore, assumed a racially exclusive and political character. Delegates condemned slavery and demanded full citizenship rights. Although a few delegates seriously considered violence, the convention never officially adopted the policy. Despite increasing radicalization of the convention movement, moral suasion was not totally jettisoned as a reform strategy. Blacks continued to believe in and to propagate the doctrine of moral reform.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 launched the movement's next phase. The federal government's pledge to assist in apprehending fugitives threatened free blacks with reenslavement. Though threatened, free blacks concentrated on cultivating group unity and institutional development, and the national and state conventions of the 1850s evinced a strong resolve to intensify the struggle against slavery and discrimination.

A few of the 1850s conventions, however, favored more radical emigrationist and separatist solutions. This reflected a growing ideological cleavage among black leaders. Two of the three national conventions of the decade illustrate this phenomenon. On the one hand, the convention of 1853 in Rochester, New York, unequivocally declared the commitment of blacks to the pursuit and acquisition of social and political equality within the United States. The emigrationist convention of 1854 in Cleveland, Ohio, on the other hand, perceived racism as invincible and opted for establishing an independent black nationality abroad. Though inspired by separatist consciousness, the Cleveland convention failed to activate any serious emigration momentum.

The state conventions of the 1850s overwhelmingly espoused integrationist aspirations. Black Americans committed themselves to resisting slavery and degradation, and they petitioned state legislatures and published addresses and appeals asserting their claims to meaningful freedom and equality within the United States.

The coming of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment did not terminate the convention movement. Freedom did not obliterate discrimination and degradation. The convention movement continued, and it instilled in blacks a sense of responsibility, while nurturing group consciousness and identity. It also provided forums in which black values and aspirations were articulated and their material and intellectual resources harnessed.

— *Tunde Adeleke*

See also: Antiabolition Riots; Fugitive Slave Act (1850).

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NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Founded by William Lloyd Garrison in 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society distinguished itself from other antislavery societies by resisting colonization and openly promoting "immediatism," the belief that immediate, determined measures must be adopted for the emancipation of every slave. Although it was short-lived and its role and impact were limited in a national sense, the society played a pivotal role in advancing later, more broadly effective antislavery activity.

After initially meeting in Samuel Sewall's law office on November 13, 1831, to hear Garrison's proposal, about one dozen Bostonian men assembled again on December 16, 1831, and then in January 6, 1832, in the basement schoolroom of a Boston African Baptist church to discuss formation of the abolitionist society. Seeing that the British societies succeeded only after they adopted the principle of immediate emancipation, the group accepted "immediatism" as the new organization's guiding principle. It appointed Arnold Buffum as its first president and Garrison as its corresponding secretary.

In drafting their constitution, which was published in Garrison's *Liberator* on February 18, 1832, Sewall, Garrison, and others made the society's objectives clear. As stated in its second article, the purpose of the New England Anti-Slavery Society was to "endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites" (NEAS, 1832). In its *Address to the Public*, which the society sent to editors of newspapers in New England, the group affirmed that the object of their society was "neither war nor sedition" and that the "fundamental principle" of their constitution was

"OUR SAVIOR'S GOLDEN RULE," that is, the idea that "*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them*" (NEAS, 1832). Unlike its constitution, the *Address* outlined what was meant by "immediate abolition" and critiqued the objectives of the American Colonization Society, a society Garrison would criticize more heavily in his pamphlet *Thoughts of African Colonization* (1832). Although blacks were not involved in the initial founding of the society, they later had substantial numbers in its ranks. When the society's constitution was approved, for instance, about one-fourth of the seventy-two signers were of African descent.

Membership increased slowly, but after three years the name was changed to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. As indicated in its annual report for 1835, the formation and designs of the larger, recently organized American Anti-Slavery Society were making an impact. Also, the fact that state societies had already been established in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont caused the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which already was confining its activities to Massachusetts, to be a state-only society. By 1837 Massachusetts had 145 societies, and the American Anti-Slavery Society had taken the lead nationally in promoting immediate emancipation. Despite these later developments, the New England Anti-Slavery Society played a vital role in encouraging debate and discussion concerning the antislavery movement and in persuading people to take up the cause.

— Mark L. Kamrath

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; American Colonization Society; Garrison, William Lloyd; Immediatism.

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NORTH STAR

The *North Star* (1847–1851), later called *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851–1860), was a weekly abolitionist newspaper owned and edited by Frederick Douglass, the American abolitionist. This newspaper records Douglass's changing views on slavery's constitutionality, legislation regarding African Americans, the antislavery movement and its leaders, and American and international politics. It also describes Douglass's activities and includes many of his orations.

A large donation from British abolitionists enabled Douglass to start the *North Star* in Rochester, New York, in 1847. Douglass argued that his paper would demonstrate African Americans' abilities and present their point of view. This point of view was apparently lacking in other antislavery newspapers, which had few black employees and rarely addressed the interests of northern blacks. Only four other black newspapers operated at that time.

Several white leaders, most prominently William Lloyd Garrison and Maria Weston Chapman, tried to dissuade Douglass from starting this paper. They were ostensibly worried about competition among antislavery papers, but actually their arguments revealed the racism that tainted the antislavery movement. Chapman thought Douglass was not intellectually capable of producing a newspaper. After he proceeded anyway, against their advice, she and Garrison thought that his action was a betrayal and a sign of impertinence. This conflict, and Douglass's very public movement away from Garrisonian antislavery, precipitated an acrimonious split between Douglass and Garrison, his former mentor and friend.

Like other antislavery newspapers, the *North Star* constantly faced financial crises. The subscription list was never large, and subscribers did not always pay. Although Douglass refused Gerrit Smith's proposal to merge the *North Star* with the *Syracuse Standard*, the Liberty Party organ, Smith assisted Douglass financially for many years. Douglass supported Smith's foray into congressional politics but did not follow any party line; he took his own positions in the paper and offered its columns to other abolitionists, even those who disagreed with him. The paper operated more efficiently when Julia Griffiths, a British abolitionist with good business sense, took over its finances in the 1850s. Still, Douglass found it necessary to conduct lecture tours to raise money to keep his newspaper going. From 1859 to 1863 he also published a magazine, *Douglass' Monthly*.

Douglass believed his newspaper would reach a wide audience, but more people knew of his views through his public speaking. As editor and owner of a

newspaper, he held an authoritative position, one that loudly proclaimed his equality with other abolitionist leaders, particularly Garrison, and his leadership among black Americans. The paper allowed Douglass to express himself through the written word, which had been his central desire from his days as a slave. In many ways, the newspaper represented his freedom and independence.

— *Andrea M. Atkin*

See also: Douglass, Frederick; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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NORTH STAR. *See* United States–Canadian Relations on Fugitives.

NORTHWEST ORDINANCE (1787)

The Northwest Ordinance was enacted on July 13, 1787, by the United States Congress under the Articles of Confederation as "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the River Ohio." Building on Thomas Jefferson's idea of a territorial system in the Land Ordinance (1785), a committee headed by James Monroe organized a governmental structure for the western lands. This Northwest Ordinance addressed the challenges of westward movement, representative government, federal-state relations, individual rights, and sectionalism and slavery in the Northwest Territory. The preamble and first article established republican principles that foreshadowed the Bill of Rights: trial by jury, proportionate representation, common law courts, prohibition of primogeniture and entail, and guarantees of writ of habeas corpus.

The ordinance also provided a means by which a territory could become a state on the basis of equality with the existing states, laid the foundation for a national system of free public education, and outlawed slavery and involuntary servitude north and west of the Ohio River. The ordinance supplied the governmental structure for the Northwest Territory and the process by which the territories would become states.

A governor, secretary, and three judges made up the governmental structure of the territory. When the territory consisted of 5,000 free male inhabitants, they could elect representatives to a general assembly. After the territory claimed 60,000 free inhabitants, it could be admitted to the Union as a state on equal footing with the original states. The ordinance created the states of Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837) and Wisconsin (1848). The Northwest Ordinance set the basic pattern of settlement and statehood throughout the United States.

The ordinance also maintained that “Religion, Morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.” This article of the Northwest Ordinance reinforced the Land Ordinance (1785), which had set aside funds in each township for the establishment of schools. The Ohio General Assembly established Ohio University (1804) and Miami University (1809) as land-grant colleges, which became the cornerstones for higher education across the nation. These provisions laid the foundation for the nationwide system of public education.

Nathan Dane and Rufus King from Massachusetts proposed Article Six of the ordinance, which excluded slavery and involuntary servitude in the territories. It also stated that fugitive slaves “may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming” them. The common interpretation by territorial governors and judges was that the article prohibited the introduction of new slaves but did not affect the status of slaves and their descendants already in the territory. These slaves and their children continued to live in servitude and were sold and bequeathed in wills.

An extended controversy over the meaning of Article Six developed between anti- and proslavery factions. Questions of states’ rights, popular sovereignty, and appropriateness of agricultural regions and their labor systems developed. Northwesterners also argued over the original intent of Article Six’s authors and its constitutional authority. In 1806 the Ohio legislature stated that it would “never permit the foul form of slavery to tread on their sacred soil,” while in 1823, Illinois’s slavery proponents claimed that the economy matured and the population grew most rapidly where slavery was legal.

Indiana proslavery settlers circumvented the Article Six controversy by passing a system of slavery thinly disguised as indentured servitude. “An Act concerning the Introduction of Negroes and Mulattoes into This Territory,” passed in 1805, permitted any person owning or purchasing slaves outside the territory to bring them into Indiana and bind them to service. Records

show that slaves were frequently made to sign contracts for periods of service that extended beyond their lifetime—sometimes for ninety years. Many wealthy men in the territory, including Governor William Henry Harrison, held blacks under the indenture law.

In practice, there was little difference in the status and treatment of slaves who had been in the territory prior to 1787 and those serving under indentures after 1787. Territorial laws borrowed from the southern slave codes regulated their conduct and provided punishments for offenses different from those accorded free persons. Eventually, antislavery delegates dominated at constitutional conventions, and all states formed from the Northwest Territory excluded slavery in their state constitutions.

The dilemma over slavery that surfaced in the Northwest Territory reappeared in the establishment of Oregon and California in 1848 and throughout the country in the 1850s before the Civil War. Men like Senator Thomas Corwin from Ohio and President Abraham Lincoln from Illinois took their “stand upon the Ordinance of 1787” to eventually abolish slavery in the United States.

—Julianne Phillips

See also: Coles, Edward; *Strader v. Graham*.

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NOTES ON VIRGINIA (JEFFERSON)

Notes on Virginia (1785) was Thomas Jefferson’s only published book. He wrote it in 1780–1781 to answer a French official’s queries concerning aspects of society in the United States and the country’s natural history. In the *Notes*, Jefferson discussed slavery in two chapters, “Laws” and “Manners.”

In “Laws,” he described a gradual emancipation plan calling for education of blacks “at the public expense,

to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses.” Once freed, blacks would be supplied with arms, tools, seeds, and domestic animals; declared a “free and independent people”; and colonized abroad, under U.S. protection. Jefferson discussed black “physical distinctions” like dark skin color, lack of facial expression, less facial and body hair, greater heat tolerance, lower sleep requirements, and greater “adventuresome[ness].”

In “Faculties,” he said blacks were equal to whites in memory, and inferior in both reason and imagination. He stated that “to justify a general conclusion” about blacks would require more scientific study and observation, and such a conclusion “would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them.” Without justification, he offered, “as a suspicion only” the “opinion” that blacks were inferior to whites “in the endowments both of body and mind.”

In “Manners,” Jefferson wrote that slavery had “an unhappy influence,” for it prompted “unremitting despotism” in whites and “degrading submissions” in blacks. Whites became immoral tyrants, while blacks were forced to “lock up the faculties” and “live and labour for another.” Pointing to slavery’s injustice, Jefferson hoped that “a total emancipation” would be achieved “with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.”

Jefferson’s comments were both praised and denounced by antislavery and proslavery forces, respectively. Jefferson knew his comments were controversial, and so he delayed publishing them for fear they would polarize and “indispose the people toward . . . the emancipation of slaves.”

Opponents of slavery praised Jefferson’s condemnation of the institution and his call for emancipation. In 1785 John Adams wrote that the passages about slavery would have more effect than volumes written by philosophers. Following Nat Turner’s Rebellion, Virginia legislators in 1832 debated a plan of gradual emancipation based on that in the *Notes*. In Charles Sumner’s “Landmark of Freedom” speech (1854), the abolitionist senator used Jefferson’s own words from the *Notes* to depict slavery as a corrupting influence. In David Walker’s *Appeal* (1829), that black writer declared Jefferson’s *Notes* to be “as great a barrier to our emancipation, as any thing.”

Proponents of slavery embraced Jefferson’s comments on black inferiority while rejecting both his call for emancipation and his assertion that slavery harmed white morals. By the middle of the nineteenth century, advocates of scientific racism, like Dr. Josiah C. Nott, continued where Jefferson left off by describing black inferiority in terms of quasiscientific methods.

Thomas R. Dew, in the first southern proslavery book, *Review* (1832), argued that emancipation was economic suicide, and he refuted Jefferson’s comments that slavery had harmful effects on the morals of southern whites. Jefferson’s comments also initiated a colonization movement that culminated in the founding of the American Colonization Society in 1816.

— Mary Jo Miles

See also: American Colonization Society; Jefferson, Thomas; Nott, Josiah Clark; Turner, Nat; Virginia’s Slavery Debate; Walker, David.

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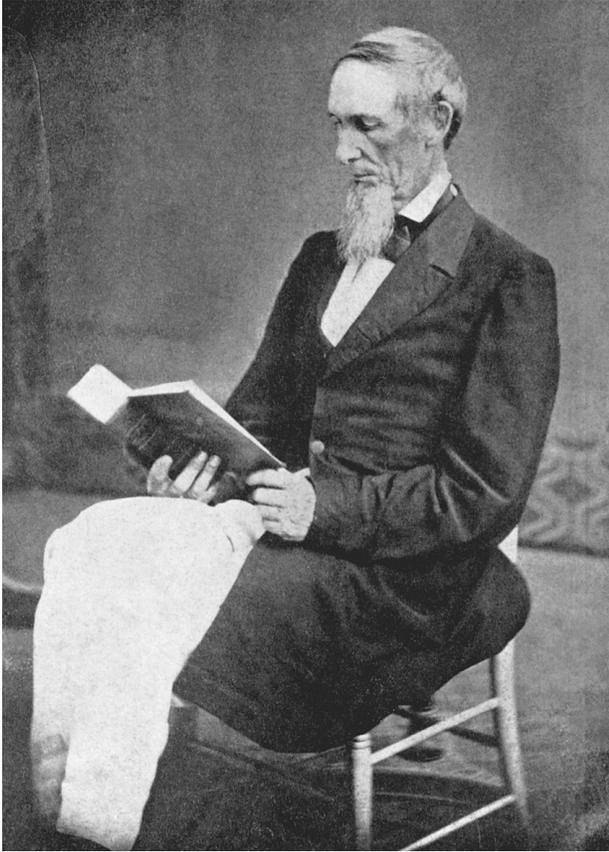
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JOSIAH CLARK NOTT (1804–1873)

Josiah Clark Nott was a physician, ethnologist, educator, and influential nineteenth-century racist whose writings provided much of the scientific justification for the establishment of strict racial segregation in the United States. Nott was born in Columbia, South Carolina, on March 31, 1804, to Abraham and Angelica Mitchell Nott. His well-to-do family was socially prominent in the antebellum South.

After graduating from South Carolina College in 1824, Nott continued his medical education at Columbia University and the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City and at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, where he received his medical degree in 1827. After several years of teaching at the University of Pennsylvania and studying in Europe, Nott established a private practice in Mobile, Alabama, where he became one of the South’s most prominent surgeons. While in private practice, Nott continued teaching medicine, holding various posts at the University of Louisiana and the Medical College of Alabama.

In 1832 Nott married Sarah Deas of Columbia, South Carolina, and they had eight children; in 1853 a yellow fever epidemic in Mobile, Alabama, claimed the lives of four of them. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Nott joined the Confederate army and served as a



Josiah Clark Nott was a physician, ethnologist, educator, and influential nineteenth-century racist whose writings provided much of the scientific justification for the establishment of strict racial segregation in the United States. (Library of Congress)

field surgeon throughout the conflict. Two of Nott's sons died in the service of the Confederacy, one at the battle of Shiloh, the other at the battle of Chickamauga. After the Civil War, Nott lived and practiced medicine in Baltimore and New York City for five years before returning to Mobile where he spent the remainder of his life.

Although Nott was a productive and well-respected contributor to the medical literature of his day, including innovative work on yellow fever and surgical techniques, his most lasting impact on society in the United States was through his published works on ethnology, which helped lay the foundation for nineteenth-century American racism. Nott believed that humankind was divided, ever since the Creation, into several "fixed types," that these fixed types corresponded to what he identified as the five "races" of humankind, and that these five races could be distinguished by a clear and immutable hierarchy of

physical, mental, and moral characteristics. In Nott's hierarchy, Caucasians occupied the highest position and Ethiopians the lowest. Nott concluded that Ethiopians, meaning Africans and African Americans, had little potential for roles in modern society beyond that of slaves or menial laborers.

Nott introduced his theories on immutable racial characteristics in a widely read book, *Connection Between the Biblical and Physical History of Man* (1849), and his theories became fixed in popular consciousness with the publication of *Types of Mankind* (1854), which he wrote with George R. Gliddon. Editions of *Types of Mankind* were eventually published and became a standard textbook in biology and medicine during the late nineteenth century. Nott wrote *Indigenous Races of the Earth* (1857), also with Gliddon, which expanded upon and reinforced his racial theories.

Nott died in Mobile, probably of throat cancer, on his sixty-ninth birthday, March 31, 1873.

— Frederick J. Simonelli

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NULLIFICATION DOCTRINE

As a constitutional argument to protect southern social and economic interests, the doctrine of nullification played a significant role in the debate over slavery in the United States. Nullification was founded on the premise that sovereignty resided with the people but was exercised by the states with the people's consent. Believing that the Tenth Amendment granted such powers, advocates of nullification believed that the states could declare null and void any federal law they deemed unconstitutional.

Nullification had its roots in protests arising in 1798 in response to the Alien and Sedition Acts and previously proposed Hamiltonian banking measures. Fearing such federal laws could stifle free speech and hamper southern state economies, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson articulated their beliefs concerning the right of states to limit the power of the federal government. In the Virginia Resolution of 1798, Madison argued that the federal government possessed only those powers specifically granted to it by the U.S.

Constitution. Therefore, Madison believed that individual states could interpose their authority between the federal government and the citizenry to prevent the enforcement of oppressive or inequitable legislation. In the Kentucky Resolution of the same year, Jefferson took Madison's idea of interposition one step further and argued that states could nullify federal laws that were deemed by the state legislature to be unconstitutional. In Jefferson's argument, states became the final arbiters of the Constitution. These important documents firmly asserted the supremacy of state sovereignty and served as important precedents in a debate that grew more heated during the nineteenth century.

This strict construction of the Constitution with regard to states' rights became one of the fundamental principles of the Democratic-Republican Party in 1792, and the doctrine of nullification resurfaced in a firestorm of debate surrounding the tariff of 1828. In an effort to decrease public debt and protect American manufacturers, Congress passed the highest protective tariff to date in 1827, and southern politicians, most notably from Virginia and South Carolina, vehemently opposed it. Labeling it "the tariff of abominations," they protested the increase in the cost of manufactured goods in the South. When Andrew Jackson was elected in 1828, southerners were confident the new chief executive would identify with their cause. Their confidence was misplaced, however, as Jackson had never made his position on the tariff clear. In fact, he saw the protective tariff as a way to garner support for the Democratic Party in the North.

However, southern antitariff leaders did have a vocal, articulate champion in the administration. Vice President John C. Calhoun considered the tariff to be an unconstitutional act that favored one section of the country over another, and in 1828 the South Carolina legislature published anonymously Calhoun's *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*, in which he resurrected a remedy for such blatantly oppressive legislation: nullification. Drawing on the ideas of Madison and Jefferson, Calhoun argued that the Union was a compact of individually sovereign states and that these states had the authority to nullify federal laws they deemed oppressive. This action could not be taken arbitrarily. In order to nullify a law, a special state convention had to be elected to consider the question, thereby following the same procedures as the ratification of the Constitution. If this body determined a law to be unconstitutional, the state could prevent its enforcement within state boundaries. The federal government would then be forced to repeal the law or to seek a constitutional amendment to guarantee its va-

lidity. In October 1832, the South Carolina legislature endorsed Calhoun's doctrine and called for a convention to consider nullifying the tariff of 1828. Meeting the following month, the convention adopted an ordinance that nullified both the 1828 and the 1832 tariffs, reasoning that these duties placed an unfair economic hardship on the citizens of South Carolina.

Jackson reacted swiftly. In December, he declared his intention to continue collecting the tariff in South Carolina, as well as his belief that nullification was both unconstitutional and detrimental to the Union. To demonstrate federal resolve, Jackson dispatched troops and naval vessels to Charleston; in response, the South Carolina legislature mobilized the state militia. In January, Jackson asked Congress to formalize his authority to use troops to enforce federal law in South Carolina. While this bill, called the Force Act, was being debated, moderates in Congress, led by Henry Clay of Kentucky, were formulating a compromise that lowered tariff rates gradually until 1842. This solution allowed both Jackson and the nullifiers to claim victory—and it was hoped it would avoid an armed confrontation. Jackson signed both the Force Act and the new tariff into law on March 2, 1833. In response, the South Carolina convention rescinded the ordinance of nullification, and, in an effort to assert the supremacy of states' rights, nullified the Force bill. Thus ended the nullification crisis, but nullification, and the corollary doctrine of states' rights, remained important themes in antebellum politics.

As historian Richard Ellis has argued, though not directly involved in the nullification crisis itself, slavery was directly linked to this important doctrine in the minds of northerners and southerners alike. Many northerners, and even Jackson himself, believed that the nullification crisis had raised divisive sectional issues that the Missouri Compromise had merely masked. Southerners, in many ways for the first time, began to view themselves as a minority within the nation whose interests were considered secondary to those of the majority. Nullification, while unsuccessful in 1833, offered an important new course of action for the South. Faced with abolitionist attacks on the slave system and fearing federal intervention, nullification was a doctrine that offered white southerners a measure of protection of the two things they cherished most, state sovereignty and slave property.

After 1833, a vocal, influential minority of southern politicians, the fire-eaters, embraced the idea of nullification to the ultimate extreme. They reasoned that states could do more than nullify oppressive federal legislation; when faced with a national government

that was detrimental to their interests and the interest of their citizens, states could also dissolve the bonds that held them in the Union. Secession, therefore, can be seen as the most extreme example of nullification in practice.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Calhoun, John C.; Hayne–Webster Debate; United States Constitution.

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OCTOROONS

Octoroons were mixed-race individuals who were recognized as having one-eighth African American ancestry. Still recognized as being black by the law and custom of the antebellum South, octoroons were rarely slaves and most were recognized as free persons of color.

In the race-conscious antebellum South, and in the generations that followed Civil War and Reconstruction, the extent of one's blackness was perceived as a statistic that was worthy of note. Until the civil rights era of the 1960s, many southern states continued to carry laws that defined a person as black if one-sixty-fourth or greater of their ancestry was black. Not surprisingly, there were no comparable statutes to define what was meant by whiteness. Under such a system, a black ancestor seven generations removed could still transmit the "stain" of blackness upon a descendant.

It had been possible in Spanish colonial America to purchase a legal document, the *Cédula de Gracias al Sacar*—a "certificate of whiteness"—that allowed an

individual to pass from one race to another. Though such legal tools did not exist in the United States, there was a de facto system of passing that occurred on a regular basis when one's skin color became light enough that they could identify themselves as being white. Many African Americans of mixed-ancestry, notably author Jean Toomer, have struggled with the moral dilemma of whether or not to pass themselves as white or to affirm the African heritage they carry within themselves.

New Orleans, Louisiana, and Charleston, South Carolina, were two urban centers of the antebellum era that contained large mixed-race populations. The unique cultural population often provided ready fodder for authors who sought to pique the moral sensibilities of the antebellum South. Such was the case in Dion Boucicault's play *The Octoroon, or Life in Louisiana*, which first opened in New York just four days after abolitionist John Brown was hanged in 1859.

Despite their nebulous place within southern society, octoroons did make efforts to advance the cause of civil rights for all persons of color. Homer Plessy, the person who initiated the lawsuit in the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case that legalized Jim Crow era "separate but equal" facilities, was a New Orleans octoroon. Plessy had been denied permission to ride in a railcar that was designated as white only.

Like mulattoes, quadroons, and other mixed-race individuals, octoroons fashioned a strong cultural bond in their sense of otherness because they never felt themselves totally welcomed either within white or black society. Much of this sense of racial exclusivity persisted many generations beyond the days of antebellum slavery.

— *Junius P. Rodriguez*

See also: Black Slaveowners; Mulattoes; Passing; Quadroons.

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PASSING

The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers more than sixty usages for the word “pass.” One of these meanings suggests the sense in which the word relates to slavery, although it scarcely encompasses the ramifications we have come to associate with this concept: “To be accepted,” the fifteenth meaning says, to be “received or held in repute, often with the implication of being something else” (*OED*).

Yet many of the examples provided in the other usages verge, if sometimes remotely, on conditions relevant to consequences of slavery. In 1662 an English character cried “God made him and therefore let him passe for a man.” Another writer early mused, “Had Lucretia been only a poet, this might have passed for a handsomely described fable.” Martin Gil spoke to a stranger: “You pass,” he said, “for a kind-hearted gentleman.” Another Englishman, a political commentator, remarked “Something happened which at least passed for a regular election,” while still another and later speaker said “Most of those who now pass as Liberals are Tories of a new type.”

In the modern American sense, however, “passing” carries the dimension of color. It usually refers to persons of at least partial African American descent whose skin color is light and who therefore could seem to be white persons. It also carries an implication that the person who passes wishes to hide his or her true origins.

Beyond doubt there are many shades of meaning associated with this term in literature and in law. This situation was conspicuous in the period from the close of the Civil War well into the late nineteenth century. As the American South rushed toward laws ensuring white supremacy, it became legally possible to declare persons known to have some African American heritage to be white persons, that is, legally to be permitted to pass. Thus the Mississippi Code of 1885 drew the line at one-fourth Negro blood, and by 1890 in Mississippi all persons of one-eighth Negro blood were legally white. In Louisiana a descendant of a white person and a quadroon was a white person. Before the war, in Ohio a person was legally white if he or she was more than half white. South Carolina concluded that “where color or feature is doubtful” a jury must decide by reputation, by reception into society, and by the ex-

ercise of the privileges of a white man, as well as by admixture of blood. But in Georgia, the term *person of color* meant “all such as have an admixture of Negro blood.” Interracial marriage was forbidden in all eleven of the former Confederate states. Clearly, these varying distinctions and prohibitions reflected the desire of white politicians to maintain control in areas where black populations outnumbered whites.

This problem, however, is not an exclusively American problem. Never within memory have two races existed side by side in whatever circumstances without intermingling. In some instances, in ancient Egypt and in some other societies, accommodation has progressed at a less harrowing, even beneficial pace. In the United States, however, the coexistence of two races has proved divisive, with the consequences recurrent. The effects of “passing” have given rise not only to legal complexities but to a poignant literature.

We can discern several patterns of “passing” in American literature since the twentieth century. In his novel *The House Behind the Cedars*, Charles W. Chesnutt, a writer of partial African American descent, told the story of Rena. Beautiful, complex, sensitive, of a deep emotional nature, Rena lived the tragedy of the outcast struggling to discover an acceptable style of life. The daughter of a white father and a light-skinned Negro mother of pre-Civil War days, Rena grew up at the edge of town. Because Rena’s mother could never hope for marriage, she and her children lived as lonely exiles in a house provided by her white paramour. But Rena watched her older brother John learn the law while working as an office boy for a well-meaning white man. Then John left to go to South Carolina to pass as a white person. Despite his success, John felt some discomfiture. He returned to offer Rena a home. Moved by Rena’s beauty and her natural dignity, George Toyon, one of John’s clients, soon finds himself in love and proposes marriage. But because Rena cannot forget her mother, Toyon learns of her Negro blood and rejects her. Still he desires her, but only for what he knows to be the supreme insult, a liaison without a marriage. Sick from this vindication of her worst fears, Rena returns to her childhood home. Driven into the dangerous cypress swamps of the North Carolina lands abetting the Cape Fear River, Rena meets her death.

This story touches several situations that frequently arose in the pre-Civil War South. In other instances, white families lived close to second black families. They shared the same father. Inevitably, sisters and brothers who might resemble one another came into contact. Or those who successfully “passed” suffered mental distress from the loss of family connections, or

they felt the embarrassment of daily denials on one level or another. Many variations of these situations have provided literary themes.

In another facet of the situation, some made conscious choices and lived with them. Charles Chesnutt was a light-skinned Negro child born to free Negro parents. Although some of his relatives left the circumstances in which they were born and effectively severed themselves from their past, and although he could himself have “passed,” Chesnutt conceived a life project to champion black people. He always insisted on his own racial connections. In stark contrast is the twentieth-century writer Anatole Broyard, who was for many years an editor and book reviewer for *The New York Times*; he “passed” and went to great lengths to conceal his heritage. Broyard, a gifted intellectual, resolved in the words of Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “to pass so that he could be a writer, rather than a Negro writer” (*New Yorker*, June 17, 1996). Whatever the individual means of dealing with the situation of being born into one race in America and yet looking more like the other race, built-in cruelties of mental and social dimensions seemed to provide a sure accompaniment.

— Frances Richardson Keller

See also: Mulattoes; Octoroons; Quadroons.

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PATERNALISM

Developed during the colonial period and later modified in response to northern abolitionist rhetoric critical of southern slavery in the antebellum period, paternalism in the United States was the result of the quandary produced by the ownership of human property. The image of the Old South popularized by historian Ulrich Bonnell Phillips was based on the English model of a hierarchical social order derived from extended family units. Ulrich, using the journals and plantation records of antebellum slaveowners, con-

veyed the gentility and family sympathy, pastoral beauty, elegance, and ease of the Old South, all of which belied the reality of southern slavery.

In the American colonial period, the extended family exemplified stability. The wife was subservient to the husband, as were the children and servants; the husband did not take advantage of his power but generously provided for his household. This model stressed the complementary nature of the relationships. Men assumed higher political office as an extension of this role, expanding their duty to the care of the larger community. The result was almost perfect order, and it was believed that assumptions of equal status in society were invitations to disorder, even chaos. Since the people on the very bottom were cared for, there was a benefit for all involved.

The racist assumption inherent in the rationale of the time was that their presumption of superiority allowed whites to approach their black slaves with benevolent “affection.” This attitude was enhanced by Enlightenment ideals concerning both “natural rights” and a morality dictating protection of society’s weak and disadvantaged. Thus, slaveholders practiced what they considered to be “a good and wise despotism.” An alternative view suggests that the lives of the slaves were circumscribed by constant white interference. Whites arbitrarily inflicted many detailed rules for slave behavior, not only in the areas of work and religious belief, but also in a slave’s choice of mate, child rearing, and use of time when not working. Such rules were enforced by various punishments ranging from subtle threats to whipping or sale.

During the antebellum period, paternalism increasingly came to be seen as a form of benign interference. One form this interference took was a heightened interest in the slaves’ spiritual lives, or perhaps, in what slaves believed and how those beliefs might affect their attitudes and behavior. Thus white ministers wrote and sermonized on the Christian responsibility of slaveowners to their slaves. Absentee slaveowners frequently included specific instructions to overseers concerning their slaves’ religious activities. The Second Great Awakening, a series of fundamentalist revivals in the antebellum period, resulted in an internal missionary movement to increase slave converts to Protestant Christianity. Yet literacy continued to be prohibited to slaves, and the Christian message to slaves was carefully monitored and emphasized biblical injunctions to work hard and obey the master.

Paternalism was also seen as a justification for increasing restrictions on slaves and even for physical punishments. Respect, if not veneration, of slaveowners by slaves was desired and slaves would not “respect”

an overly lenient master, so punishment was expected and required. Thus, to be more truly “benevolent,” some slaveowners might limit the practice of allowing slaves private garden patches (which they worked on during “off” hours after a full day’s work for the owner), visitor’s passes, or approval for marriages off the “home” place. In South Carolina and Georgia, the task system was seen as a paternalistic innovation because it allowed slaves to budget their own time once a particular task was completed.

The emphasis on family stability was quite ironic in lieu of the great disruption of slave families; indeed, the slaveowners depended on the threat of that disruption to instill “order.” The picture of “our family black and white” that is so often described in plantation journals and correspondence was depicted fictionally in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly* (1852), which was credited with widely disseminating antislavery views. The novel was groundbreaking in being the first widely read publication to treat seriously the idea of a black family, albeit one broken by sale.

The folklore tales of plantation slaves, particularly the “trickster” tales, which highlighted the triumph of an underdog character by wiles and subtlety, are evidence of the slaves’ recognition of their unequal status rather than reliance on territorial control, as some historians have suggested. The former slaves’ report of both cruelty and affection from the slaveowners also suggests the complexity of paternalism as a slaveholding strategy.

Paternalist slaveowners consistently recorded their confusion as to the motives of rebellious slaves—slaves who refused to work, feigned sickness, or ran away; they saw such behavior as being, at the very least, ungrateful. This purported puzzlement was always based on the firm conviction of black inferiority, so that slaveowners generally were serious when they attributed a slave insurrection or any other organized activity as showing the influence of outside agitators, most often from the North; they truly believed that their slaves had neither the intelligence nor the skill to plan such actions.

The laws passed by southern slaveholders indicate how they themselves defined paternalism. Slave mobility was severely restricted and tied to the prohibition on slave literacy since slaves required written permission to be away from their own home place. Such restrictions increased after the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831, as did the ability of slaves to congregate in groups, especially for the purpose of religious worship. Laws also made it increasingly difficult to manumit slaves or for freed slaves to remain in the state where they were freed.

Laws that made it a criminal act for a white person to kill a slave most often reflected the slave’s monetary rather than human value, and laws defining the criminal culpability of slave acts against whites were sometimes moot since, in the heat of the moment, slaves were sometimes summarily executed. Historians interpret the existence of such laws as an attempt to live up to a paternalistic ideal—and to occasional instances when slaves received trial at law for offenses against the slave regime.

In the wake of the Civil War and the sweeping climax to the era of American race slavery, paternalism took on a new face, one in which race or gender was eclipsed by the emergence of modern notions of social class. Free northern blacks (such as Philadelphia activist Charlotte Forten) and former southern planters alike now took charge of the lives of freed southern slaves in what they considered a benign and generous spirit. Most often, however, such guidance assumed that freed slaves were incapable of taking charge of their own destinies.

In more recent times, paternalism has been reborn as an attitude of condescension on the part of men in their dealings with women, especially but not limited to interactions in professional settings. Clearly, a strategy based in power relations between individuals or groups, the legacy of U.S. slavery and paternalism is replicated today in a variety of forms.

— Dale Edwyna Smith

See also: Forten, Charlotte; Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell; Turner, Nat.

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SLAVE PATROLS

The existence of runaway slaves in every slave system of the world led directly to the creation of formal slave patrols after 1500. Both professional and amateur slave catchers flourished in other slave-based societies, and in the New World, regardless of whether settlements were French, Spanish, Portuguese or English, men found employment as slave catchers. The earliest New World antecedents of patrols were slave-hunting groups of owners in the 1530s, the volunteer militia *bermandad*, who looked for fugitives in Cuba. Gradu-

ally, the *hermandad* was displaced by professional slave hunters, *ranchadores*, who were paid for each individual capture.

Free blacks and slaves in Caribbean and South American colonies also chased fugitive slaves, and in Peru, these hunters were called *cuadrilleros*. In Barbados, by the mid-seventeenth century, the English militia operated like the *hermandad* in many ways, designating a portion of its men to serve as slave patrollers. As English planters migrated to the North American mainland in the seventeenth century, particularly to South Carolina, they carried well-established views on the proper steps to take in recapturing fugitive slaves.

On the mainland, colonial legislatures enacted laws creating formal slave patrols after enough slaves had been imported to warrant the effort. The earliest patrol laws in South Carolina (1704), Virginia (1727), and North Carolina (1753) were responses to rising slave populations, threatened slave revolts, and white insecurities about personal safety. In South Carolina, the existence of a black majority early in the eighteenth century convinced white lawmakers that some form of community-based slave control was necessary to supplement individual slaveowners' efforts.

The South Carolina laws soon found emulation in colonial Georgia, and as settlers migrated into the Deep South, copies of South Carolina's or Virginia's slave laws, and slave patrols, migrated with them. Patrols existed in all slave states prior to the Civil War, created by law and sanctioned by state authority. Only the Civil War formally ended the legal use of slave patrols in the United States. After the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan copied the patroller methods of violence and intimidation formerly directed at slaves and used them against freedmen.

In most colonies, and later states, patrollers were drawn from the local militia, often chosen directly from membership rolls by captains of militia districts. This created problems in the nineteenth century, as militia groups fell into general decline. In North Carolina, county courts had authority over the patrols from the beginning, and patrollers, or "searchers" as they were first called, were exempt from militia duty for their term of service as patrollers. In Virginia and North Carolina, patrollers eventually received exemptions from jury service, militia duty, and road work duty during their term of service.

North Carolina usually paid patrollers for their work on a per-night or per-hour basis. Some cities (e.g., Wilmington, Raleigh, Charleston, and Columbia) adopted a form of payment for urban patrollers instead of relying solely on exemptions. Paid urban patrollers occasionally substituted for official police

forces in southern cities, whose residents viewed slaves as more troublesome than mere criminals. After the Civil War, police forces displaced urban patrollers in southern cities.

Patrollers had three main tasks. First, they were to contain slaves' activities once they left the plantation or residence of their owner. Patrollers did most of their work at night on roads, in fields, and between the farms of their neighbors, making sure that slaves went where their masters intended them to go. Their duty required them to chase and interrogate slaves, and they frequently used violence in these nocturnal encounters. Traveling slaves were supposed to carry passes, stating their owners' name, their destination, and when they were to return home. Many planters resisted giving their slaves passes of any kind, while others gave them freely. In towns, passes complicated everyday life, since no owner wanted to have to write a new pass for every errand. Many towns resorted to having slaves wear metal badges, purchased once a year, which clearly indicated their status.

The second job of patrollers was to disperse illegal slave gatherings wherever they might occur. Such assemblies could be used to plot insurrections, which southern whites dreaded. In breaking up meetings, patrols routinely disrupted religious gatherings that slaves organized on their own.

Their third main task was to enter slave quarters and search for runaway slaves or any items (e.g., guns, papers, or books) forbidden to slaves. Some white slavemasters, however, forbade patrollers to encroach on their property, even though the law gave them legal rights to enter and search slave quarters.

Unlike slave catchers, patrollers were sanctioned by law, appointed by their neighbors, (sometimes) paid for their work, and did more than just hunt fugitives. Their work was local, whereas the slave catcher might range widely, hunting only runaways. Patrols always worked in groups, led by a "captain," the leader appointed to supervise the patrol group's activities.

Many historians claim that patrollers were from the lowest classes, that they were the "poor whites" or "white trash" of a community, chosen by their social superiors to perform an unsavory social duty. They have typically been cast as poor nonslaveowners who were being used by the richer slaveowning class. These assertions are often supported with statements drawn from the WPA interviews conducted with ex-slaves, who routinely stated that patrollers were poor whites.

Studies by Sally Hadden and Charles Bolton, however, indicate that patrollers were chosen from the middle strata of southern society, not exclusively from the poor, and that patrol groups usually in-



Men pointing guns at Fort Scott Peace Convention. Hoping to prevent the destruction of the Union during the 1860–1861 secession crisis, 133 delegates met in Washington, D.C. to discuss a compromise that would keep the Union together and avert possible civil war. However, the political motives of both sides were questioned. (Bettmann/Corbis)

cluded at least one affluent slaveowner. This makes sense, when we consider that slaves as property were too valuable to allow propertyless poor whites to injure and perhaps kill them. Some sort of supervision by the landed gentry was required to keep the slave patrols from brutalizing slaves too much. The presence of slaveowners on patrols provided just such a restraint.

— Sally E. Hadden

See also: Slave Catchers; Narratives; Passing; Punishment.

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PEACE CONVENTION (1860–1861)

Hoping to prevent the destruction of the Union during the 1860–1861 secession crisis, 133 delegates met in Washington, D.C., to discuss a compromise that would keep the Union together and avert possible civil war. Representatives from Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and Wisconsin faced the formidable task of creating a compromise to keep the North and South together. Former president John Tyler of Virginia chaired the proceedings.

Members of the convention stressed the theme of a

conciliation between North and South. The Democratic and Republican parties were urged to lay aside their political differences for the good of the nation. However, the political motives of both sides were questioned. By the time the convention began debating the issues dividing the country, some of its members had resorted to insulting remarks toward fellow delegates and their states. Disagreements on how to proceed with the convention led to bitter arguments that threatened to end the peace conference before any concrete proposals could be made. Further difficulties in the convention were caused by the exclusion of the press. These closed-door sessions created tension and suspicion, not only with the press, but also within the political community.

Some of the key points for peace between the North and South were included in the compromise proposed by Kentucky Senator John J. Crittenden. His proposal stated that the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30' would be maintained and be extended to the Pacific and slavery would be permitted south of the line, although new states would have the option to remain free. Slavery on public lands could not be prohibited, and slavery in the District of Columbia could not be abolished as long as slavery existed in Virginia and Maryland, or until a majority of the citizens in those states voted for emancipation. Congress could not interfere with the interstate transportation of slaves, and compensation would be given to slaveowners who could not retrieve their runaway slaves due to the activities of abolitionists. Also, Crittenden's proposals could not be nullified by future legislation.

The Peace Convention formally presented its proposals, a modified version of the Crittenden Compromise, to both houses of Congress on February 27, 1861. The subjects of slave territory and the rights of slaveowners constantly came up for debate, and the convention finally did propose protection for the slaveowner's rights to hold slave property. At the same time, it also stated its desire to see the slave trade suppressed by all means necessary. Congress took the convention's report under advisement, but after a brief review of its report, the House and Senate failed to act on any of the proposals. The rejection of the Peace Convention's proposals by Congress was evidence of the severe divisions in the nation. Congress's lack of interest in the work of the convention, disagreements within the convention itself, and Virginia's rejection of its proposals doomed the work of the convention to failure. Within a matter of months, the United States was plunged into civil war.

— Ron D. Bryant

See also: Civil War; Compensated Emancipation; Crittenden Compromise.

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JAMES W. PENNINGTON (1809–1870)

A committed minister, teacher, writer, and dedicated abolitionist, James W. Pennington, was a former slave whose writings and activities helped generate a worldwide revulsion against slavery. Like other blacks of his generation, Pennington grew up shadowed by the brutalities and inhumanities that slavery and racial discrimination entailed.

Born a slave on Maryland's Eastern Shore, Pennington was moved at the age of four to Washington County, Maryland, where he began active plantation labor. A brilliant and versatile man, Pennington learned and became expert in stone masonry and black-smithing. Having never reconciled himself to slavery, he frequently contemplated escape and finally succeeded when he fled to Pennsylvania in 1830. He began his elementary education there and later moved to Long Island, New York, where he continued his education.

In the early 1830s Pennington taught in black schools in New York and Connecticut, and after studying theology, he assumed the pastorate of churches in Long Island and Connecticut. In 1841 he was appointed president of the Union of Masonry Society, an antislavery organization whose members boycotted commodities produced by slave labor and also opposed colonization.

Pennington belongs in that category of "pioneers" of the black protest tradition who used their intellectual resources in the service of vindicating the black race. Concerned about the denial of black history, and the negative and derogatory portrayals of the black experience, Pennington published his *A Textbook of the Origin and History of the Colored People* (1841), which discussed the black's complexion and history, his intellectual capacity, and prejudice in the United States. Pennington's stated objective was to debunk false ideas, and the book remains his lasting contribution to the black's intellectual defense. Proud of his "unadulterated African blood," Pennington rejected notions of black inferiority and attributed racial characteristics to environmental factors.

In 1843 he represented Connecticut at the World Anti-Slavery Convention that convened in London.

He also represented the American Peace Convention at the World Peace Society meeting in London, where he delivered several antislavery speeches. He toured Europe, taking his antislavery crusade to Paris and Brussels. Returning to the United States in 1847, he lived in New York City until 1850. That same year, he attended the world peace conference in Frankfurt, Germany. His autobiography, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, was published in London in 1849. The book is a scathing indictment of slavery. Pennington also helped organize antislavery protests in New York. He was also vehemently opposed to colonization.

With passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Pennington felt insecure and escaped abroad, where he remained until his manumission in June 1851. He toured Europe where he delivered antislavery lectures meant to galvanize European opinion against slavery. Pennington not only condemned slavery in the United States, but also racism in Europe, particularly in England, France, and Germany. He later studied at the University of Heidelberg, where he received a doctor of divinity degree. During his time abroad, he forged links with antislavery movements and organizations in England and Scotland. The Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society sponsored some of his activities in Scotland.

In 1851 Pennington returned to the United States and became actively engaged in vigilante activities against the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. He organized fund-raising events in defense of those arrested for obstructing the law's implementation, and in 1853 he organized the New York Legal Rights Association, which fought against discrimination on public transportation. Antislavery activities preoccupied Pennington for much of the 1850s and 1860s. He greatly admired John Brown, whose capture and execution he deplored. He moved to Jacksonville, Florida, in 1870 and founded a small black Presbyterian Church where he ministered until his death on October 20, 1870.

— Tunde Adeleke

See also: Fugitive Slave Act (1850).

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PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS

Fourteen northern states of the United States approved personal liberty laws before the Civil War began. The first of these were passed by many northern state legislatures between the 1780s and the 1820s in order to protect free blacks from being kidnapped by unscrupulous slave catchers and sold into bondage. Such statutes established an orderly legal process for distinguishing a free black from a fugitive slave, and the laws generally extended certain basic legal protections—the writ of habeas corpus, the right to a jury trial, and the writ of *de homine replegiando* (a process for the recovery of property)—to people who were accused of being runaway slaves. These statutes also voided the right of recaption (the right to recapture a slave without going to court) that had been claimed by slaveowners under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. As a result, the statutes consistently led to questions of comity (the respect of one state for the laws of another) and state sovereignty in the decades prior to the war.

The clearest rejection of southern slaveowners' claims to the right of recaption came in Pennsylvania when that state passed a new personal liberty law in 1820. This law increased the penalty for kidnapping to up to twenty-one years in prison at hard labor, and it also limited the role that state officials could play in the recovery of runaway slaves. Slaveowners and officials in Maryland, the state most affected by the act, pressed to repeal the restriction and in 1826 the Pennsylvania legislature approved a new personal liberty law. This law softened the restrictions on state officials but kept in place most of the legal protections for anyone accused of being a fugitive slave.

Proslavery interests challenged the personal liberty laws throughout the 1830s and early 1840s in the federal courts. In the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged a slaveowner's right of recaption but held that state or local officials could not be required to assist in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. A second wave of personal liberty laws followed, and these ended state assistance in the recovery process and mandated the use of the writ of habeas corpus and jury trials to protect free blacks and obstruct the recovery of fugitive slaves. Between 1843 and 1847, such laws were passed in Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

The personal liberty laws of the 1840s were a major reason the South pushed for passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which put the federal government in the business of capturing and returning runaway

slaves. At first, northern state legislatures seemed hesitant to challenge the new act, but the notorious rendition (legal return to slavery) of Anthony Burns in 1854, and the reopening of free federal territories to slavery as a result of the Kansas–Nebraska Act in the same year, led to a third wave of personal liberty laws.

One of the strongest of the new laws was passed in 1855 in Massachusetts. It forbade any attorney in the state from acting as counsel for a slave claimant, prevented any officer of the state from issuing an arrest warrant under the Fugitive Slave Act, and appointed special commissioners to defend people who were claimed as runaway slaves. An antiskidnapping section provided for a fine of up to \$5,000 and imprisonment for up to five years for parties guilty of fraudulently claiming or seizing anyone as a slave. The law also guaranteed numerous protections for the accused—the writ of habeas corpus, the right to a jury trial, written evidence, witnesses—and placed the burden of proof on the claimant. Similar laws were passed in Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. These new laws successfully obstructed enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act throughout much of the North.

In the case of *Ableman v. Booth* (1859), the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the constitutionality of the personal liberty laws. Ironically, the Wisconsin and Ohio legislatures announced their intent to practice “positive defiance” of the decision by continuing to enforce the acts as a matter of states’ rights. During the secession crisis of 1860–1861, the U.S. Congress appealed to the states to repeal personal liberty laws in the spirit of sectional compromise. But they remained in force until rendered obsolete by ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.

— Roy E. Finkenbine

See also: *Ableman v. Booth*; Burns, Anthony; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*.

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JAMES LOUIS PETIGRU (1789–1863)

Historians have traditionally portrayed prominent antebellum white southerners as monolithic in their support of slavery and states’ rights. Such a view minimizes the role of an important minority who criticized slavery, supported the Union, and attacked the social and economic foundations of southern life. No southern dissenter was more important than James Louis Petigru.

Petigru was born near Abbeville, South Carolina, on May 10, 1789, the first of eight children. His father, William Petigrew, soon lost his land to gambling and drinking and came to rely on his wife’s brother to support his family. James grew up doing farm chores much as did any youth of the period. However, his mother imbued him with a deep intellectual curiosity and schooled him at home until he was fifteen, when he entered a local academy. Two years later, he began his studies at South Carolina College in Columbia. Graduating in 1809, James read law with Beaufort attorney William Robertson and was admitted to the bar in 1812. During this time, he also changed the spelling of his name to “Petigru,” a reflection of his poor relationship with his father. Then he embarked on one of the most brilliant and controversial legal careers in the history of southern jurisprudence.

Petigru’s legal practice was initially lackluster, but he found success after David Huguen, a prominent South Carolina lawyer and politician, took an interest in his career. In rapid succession, Petigru became a state solicitor, a partner in a powerful Charleston firm, and state attorney general. In court, he often made arguments that were unpopular with other white southern elites, and on several occasions, he took cases brought by slaves against their masters, arguing for the extension of basic human rights for slaves. As attorney general, he argued that South Carolina’s Negro Seaman Law, which prohibited black sailors from coming ashore in the state, was unconstitutional. These actions do not mean that Petigru was a racial egalitarian. Rather, he believed that slavery was an impediment to the South, one that prevented social reform and economic development. To end the institution, he favored manumission, a controversial practice that involved owners freeing their slaves by bequest.

Petigru’s opposition to slavery was not the only view that placed him in conflict with prominent leaders in his state and region. He also opposed nullification, a stand that placed him at odds with powerful politicians such as John C. Calhoun. Petigru considered nullification an unconstitutional act. In Petigru’s view, federal law superseded state laws, and if a state took issue with

a federal act, it should seek relief through the judicial and legislative channels established by the U.S. Constitution. Armed confrontation, according to Petigru, was not a viable solution. For many of the same reasons, he later opposed secession, becoming a vocal unionist until his death in 1863. His views on slavery, nullification, and secession set James Louis Petigru at odds with the prevailing opinions of the day and made him one of the great southern dissenters of the antebellum period.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Nullification Doctrine; Proslavery Argument; Seamen's Acts.

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PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (1833–1870)

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was the longest-lived of all female antislavery societies in the United States. It was also the first biracial antislavery organization in Pennsylvania. The society consciously tried to recruit women of diverse backgrounds and welcomed blacks as members and officers throughout its nearly forty-year existence. Although the society was open to all women, most of its membership consisted of Hicksite Quakers—those who followed the tenets of the antislavery Quaker preacher Elias Hicks.

The American Anti-Slavery Society held its founding convention in Philadelphia on December 4–6, 1833, and invited several women to witness the event silently. Although it was intended that women would be present but nonparticipatory, several of them, especially Lucretia Mott, entered the debate and contributed suggestions for the national society's constitution and its declaration of sentiments. Three days later, Mott and the other women present at the convention invited women interested in the abolitionist cause to a meeting where they founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. These women pioneered female participation in state and national antislavery societies in addition to founding autonomous female antislavery societies.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society

boasted many members besides Lucretia Mott, though she is probably the best-known member. Sarah Pugh was the society's president for most of the 1838–1866 era, and Mary Grew was the society's corresponding secretary from 1834 to 1870. Lydia White, Sydney Ann Lewis, and Alba Alcott (wife of Bronson Alcott and mother of Louisa May Alcott) were all active members. There were also active members from several prominent Philadelphia families, including the Fortens—Charlotte, Marguerite, Sarah, and Harriet Forten Purvis (wife of Robert Purvis); the Douglasses—Grace and Sarah; and the Grimké sisters—Sarah and Angelina.

Initially, the society's activities included circulating petitions, recruiting new members, and sponsoring public lectures by black and white abolitionists. Its mission was to end slavery and racial discrimination. Besides its history of racial cooperation, the society hosted the second annual Convention of American Anti-Slavery Women in 1838, during which the antiabolitionist mobs burned the newly built Pennsylvania Hall.

As conditions changed within the antislavery movement, owing to dissension over whether women should be allowed to take an active role in the movement and the use of political means to end slavery, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society became more focused on both its membership and its activities. Emphasis shifted from various public works to concentrating on the organization of and producing items for the annual fair. Although this change appears to have reduced the society's effectiveness, the women continued to raise substantial funds for the antislavery movement. They saw their years of work bear fruit toward the end of the society's long life when the state legislature passed laws prohibiting discrimination against blacks on public transportation.

— *Sydney J. Caddel-Liles*

See also: Forten, Charlotte; Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Quakers; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS (1877–1934)

Born in LaGrange, Georgia, in 1877, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips studied history with William A. Dunning at Columbia University (receiving his Ph.D. in 1902) and became the most prolific and influential historian of slavery of the first half of the twentieth century. Phillips's writings combined postbellum proslavery attitudes, conservative racial views, and Progressive Era "scientific" historical methodology. He published nine books and almost sixty articles, most of them dealing with slavery. Phillips's major works were his in-depth economic and institutional history, *American Negro Slavery* (1918), and his broadly conceived social history, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929).

In *American Negro Slavery*, Phillips defined slavery and the plantation regime as part of an organic whole, one that rendered the Old South unique. Drawing heavily on plantation sources (diaries, manuscripts, account books, and letters) and on newspapers, Phillips argued that slavery was a patriarchal system that was beneficial to slaves, whom he considered "inert." He pronounced the plantation "a school constantly training and controlling pupils who were in a backward state of civilization." Paternalistic planters, Phillips contended, fed, clothed, and "civilized" their slaves, often sacrificing economic profits in order to keep their slave families together and to maintain social and racial order.

After carefully studying slavery's costs and the slaves' productivity, he pronounced the institution an economic burden for white southerners. To Phillips's mind, slavery "was less a business than a life; it made fewer fortunes than it made men." By this statement, Phillips meant that slavery succeeded less as an economic system than as a social system. It bound master and slave together in a relationship characterized by "propriety, proportion and cooperation." Under slavery, Phillips insisted, the races were interdependent—the blacks "always within the social mind and conscience of the whites, as the whites in turn were within the mind and conscience of the blacks."

In *Life and Labor in the Old South*, Phillips broadened his net to include the Old South's hitherto neglected people—Indians, Latins, yeomen, and mountain folk. Even though Phillips had discovered new plantation sources in the decade since he published *American Negro Slavery*, his interpretation of slavery in *Life and Labor* remained virtually unchanged. He continued to hammer home his earlier themes—the duality of slavery as unprofitable but its necessity as a vehicle of racial control, slavery's benign and paternalistic qualities, and his belief in the slaves' inherent inferiority. Fewer racial slurs appeared in 1929 than in 1918, but Phillips's racism remained unchanged.

Although contemporary black critics, most notably Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. DuBois, attacked Phillips's racial bias and criticized his one-dimensional view of slavery, most scholars and laypersons greeted *American Negro Slavery* and *Life and Labor* enthusiastically. Writing in 1929, Henry Steele Commager praised *Life and Labor* as "perhaps the most significant contribution to the history of the Old South in this generation" (review in *New York Herald Tribune*, May 19, 1929). Not surprisingly, white historians from the 1920s until the 1950s applied Phillips's essential method and biases to their research and amassed what scholars term "the Phillips School" of studies on slavery. Phillips reigned as the master of slave historiography until he was ousted by Kenneth M. Stampp and his revisionist book, *The Peculiar Institution* (1956).

On balance, Phillips's works exhibited all the strengths and weaknesses of first-rate white scholars during the age of legally sanctioned social discrimination against blacks. Deeply researched in primary sources, carefully focused on the social and economic aspects of slavery, and gracefully written, his many books and articles set a high scholarly standard for his contemporaries. Phillips also played a major role in locating plantation-generated archival sources, in editing texts, and in delineating the themes and topics that later generations of historians of slavery would study.

Today, Phillips is best remembered for his overt sympathy with the master class and his condescending treatment of blacks as intellectually, culturally, and morally inferior to whites. Phillips's romanticized interpretation of the Old South, where gracious masters succored their grateful slaves, has been thoroughly repudiated by almost a half century of scholarship.

— John David Smith

See also: DuBois, W. E. B.; Stampp, Kenneth M.

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POINTE COUPÉE CONSPIRACY (1795)

The Pointe Coupée conspiracy, an abortive slave revolt, created such a legacy of paranoia that it was sometimes called an uprising in early histories of Louisiana. In spring 1795, when Louisiana was under Spanish colonial control, the remote Pointe Coupée district located on the Mississippi River about 150 miles upriver from New Orleans was not an unlikely place for slave revolt. In 1783 Spanish colonial governor Esteban Rodríguez Miró sent an expedition to Pointe Coupée to help deal with a problem with large numbers of runaway slaves. The reason for the runaway problem was probably harsh treatment, and by the 1790s economic troubles in the colony had caused reductions in already meager rations. Another problem that made Pointe Coupée a likely place for slave revolt was that masters, isolated from each other on plantations stretched along the river, were significantly outnumbered by their slaves. In fact, the district's population included approximately two thousand whites and seven thousand slaves, a differential that would certainly have given rebelling slaves reason to be optimistic about their chances for success.

The night of April 12–13 was set for the revolt, which was to be initiated on the estate of Julien Poydras, a bachelor who lived alone except for his slaves. Poydras, a prominent Louisiana literary figure, was considered one of the most humane planters in his treatment of slaves. He had planned to visit the United States in April, which may have been a factor in timing the rebellion. The slaves planned to steal guns and ammunition from Poydras's store and then set fire to a building on the estate. It was hoped that masters from neighboring estates would come to help extinguish the blaze, and when they arrived, they would be killed. Slaves would then march on other estates, killing both the masters and those slaves who refused to participate in the rebellion.

On April 10, two Tunica Indian women betrayed the rebellion when they informed Spanish authorities of a conversation they had overheard. Upon learning

that the slaves intended to kill all the whites except for the young women, the Indian women apparently feared for their own safety if the revolt were successful. Patrols were immediately dispatched with orders to arrest all blacks assembling at plantations other than their own and any strangers found in the slave quarters. Authorities found several witnesses who confirmed the story told by the Tunica women. Governor Hector de Carondelet was informed of the plot, and he ordered all commandants of Louisiana to make a simultaneous raid on slave quarters, to confiscate all firearms, and to arrest any strangers found there.

A total of sixty-three people were implicated in the conspiracy—mostly black slaves, but three free men of color and four white men were also convicted. Trials began on May 8, 1795, and continued through May 19. More than twenty slaves were sentenced to be hanged while the remainder of the conspirators were sentenced to military duty or simply banished from the colony. During the trial, residents discovered that the conspiracy had not been isolated to Pointe Coupée but that the slaves in other parts of the region had known of the conspiracy and had intended to revolt simultaneously. In response to this threat and as a grisly deterrent to rebellion, Spanish authorities placed the severed heads of those who had been executed on posts throughout the region.

The slaves at Pointe Coupée and elsewhere in Louisiana conspired to revolt for many reasons, but perhaps the most fundamental was a realistic hope for freedom. Political chaos caused by war between France and Spain and an anticipated French invasion of the colony made the timing ideal, and the French National Convention's abolition of slavery in all its colonies in 1794 made freedom a real possibility. The trial summary also indicated the slaves' awareness of the success of the St. Domingue revolt in 1791, which certainly provided inspiration.

In response to the conspiracy, Louisiana prohibited all slave imports even though there was an increasing dependency on slave labor in the colony as a result of expanding sugar and cotton production. The slave trade later reopened in November 1800 to satisfy the merchants' interests. Colonial officials attempted to assert greater control over slaves by restricting their movement between plantations and giving whites the authority to arrest slaves without a pass "or for any other reason." Perhaps the conspiracy's most significant effect was that it created a legacy of paranoia that plagued Louisiana's plantation economy throughout the antebellum period.

— *Mark Cave*

See also: Louisiana; Resistance.

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POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

A controversial approach to the problem of slavery in the territories, popular sovereignty was envisioned as a democratic solution to this divisive issue. Popular sovereignty did not solve the problem of slavery expansion. However, in many ways, it heightened sectional tensions and brought the nation closer to civil war.

By the 1840s the issue of slavery in the territories was as old as the Union itself. Congress first attempted to regulate slavery in newly acquired lands through the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Prohibiting the extension of slavery north of the Ohio River, this legislation set an important precedent. Congress assumed the role of regulating slavery in the territories, and this role became important in 1820 when a conflict over the admission of Missouri to the Union brought the issue to the forefront. A compromise brokered by the Speaker of the House Henry Clay provided for the admission of Missouri and Maine, thereby preserving the numerical balance between slave and free states in Congress. More importantly, the Missouri Compromise established that slavery would be prohibited in the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30' minutes north latitude. This agreement defused the immediate conflict over the admission of Missouri, but it was merely a temporary solution to the question of slavery in the territories.

Slavery in the territories was the most divisive issue in American politics by the 1840s, and this single issue split both political parties and threatened to dissolve the Union itself. Several important factors contributed to this tension. During the previous decade, northern abolitionists such as Theodore Dwight Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, and Lyman Beecher had been increasingly vocal and politically influential. Moreover, they had begun to attack the morality of southern slaveowners, not simply the institution itself. As a result of these attacks, a high protective tariff, and other factors, southerners came to believe that the federal govern-



ment was not serving their social and economic interests. Southerners became vocal proponents of states' rights in an effort to protect these interests, which in reality was a thinly veiled euphemism for slavery. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ment was not serving their social and economic interests. Southerners became vocal proponents of states' rights in an effort to protect these interests, which in reality was a thinly veiled euphemism for slavery.

This sectional debate over the future of the institution became more pronounced after the Mexican War (1846–1848) when Congress debated the future of slavery expansion. Abolitionists, some northern Democrats, and antislavery Whigs demanded that slavery be excluded from the lands acquired from Mexico because that nation had previously abolished the institution. The most famous articulation of this position was the 1846 Wilmot Proviso. Southern slaveowners and proslavery Whigs argued that any attempt to regulate slavery in the territories, even the Missouri Compromise line, was unconstitutional, as territories were a collective possession of the states and the federal government was obliged by the Constitution to protect the property of any citizen taken there.

These extreme positions threatened to dissolve the Union, but Michigan senator Lewis Cass offered a solution to the problem. Cass, who had previously served as territorial governor of Michigan, secretary of war, and minister to France, was a moderate who believed that the extreme positions of David Wilmot and John C. Calhoun would never satisfactorily settle the question of slavery expansion. Therefore in 1848, Cass offered a proposal that would transfer the political burden of deciding the issue from Congress to the territorial legislatures. Cass argued that the federal government should not decide such internal matters, as such action was both corrosive to the bonds of Union and fundamentally undemocratic. Therefore, he proposed that the territorial legislatures, as the elected representatives of the people, decide the slave question in each individual territory. According to Cass, Congress had no constitutional authority to regulate slavery in the territories, and popular sovereignty, or squatter sovereignty as it was sometimes known, offered the best solution to the problem of slavery expansion.

Popular sovereignty had many political benefits. It was a democratic solution to a pressing national issue; it also, at least on the surface, had something to offer both southern slaveowners and northern abolitionists. Southerners and their property would be protected if they chose to migrate to a territory, where they would have an equal voice in the final determination of slavery through the electoral process. Northern free soil advocates understood that much of the land in the territories was unsuitable for slave-based agriculture. Moreover, it was assumed that the new territories would be quickly populated by midwestern farmers, who would dominate the legislature and ban slavery in the territories. Despite these theoretical appeals to both sides, the ambiguity of popular sovereignty undermined its popularity. Cass was never clear on the precise point at which a territory could act on slavery, nor on the proper method for taking this action. Southerners realized their property would never be truly protected in the territories, and free soil activists would not entertain a proposal that might protect the institution of slavery.

Despite this initially lackluster appeal, popular sovereignty was destined to have far-reaching political implications. Cass won the 1848 Democratic presidential nomination, but the debate over popular sovereignty deepened the gap between the northern and southern wings of the party. Though Cass lost the election to Zachary Taylor, popular sovereignty continued to have political resonance. The Compromise of 1850 allowed territorial legislatures broad legislative powers, which some people interpreted as an unstated endorsement

of popular sovereignty. However, the most important manifestation of the concept arose in 1854 during debates over the Kansas and Nebraska Territories.

Stephen A. Douglas, a U.S. senator from Illinois, was one of the most influential converts to popular sovereignty. He used this approach to appeal to southern Democrats whose support Douglas needed to establish a transcontinental railroad with an eastern terminus in his native state. In 1854 he sponsored a bill that created two new territories, Kansas and Nebraska, both of which were north of 36°30' minutes north latitude, the old Missouri Compromise line. According to the bill, the territorial legislatures would have full authority to determine the future of slavery within their respective borders. More importantly, Douglas agreed to an amendment that repealed the Missouri Compromise altogether, arguing that popular sovereignty was the best method for deciding the future of slavery in the territories.

The Kansas–Nebraska Act had far-reaching implications. The Whig Party ceased to exist as a cohesive political entity, as its members split into proslavery and free soil factions over this issue. The Republican Party, which embraced free soil ideology, united its members by its stand on the Kansas–Nebraska Act, and Douglas's own presidential hopes were dashed by this sponsorship of his controversial bill. More immediately, and more importantly, violence erupted in Kansas, as proslavery and free soil interests literally fought for the power to determine the future of slavery in the territory. This division and violence were important steps toward, and in many ways a rehearsal for, the American Civil War.

— *Richard D. Starnes*

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Compromise of 1850; Democratic Party; Douglas, Stephen A.; Kansas–Nebraska Act; Whig Party; Wilmot Proviso.

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PORT ROYAL EXPERIMENT

Called the "Rehearsal for Reconstruction," the Port Royal Experiment was an effort by federal officials, military officers, abolitionists, teachers, and missionar-



SEA-ISLAND SCHOOL, No. 1.—ST. HELENA ISLAND. ESTABLISHED APRIL, 1862.
 TEACHERS: MISS LARA M. DOWNE, ELLEN MURRAY, MRS. HARRIET W. HUGGLES. Supported by the Pennsylvania Branch.

EDUCATION AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

Pennsylvania Branch of the American Freedman's Union Commission.

PENNSYLVANIA FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION,
 No. 711 Sansom Street.

TO THE FRIENDS OF EDUCATION AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

As we enter upon our work for another year, we wish to present a statement of our plans and wants to the people.

The various organizations throughout the country having the education of the Freedmen in charge, have provided schools for 150,000 persons, in care of fourteen hundred teachers. The expense of supporting these schools has been borne by voluntary contributions.

It is frequently asked, Does not the Government accomplish this work through the "Freedmen's Bureau?" The simple answer is, No! The "Bureau" has no authority to employ teachers. The representatives of the "Bureau," from the honored Commissioner

The Port Royal Experiment was an effort to demonstrate that freedmen could be converted from slave labor to free labor. It was also a way to prepare for the upcoming emancipation of the slaves and to deal with the numerous slaves who had attached themselves to advancing Union forces. (Library of Congress)

ies to demonstrate that freedmen could be converted from slave labor to free labor. The Port Royal Experiment also was a way to prepare for the upcoming emancipation of the slaves and to deal with the numerous slaves who had attached themselves to advancing Union forces.

On November 7, 1861, the U.S. Navy bombarded the town of Beaufort, South Carolina, located on the island of Port Royal a few miles north of Savannah, Georgia. Most of the island's whites had already fled, leaving behind ten thousand slaves, referred to as contraband. The "contrabands," who were technically still slaves, showed a strong reluctance to working the slave crop of cotton. Instead, they concentrated on growing subsistence crops and hunting and fishing in order to live. Both contrabands and freedmen preferred to distance themselves from any contact with whites, northern or southern.

Northern entrepreneurs and U.S. Treasury officials responsible for administering confiscated property, which included slaves, considered the acquisition of Port Royal an economic opportunity for the federal treasury. But federal officers and the Treasury Department, under the direction of Secretary Salmon P. Chase, faced the problem of how to manage the thousands of slaves who remained on the plantations. Chase appointed Edward L. Pierce to establish a new labor system on the island. Pierce implemented a system that resembled the former antebellum plantation, complete with plantation supervisors, the gang system of labor, and restricted movement of laborers. Instead of providing cash wages for work performed on the plantation, workers received basic necessities and free education.

Northern missionaries like the Gideonites and the American Missionary Association believed that with guidance and education, freedmen could be transformed into an obedient and effective workforce. Missionaries and teachers also advocated giving land to freedmen, but their impact on the direction of the experiment was minimal. Entrepreneurs like Edward S. Philbrick wanted to convert the former slaves into a large "free labor" workforce that was also tied to a market economy (i.e., to make them both laborers and consumers). Unlike Pierce, Philbrick implemented a wage labor system on his plantation based on the example of northern labor. Philbrick replaced the gang system with a labor program based on incentives, giving families their own garden plots and paying cash wages to field laborers. Federally supervised plantations soon converted to Philbrick's model.

In 1863 and 1864 Treasury officials auctioned Port Royal Island plantations for nonpayment of taxes. Northern speculators purchased most of the 60,000 acres of confiscated land. Officials had reserved over 16,000 acres for purchase by freedmen at \$1.25 per acre, but only a few freedmen who pooled their meager resources were able to purchase land. The island's military governor, General Rufus Saxton, tried to help freedmen by allowing them to acquire land through preemption. President Abraham Lincoln overturned Saxton's policy in 1864.

By 1865 Philbrick realized that his experiment to prove that African Americans working as wage laborers could be more profitable than slave labor had failed. Throughout the experiment to establish a new economic system based on wage labor, freedmen resisted working in the cotton fields, and cotton production never reached pre-Civil War rates. Philbrick divided his plantation into small lots and sold them to former workers and returned North. On other plantations,

military authorities required freedmen to sign labor contracts or leave.

On January 12, 1865, General Tecumseh Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15, which entitled freedmen to 40-acre plots of land in an area along the coast from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida. Later that year, President Andrew Johnson commanded that all confiscated lands be returned to their owners. Many of the Port Royal freedmen who had acquired land during the experiment lost their claims to those plots, and the Port Royal Experiment came to a close.

— Craig S. Pascoe

See also: Civil War; Contrabands; Emancipation Proclamation; Gullah; Sea Islands; South Carolina.

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POTTAWATOMIE MASSACRE

The Pottawatomie massacre occurred on May 24, 1856, at Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas Territory, and initiated John Brown's rise to national prominence. Brown and seven followers executed five proslavery settlers in retaliation for a proslavery raid on Lawrence, an antislavery center in the territory. The massacre highlighted the controversy over popular sovereignty and revealed the volatile consequences of the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854).

Brown arrived in Kansas Territory on October 7, 1855, to help several of his sons establish claims under the terms of popular sovereignty. Owing to a prolonged drought, which destroyed their crops, Brown's sons had left Ohio in spring 1855 to start anew in the unorganized territory. Besides their financial motivation, the younger Browns were also eager to rush to Kansas and reinforce antislavery settlers there.

Throughout the first year of settlement, tensions mounted between proslavery and antislavery pioneers,

and many prepared for war. Prior to his move west, Brown solicited funds from sympathetic abolitionists and purchased a shipment of arms in preparation for what he thought would be imminent bloodshed. The crate included a cache of broadswords, medieval weapons symbolic of Brown's self-imposed image as an antislavery crusader ordained by Christ.

During his adult life, Brown called for guerrilla warfare against southern plantations and the execution of slave catchers. In Kansas, he put his words into action. Shortly after he arrived at Brown's Station near Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas turned bloody. In late November 1855, proslavery and antislavery forces mobilized at Lawrence in a prelude to the impending confrontation. Although a treaty averted bloodshed, tensions smoldered during the winter months as both sides issued calls for arms and men. In April 1856 Brown gained regional attention by publicly announcing that he would kill any peace officer who attempted to enforce territorial laws banning abolitionist activity. A month later, after years of agitating for a violent end to slavery, Brown moved toward fulfillment of his destiny.

On May 21, 1856, a proslavery militia force raided Lawrence with impunity. The following morning, Brown and his sons marched with a company known as the Pottawatomie Rifles to help repel the attack. A messenger stopped them and ordered Brown to turn back since the proslavery men had retreated following the arrival of federal troops. After the Pottawatomie company refused to press forward, an exasperated Brown called for volunteers for a secret mission. Further electrified by the news of Preston Brooks's assault upon Charles Sumner on the floor of the U.S. Senate on May 22, Brown led a small squad, including four of his sons, back to Pottawatomie Creek. There, on May 24, 1856, Brown and his men wielded sharpened broadswords and hacked to death five proslavery residents. The slaughter sent proslavery settlers into a frenzy and sparked unbridled guerrilla warfare throughout southeastern Kansas.

Coupled with the raid on Lawrence, the Pottawatomie massacre brought both sides to local civil war. In this unruly environment, known as Bleeding Kansas, Brown and his men avoided prosecution for their night of carnage and fought in several small skirmishes. Brown left Kansas in October 1856 and gained national attention as an antislavery guerrilla fighter and speaker. This recognition helped him recruit men and garner financial support for another secret mission waged at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in October 1859, a mission that ultimately played a major role in plunging the whole nation into civil war.

— Robert J. Zalimas, Jr.

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Brown, John; Harpers Ferry Raid.

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SLAVE PREACHERS

African American slave preachers often occupied an uncomfortable middle position between white and black worlds in the antebellum South. Targets of distrust by white slaveholding society, which suspected them of being fomenters of slave rebellion, slave preachers had to rely on their master’s protection to maintain their positions. They, in return, were expected to indoctrinate their black flock to the idea that heaven awaited slaves who faithfully served white rulers. Within the slave community, slave clergy preserved African cultural practices while disseminating the Christian gospel. Revered as bold leaders and reviled as craven sellouts in slave folklore, black preachers constructed a worldview that largely preserved black cultural autonomy while accommodating the reality of antebellum power relations.

The slave preacher filled a spiritual vacuum left by white masters who often feared that Christianity, with its message that slaves possessed souls worth saving and were as human as whites, undermined the slave economy’s racist tenets. Slaveowners long resisted attempts to Christianize their chattel. When white preachers were sent to evangelize slaves, their obvious political mission to encourage black acceptance of servitude undermined their credibility with black congregations. In this atmosphere, slaves often learned an Africanized version of Christianity from other slaves—slave preachers, both licensed and unlicensed; exhorters, individuals who spontaneously “got the spirit” and began preaching with or without training; and conjurers, who often maintained traditional African magic practices and beliefs in earthly ghosts and divinations.

Many slave preachers faced ridicule by white elites for illiteracy and the lack of formal theological training. Historians Eugene Genovese and Albert J. Raboteau both argue that slave preachers were no

more likely to be illiterate than southern poor white preachers. Bible tales, in any case, had become part of the slave oral tradition. Certain slave preachers gained fame for their command of scripture, fiery eloquence, and multilingual fluency.

Some preachers often enjoyed a freedom of movement unknown by other slaves, being exempted from manual labor by approving masters and invited to lead white congregations and preside over white funerals. Before white or racially mixed audiences, slave preachers at times bowed to reality and ignored slavery or delivered accommodationist sermons. Such preachers suffered harsh lampooning in slave folklore, but others delivered subtle, highly symbolic antislavery messages.

Historian Sterling Stuckey believes that an essential element of slave preacher oratory incorporated an ostensibly Christian message with an African performance style with “the rhythms of [the slave preacher] stirring some to jump and clap their hands and others to shriek” (Stuckey, 1987). Such sermonizing followed West African norms of the ring shout, a style of religious celebration incorporating a call-and-response interplay between an exhorter and the gathered faithful, clapping of hands, and African dances. The ring shout was performed in a circle during weddings, funerals, and other religious rituals throughout West and Central Africa, Stuckey reveals, and served as a method of achieving union with God. Slave preachers incorporated the ring shout into black Protestant practices as well.

Black worship styles heavily influenced southern white Christianity, even when critics condemned slave religious practices as barely disguised heathenism. Slave preachers differed from white counterparts not only in style, but also in substance. Although white preachers emphasized the slave’s duty to obey masters, slave preachers frequently noted that all men were descended from Adam and Eve, in subtle rebuke of white supremacist thinking. Others used tales of Moses and the Israelites as metaphor for the eventual deliverance of black slaves from white domination.

Southern slaveholders were fully aware of the black church’s insurrectionary potential, and, while blacks were given relative freedom to preach in the eighteenth century, nineteenth-century southern state and local governments sought to limit slave preaching. Black preachers were implicated in several actual or threatened slave revolts, such as those led by Gabriel Prosser (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and Nat Turner (1831). Each abortive insurrection led to a suppression of slave preaching.

Laws were passed throughout the South that prohibited free blacks from preaching to slaves, required

slave preachers to register with local authorities, and/or mandated that whites be present when any black preacher presided over a meeting. Some independent black churches that had developed in the 1700s were required to merge with white churches. Yet, the black church had become too entrenched in the slave community to be repressed legally, and slave preaching thrived until the Civil War.

Regardless of some slaveowners' fears, slave preachers have often been painted by many leftist critics as collaborators. As Genovese argues, traditional African religions had a distinctly nonmessianic, nonmillenarian cast emphasizing community and fidelity to tradition as a means of fulfillment and promoted a long view on immediate issues of social justice. Time is cyclical in the African view, Genovese states, which encouraged slave clergy to preach an eventual reversal of fortune, to carry a gospel that, with time, the last shall be first and the first shall be last. Imbued with African sensibility, these preachers constructed a universe that was morally self-correcting, one in which justice would be restored and imbalances of power reversed over time's vast stretches.

Rather than being accommodationists, in Genovese's view slave preachers were hard realists, recognizing the vastly unequal power relations between the African American and white communities. They responded accordingly, providing the slave community with psychological defenses against slavery's assault while bearing in mind the African long view that justice awaits the virtuous and that time, inevitably, is on the African American community's side. What has been typically interpreted by leftists as accommodation has not been a lapse into passivity but a strategy for survival.

— Michael Phillips

See also: Chavis, John; Prosser, Gabriel; Turner, Nat; Vesey, Denmark.

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PRIGG V. PENNSYLVANIA (1842)

Perhaps the most famous fugitive slave case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court before the Civil War, *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* [41 U.S. 539 (1842)] concluded that the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was constitutional and that states could not tack on additional requirements to hinder people who captured runaway slaves. An 1826 Pennsylvania statute (one of many such state laws, usually called personal liberty laws) required that slave catchers obtain a "certificate of removal" before they could take fugitives back to the South and a life of slavery.

One slave catcher, Edward Prigg, requested a certificate of removal from a Pennsylvania official for a fugitive slave, Margaret Morgan, and several of her children, one of whom was born in Pennsylvania and thus considered free by state law. After his request was refused, Prigg took Morgan and her children from Pennsylvania back to slavery in Maryland. Prigg was indicted in Pennsylvania for kidnapping and was convicted; he appealed his conviction to the U.S. Supreme Court.

At issue was whether states had the ability to pass laws that might interfere or burden the performance of existing federal laws. Justice Joseph Story, in the majority opinion, wrote that any state law that impeded the Fugitive Slave Act was unconstitutional, and thus Pennsylvania's personal liberty law was null and void. He added that the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was thoroughly constitutional and that any slaveowner or slave catcher could enforce it privately, if recapturing the fugitive could be accomplished without breaking the law. If they complied with the federal Fugitive Slave Act, professional slave catchers could operate freely in the North, without having to notify state or local officials about their actions.

In the opinion's stunning conclusion, Story wrote that state judges and all state officials should enforce the federal Fugitive Slave Act, but that the national government could not require them to do so. Many southerners objected to this caveat to *Prigg's* opinion, since virtually no northern officials would willingly volunteer to help slave catchers in their work, and without their assistance, it might be extremely difficult to recapture runaway slaves.

Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote a concurring opinion in *Prigg*, in which he took issue with Story's conclusion. Taney believed that, with this exception in place, slave recapture would become a dead letter, since only federal officials would enforce the Fugitive Slave Act and assist slave catchers in returning runaways to the South. Taney was correct, as many north-

ern state judges began to refuse hearing fugitive slave cases, and state assemblies passed laws barring the use of state facilities (like jails) in the process of slave recapture.

Prigg v. Pennsylvania and *Jones v. Van Zandt* (1847), another fugitive slave case, set the stage for rewriting the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act as part of the Compromise of 1850, which included a much harsher series of penalties for harboring or assisting runaway slaves. These cases, and related slavery cases like *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), significantly heightened sectional tensions in the decades preceding the Civil War.

— Sally E. Hadden

See also: *Ableman v. Booth*; Abolitionism in the United States; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *Jones v. Van Zandt*; Taney, Roger B.; United States Constitution.

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PROSLAVERY ARGUMENT

The proslavery argument in the United States was a philosophical rationale for slavery as the core component of the antebellum southern culture and worldview. Defense of slavery began in the colonial period, when it became a wholly southern ideology espoused by the best theological, political, and scientific thinkers of the time.

Religion led the way, and one historian believes that the Bible was an indispensable tool of the "proslavery mainstream" since, like manifest destiny, proslavery theory was based in Scripture. Slaveholders noted that Jesus had not specifically prohibited slaveholding and that, in the Old Testament, Noah's descendants through Canaan had been "cursed" to labor as slaves. When all else failed, Christianity was presented as a "civilizing" influence for Africans.

Slavery was also seen as a practical method of con-

trolling the population and maintaining social order. Blacks were viewed as inherently disruptive, imposing pagan ways and sexual license upon an otherwise orderly society. Although slaves consistently resisted their enslavement, this resistance occasionally took the form of violent insurrection against the slave regime. The three most well-known such insurrections were the 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina, the 1822 Denmark Vesey revolt in South Carolina, and the 1831 insurrection led by Nat Turner in Virginia. In the wake of these revolts, laws were implemented requiring even more stringent restrictions on the activities of black slaves, as well as free blacks and mulattoes. These laws, generally known as black codes, included limitations on or outright prohibition of black slave preachers, restrictions on gatherings of blacks, prohibition of black slave literacy, and surveillance or prohibition of slaves engaging in activities with free blacks.

After the 1831 Nat Turner insurrection, white attitudes toward blacks, free and slave, hardened. Thomas Roderick Dew published the *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832* (1832), a debate over whether to abolish slavery because of the Turner rebellion, which had served to reinforce proslavery sentiment. Dew concluded that large-scale emancipation was impractical, echoing the Founding Fathers' doubts that blacks could fit into society in the United States.

The most forceful argument in the southern defense of slavery was based on the assumption of white superiority. Medical arguments by Dr. Samuel Cartwright, who worked in the field of ethnology, were presented as proof of black inferiority. Similarly, the physician Josiah Nott contributed comparisons of cranial capacity to buttress physiological arguments supporting the theory of the superior intelligence of whites. However, suggestions that blacks actually represented a separate species from whites were generally viewed with skepticism because they clashed with the Christian doctrine of the creation.

Finally, retaining slavery was portrayed as an economically sound policy, an argument that was tied to the individual's right to private property. Accordingly, southern slavery was declared to be both more efficient and more humane than free labor in the industrial North. Apologist George Fitzhugh echoed those sentiments, arguing that expanding slavery to include white slaves was a logical extension of the patriarchal family model wherein white children and wives were subservient to the husband and father.

One of the critical elements of southern politics was the position of race-based slavery in their society, especially of the right to establish and maintain internal systems without outside interference. Political arguments

favoring slavery also had a racial component, attempting to convince slaveless whites that the presence of black slaves ensured white equality. Indeed, rather than thinking that white liberty founded on black slavery was a “paradox,” white southern politicians pointed to black slavery as indispensable to white liberty.

Occasional opposition to slavery from within the South, such as Hinton Rowan Helper’s pamphlet *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857), recognized that slavery was a drain on the southern economy rather than a boost to it. However, slaveholders insisted that because their slaves freed them from being encumbered by the mundane details of daily life, they were able to elevate their community.

And indeed, southern politics was dominated by slaveholders until the Civil War. James Henry Hammond, for example, ardently defended the necessity of a “mudsill” class of black slaves for the achievement of political and cultural greatness. In 1857, as a freshman congressman from South Carolina, Hammond defended slavery as a “positive good” requiring defense to the point of civil war. Such politicians and writers eventually defended slavery in secession conventions, as not merely a component part of southern culture, but rather, as the vice president of the Confederate States of America, Alexander Stephens, described it, “the cornerstone of the Confederacy” (Oakes, 1982).

For some historians, the development of the proslavery ideology was perhaps evidence of antebellum guilt over slavery, although it is more likely that these writings were meant for southerners’ own edification, not to persuade northern abolitionists of the rightness of their views. Feminist analyses have variously speculated on an identity or sympathy of attitude between white slaveholding women and black slave women, although recent scholarship shows that white slaveholding women, by their attitudes and actions, contributed to the hegemony of the slave regime. Scholars of American literature perceive the energy exerted by antebellum southern writers and intellectuals as leading to the paucity of important literary contributions by southerners during a period of marked literary production in New England.

— Dale Edwyna Smith

See also: Dew, Thomas R.; Fitzhugh, George; Hammond, James H.; Helper, Hinton Rowan; Nott, Josiah Clark.

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GABRIEL PROSSER (1776–1800)

Gabriel Prosser (also referred to as Prosser’s Gabriel), a slave, a highly skilled blacksmith, and a literate black, was born in 1776 when the United States was fighting to rid itself of British hegemony. The historical event that historians refer to as Gabriel’s plot or rebellion was an abortive slave revolt in half a dozen counties of Virginia, and it was organized against the backdrop of the changing circumstances in the Revolutionary era in America. The rhetoric that all men were created equal and have certain natural and inalienable rights, including “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” unfortunately did not apply to slaves. Although the American War of Independence did not lead to freedom for blacks, it gave the slaves a lasting impression of the importance of liberty and freedom. Some slaves used the war to escape as runaways, and all slaves took to heart the lesson that the possibility of freedom existed. One of the regions in which this hope was played out was postwar Virginia.

In 1800 Richmond, Virginia, was inhabited by about fifty-seven hundred people, and about half were slaves and free blacks. As a growing port city, Richmond had a thriving merchant class that benefited from the new wealth, of which slave labor contributed a substantial amount. One condition that prepared a fertile ground for the slaves to revolt was the collapse of control over slaves in Virginia, and more importantly, in the city of Richmond. Economic and social changes occurring in the post-Revolutionary War era were also significant.

The major economic development of the period was the production of such crops as wheat, hemp, flax, and cotton and the introduction of small-scale local manufacturing industries. These industries relied on skilled slave labor to effect the changes and chart new directions for the economy. In addition to economic changes, a new evangelical movement (the First Great

Awakening, 1720–1770) challenged both the religious and the social order in Virginia—the Baptists and the Methodists were especially motivated by this new evangelism. This new wave of Christianity emphasized an unusual fellowship between the preachers, the congregation, and the slaves. The humanity of the slaves was recognized, and they were accepted as equals in the sight of God. Emancipation and freedom became the slaves' creed.

It was in this climate that Gabriel and his co-conspirators planned the destruction of Richmond in 1800. Gabriel belonged to the Prosser plantation of Brookfield, which was about 6 miles north of Richmond. The plantation was owned by Thomas Prosser, who owned fifty-three slaves, including Gabriel, his parents, and two of his brothers, Martin and Solomon. Prosser and his wife, Ann, had two children, Elizabeth and Thomas Henry, the latter born on November 5, 1776. Since Thomas Henry and Gabriel were born the same year; and because they grew in the same plantation, they were said to have been playmates in their childhood. In spite of the close companionship, their fortunes were quite different because of the accident of their birth—one a slave and the other a freeborn. It has also been speculated that Gabriel in his early years might have been taught to read either by Thomas Henry or by Ann Prosser. Whoever did so gave Gabriel a head start over most slaves of his time and age. As Gabriel grew older, the class differences between him and Thomas Henry became more apparent, and while Thomas Henry was being trained by his father to take over as the master of the plantation, Gabriel and his brother were learning a trade, blacksmithing.

Owing to his size, courage, and intellect, Gabriel was respected by both whites and blacks. He was never afraid to fight back if he felt he was wronged—for example, in 1799 it was reported that he bit off the left ear of one Absalom Johnson in an argument over a stolen hog. For this action, Gabriel spent a month in jail. In order to avoid any possible confrontation with Gabriel, his master, Thomas Prosser, was said to have granted him considerable freedom and autonomy. For instance, Prosser never subjected Gabriel's wife, Nanny, to abuse as he might have done. Following the death of Thomas Prosser on October 7, 1798, the leadership of Prosser's plantation passed to Thomas Henry who was then twenty-two. Having inherited the plantation, Thomas Henry was determined not only to keep it solvent but also to increase its profit margins.

In order to secure productivity from his slaves, it is said that the young Prosser was harsh to them. More importantly, he adopted the strategy of hiring out surplus slaves to people who needed their services. The

slaves worked either in farms or as house help or craftsmen in urban centers. This highly profitable practice of hiring out slaves without doubt freed the bondsmen from the control of their masters. Consequently, Gabriel and such other insurrectionists as Martin, Solomon, Jack Ditcher (also called Jack Bowler), Sam Byrd, Jr., and George Smith, took advantage of the relaxed control to plot their insurrection. Douglas Egerton argues that in addition to the practice of hiring out slaves, the cash they earned “conferred a degree of psychological and social independence on the wage-earning bondsman” (Egerton, 1993). In the process of being hired, slaves like Gabriel were either underpaid or cheated by wicked employers. This injustice violated Gabriel's and others' sense of justice and fair play, and they felt the unscrupulous employers had to be taught a lesson. Also subjected to harsh economic and social discrimination were free blacks and poor unskilled whites, and in time, slaves formed an alliance with them to challenge the status quo.

Gabriel and his fellow accomplices chose 1800 to strike back. The year was unique in many ways—it was the year Nat Turner and John Brown were born and the year Denmark Vesey bought his freedom. The plot began early in the spring of 1800. Initially, the leadership of the plot was uncertain. A number of sources have pointed out that in spite of Gabriel's early involvement with the conspiracy, it was not his brainchild and he first heard of the scheme from fellow conspirator Jack Ditcher. The twenty-four-year-old Gabriel, however, emerged as the leader of the group, and Gerald Mullin contends that “more than any other organizer he sensed the narcotic and self-justifying effects of revolutionary rhetoric and organization. Because he was able to make decisions, delegate responsibilities, and pursue routine tasks to their completion in order to avert the strong possibility of disaster, the rebellion came to be his. And it bore his own quietly methodical, businesslike character” (Mullin, 1972). Although Gabriel may have been a methodical, businesslike, and skillful leader, it is debatable if he really averted “the strong possibility of disaster” as Mullin claims. From what we know, the plot was nipped in the bud.

The level of success the conspiracy achieved depended on the recruitment strategy and effort. The main recruiters were Gabriel, Jack Ditcher, George Smith, Sam Byrd, Jr., and Ben Woolfolk, and they employed various strategies and locations to recruit potential participants. The enlistment of a slave was for the most part based on the litmus test, “Was he willing to fight the white people for his freedom?” More often than not, the leaders of the plot found slaves who in addition to hating whites were willing to kill to secure

their freedom. The goal of the plot was a coup that would result in an insurrection. The number of insurrectionists was estimated at about one thousand, and this was the core of the group that was expected to launch the attack on Richmond and subsequently count on the support of slaves, free blacks, and lower-class whites in the region. The conspirators believed that the capture of Richmond would result in the end of slavery in Virginia and “subdue the whole country where slavery was permitted” (Dillon, 1990). In carrying out their plan, Gabriel cautioned his co-conspirators not to hurt the Quakers, Methodists, and French people. Nonetheless, they planned to enter Richmond carrying a flag with the inscription “Death or liberty.”

The insurrectionists had planned to strike at midnight on August 30, 1800, but a violent storm at about noon that day led them to postpone the rebellion until the following night. Meanwhile, two slaves had broken their oath of secrecy, and Virginia state authorities, led by Governor James Monroe, acted swiftly by calling out about six hundred troops. The slaves were subsequently arrested, tried, and executed. Gabriel was arrested in late September 1800 while trying to escape in the schooner *Mary*. Governor Monroe tried to interview Gabriel as to his motives but to no avail. Gabriel along with others was executed on October 7, 1800. Although Gabriel and his co-conspirators failed to achieve their ultimate goal of ending slavery, they undoubtedly drew attention to the plight of the slaves. More important, they made it clear that slaves were anything but docile.

— Onaiwu W. Ogbomo

See also: Turner, Nat; Vesey, Denmark.

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PROVISION GROUNDS

Beyond the initial expenditure associated with the purchase of a slave, the only other financial burdens that

slaveowners experienced during the slave's lifetime were maintenance costs—provision of food, shelter, and clothing sufficient to keep the laborer alive and productive. In an agricultural economy in which profitability varied owing to fluctuating commodity prices and the fickle nature of weather patterns, slaveowners always tried to keep their overhead costs of maintaining their plantations and farms at the lowest possible level in order to maximize profits. The costs of slave maintenance were thus marginalized to the point where the slaves themselves were expected to grow a significant portion of their own food. Slave gardens—or provision grounds—became an integral part of the plantation system that helped to sustain the lives of slaves, and on occasion, provide a limited source of revenue that might be used for purchasing one's own freedom.

It was common on many plantations to have small plots of land set aside for the specific use of slaves as their own personal provision grounds. Sometimes these garden plots might be located near the slave quarters, but more often they were located on some of the less productive low-lying marginal lands that were not deemed suitable for the particular monoculture staple that was cultivated on the estate. Other plots were provided in wooded or hilly areas of the estate that were unsuited for large-scale agricultural activity. Slaves were permitted to farm their own provision grounds only during their spare time, so the slaves often worked these gardens on Sundays and holidays or in scarce moments near dawn or at dusk. The former slave Charles Ball acknowledged that “there were about thirty of these patches, cleared in the woods, and fenced—some with rails, and others with brush—the property of the various families” on a Georgia plantation where he had labored (Ball, 1836).

The primary function of the provision ground was to grow enough produce to supplement the slave's diet or provide a sustainable alternative to standard plantation fare. The slave gardens usually included corn, okra, beans, squash, sweet potatoes, onions, and various types of “greens” (mustard, collards, and turnip). Aside from the beans that were grown, there was very little to add protein to the slave's diet, and the foodstuffs grown in the provision grounds were heavy in carbohydrates and limited in dietary fiber. It was the rare slave who regularly attained the 2,000 calorie per day minimum regimen deemed necessary to prevent malnourishment and sustain one's health. The limited diet of the slave and the absence of medicine and healthcare made slavery even more brutal.

One of the most unique aspects of the provision ground was the understanding that a slave owned the produce that was grown in the garden—it became the property of the slave. The slaveowner determined what the slave might do with the excess produce. In some circumstances, such excess produce could be sold in the local community or at Sunday “market days,” and the slave who grew the produce could reap all or part of the revenues earned from such sales. As a result, on some plantations and farms there were industrious slaves who were able to accumulate some wealth that was often used to purchase their own freedom and effect self emancipation.

One additional benefit provided by the provision grounds was the sense of autonomy they gave the slave. As they tended to their garden plots in wooded areas or hilly ground, the slaves could evade the watchful eyes of owners and overseers and gain some very welcome solitude. This sense of limited independence, coupled with the understanding that their labors were serving their own and their kin’s well-being, made their time in the garden especially meaningful.

The slave gardens and the supplemental foodstuffs they produced figure prominently in many of the slave narratives collected during the 1930s. Katie Brown, who grew up as a slave on Georgia’s Sapelo Island, recalled the central place that provision grounds played in the life of the slave. “Oh yes, de slaves had dey own garden dat de work at night en especially moonlight nights coarse de had to work in de fields all day till sundown. Mamma had a big garden en plant collards en everything like dat you want to eat” (Georgia, 1940). In a world of slavery where practically all aspects of one’s life was proscribed, the provision grounds of the slaves nourished both body and soul.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

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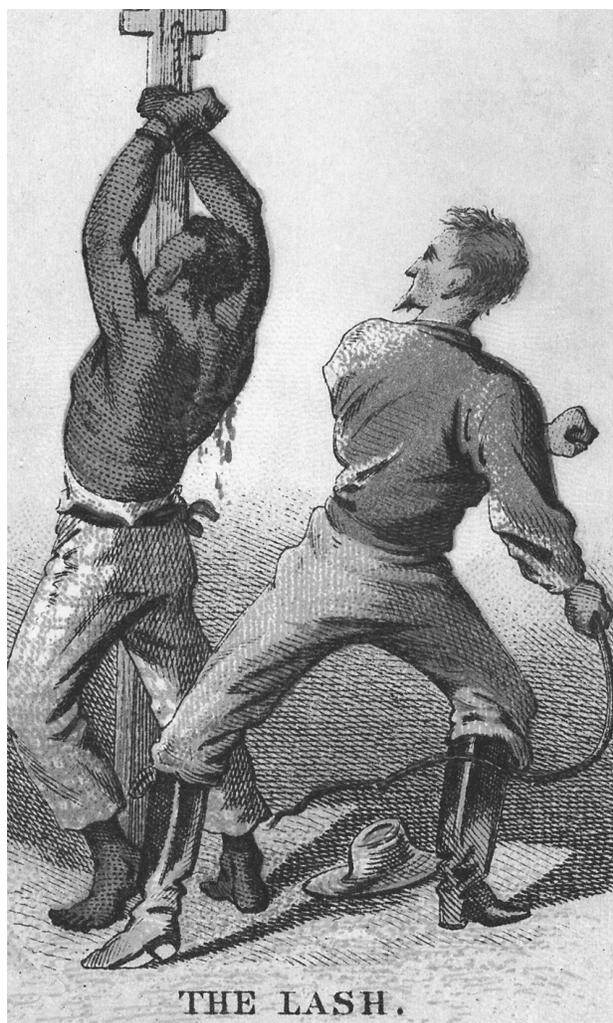
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PUNISHMENT

The study of slavery is incomplete unless one considers the consequences slaves suffered while yearning to be free. The European form of slavery differed from other world slavery systems in that the master had absolute property rights and the slaves had little protection by law. In addition, slaves’ marriages were not recognized as legally binding, and slaves were typically viewed as tools. In contrast, slaves in Africa were considered to be members of their master’s family and were workers with rights. Slavery under Islam was also quite different from European slavery: Muslims were bound by a religious code of treatment for slaves as ordered by the Qur’an.

Since the role of slaves in the Western world was clearly demarcated by the master’s successful ability to strip them of their active, collective, and individual personalities by treating and thinking of them as less than human, the punishment of slaves evolved into a significant part of the institution. The psychological benefits to the master class included the maintenance of the system as well as lucrative profits generated by free labor. However, such psychological and physical oppression could neither be implemented nor maintained without the use of brute force, mob violence, and punishment. The basic historical picture of the punishment of slaves has focused on the lash. The practice of punishing slaves seemed to have little relationship to the crime; rather, it had more to do with the master’s desire to maintain control and instill fear.

Extending the boundaries of the European world-view to the colonies through the transatlantic slave trade led to the conception of Africans as distinctly inferior creatures, and because of this belief, Africans and other indigenous populations were treated like chattel in the New World. Workhouse irons and brands were commonly applied, as were laws that reinforced the inferiority of slaves and justified cruel and unusual punishment for minor offenses. For example, slaves were not allowed to leave their master’s property without passes and could not meet in large groups, carry weapons, or strike a white person. At the same time, however, masters were free to impart punishment whenever and however it was deemed necessary without legal prosecution. In areas where large numbers of slaves were concentrated, white men were required to form patrols. Slaves were also punished for playing with white children, running away, being disobedient, and committing crimes against the Sabbath, such as selling liquor on Sunday. A common punishment for slaves who had attained reading or writing skills was amputation—slave narratives indicate that the removal



Public floggings were used to degrade, discipline, and deter slaves from engaging in activities that masters perceived as disruptive to the public good. (Library of Congress)

of a finger from the joint was considered a warning for stealing a book and that beheading was punishment for a repeat offense. Slaves could also be punished by death if they attempted to harm others. However, the basic punishment for most offenses was based on Hebrew law and required a whipping of approximately thirty-nine lashes.

In one case that occurred in 1640 in Virginia, three slaves (one white) were punished for running away. The white man had the terms of his labor extended for four years, but one of the Africans, one John Punch, was sentenced to work for his master for the remainder of his life. In Richmond, Virginia, a slave could receive nearly forty lashes for stealing a pair of boots, and there are countless accounts of burning

slaves on selected parts of the anatomy as well. After the New York rebellions in 1741, slaves were denied legal counsel, and the authorities expressed regret that nothing more extreme was available than hanging or burning Africans at the stake: eighteen were hanged and thirteen burned alive at the stake. After the 1800 Virginia slave conspiracy, said to have been organized by one Gabriel Prosser, at least twenty-five slaves were ordered to death by the courts of Virginia. Outside of particular punishment of slaves, history is ripe with accounts of random murder. The twentieth-century historian Gilberto de Mello Freyre often reported rampant murders of African slaves by colonialists in Brazil.

The historical records are also replete with evidence regarding the psychological aspect of the punishment of slaves. As mentioned, whites recognized neither fatherhood nor marriage among the slaves because such recognition would impinge on the concept of property rights. Slave narratives are replete with descriptive punishments for slaves. One woman recalled a slave boy who killed his master was given a swift trial by six white men who, upon his confession, took an ax and cut off his head. Another tells of whites taking slaves to a bridge in South Carolina, lining the slaves up, and shooting them off of the bridge. Still another makes reference to her mother being punished by fifty lashes when she refused to obey her white master.

Punishment of slaves in the New World by their masters was generally brutal and inhumane and served primarily to help uphold the institution of slavery and all the economic benefits it entailed to the planter class. Punishment was implemented for a range of so-called crimes to facilitate the slaveowners' ability to hold other men and women in perpetual bondage.

— Torrance T. Stephens

See also: Mutilation; Narratives; Slave Patrols.

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NUTRITION. *See* Diet.



QUADROONS

Quadroons were mixed-race individuals who were recognized as having one-fourth African American ancestry. Still recognized as being black by the law and custom of the antebellum South, some quadroons were slaves, but many were manumitted and became recognized as free persons of color. There were some quadroons who either inherited slaves or purchased them outright, thus creating the paradox of the black slaveowner.

Perhaps one of the most horrid aspects of slavery in the United States was the sexual exploitation of slave women, which occurred all too frequently. There was a certain hypocrisy to southern moralists who preached about the dangers of racial "amalgamation" but cast a blind eye to interracial dalliances, self-defined as the crime of miscegenation, which transpired in communities throughout the slaveholding South. The mixed-race offspring that resulted from these encounters often found their situations circumscribed by white society's fear of otherness, but some of these individuals did manage to achieve a level of social prominence and economic affluence within a world that deemed one's skin color as a sign of merit and worth.

The vast majority of interracial births involved children who were born to slave mothers. The paternity in such cases often involved a white person who was in a position of power—often an owner, an owner's son or relative, or an overseer. Slave codes throughout the antebellum South always deemed that the status of the child followed that of the mother, so unless special provisions were made to emancipate the child through manumission, such children were relegated to begin their lives as slaves. The birth of mixed-race children to white women was rare in the slaveholding South as law

codes defined such an encounter as the rape of a white woman and the slave or free black male guilty of the offence would be punished with death.

Slave women found no sympathy from white women—be they plantation mistresses or their daughters—who usually remained silent, though obviously aware, as the exploitation of black women persisted. White women often felt powerless and marginalized in a patriarchal society, and they often took out their frustrations on the slave women who were themselves victimized by the patriarchal tyranny of the plantation South. As a result of this deflected angst, black women were perceived as being lustful and lascivious, therefore inviting their own exploitation. In a slaveholding society where everything seemed to be turned around, lust was viewed with greater horror than the crime of rape. In some slave codes, black women were required to wear kerchiefs or turbans on their head to make them less attractive.

In the race-conscious antebellum South, and in the generations that followed the Civil War and Reconstruction, the extent of one's blackness was perceived as a statistic that was worthy of note. Until the civil rights era of the 1960s, many southern states continued to carry laws that defined a person as black if one-sixty-fourth or greater of their ancestry was black. Not surprisingly, there were no comparable statutes to define what was meant by whiteness. Under such a system, a black ancestor seven generations removed could still transmit the "stain" of blackness upon a descendant.

The quadroon was often the subject of literary interest in the nineteenth century. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow reflected the moral double standard that existed in the South when he wrote the poem "The Quadroon Girl":

*His heart within him was at strife
With such accursed gains:
For he knew whose passions gave her life,
Whose blood ran in her veins.*

A rudimentary typography developed in society—something akin to a caste system—to identify individuals of mixed-race parentage based on the relative percentage of blackness they carried. According to this system, a mulatto was a child born to a black and a white parent who thus carried 50 percent black (or African) ancestry. A quadroon was a child who had one black grandparent and was thus 25 percent black. Similarly, an octoroon was a child who had one black great-grandparent and was thus 12.5 percent black. These individuals, along with countless other permutations of

ancestry, formed a mixed-race population whose membership represented a vast range of skin color.

During the Reconstruction era, many African Americans of mixed-ancestry rose to positions of prominence in social and political circles. Booker T. Washington, a mulatto, became the preeminent spokesperson for African Americans in the late nineteenth century. Many of the black men who were elected to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, along with many other statewide offices, were persons of mixed-race origin. Not surprisingly, in D.W. Griffith's stereotypical-racist film *Birth of a Nation* (1915), a light-skinned mulatto named Silas Lynch is portrayed as a power-hungry villain who seeks political power in South Carolina.

In Spanish colonial America, an individual could purchase a legal document, the *Cédula de Gracias al Sacar*—a “certificate of whiteness”—that allowed one to pass from one race to another. Although such legal tools did not exist in the United States, there was a de facto system of passing that occurred on a regular basis when one's skin color became light enough that they could identify themselves as being white. Many African Americans of mixed-ancestry, notably author Jean Toomer, have struggled with the moral dilemma of whether to pass themselves as white or to affirm their African heritage.

New Orleans, Louisiana, and Charleston, South Carolina, were two urban centers of the antebellum era that contained large mixed-race populations. Among some members of these communities, the status of mixed-ancestry was viewed as one of racial uniqueness, and certain social and fraternal organizations developed exclusively for those whose skin color was light enough to qualify for admission. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some social organizations for mixed-race persons limited their membership to those whose skin color was lighter than the color of a standard paper grocery sack. In New Orleans the quadroon balls that were held regularly became important and fashionable events in the social and cultural scene where white men gathered to meet the acquaintance of light-skinned quadroon women.

Like mulattoes, octoroons, and other mixed-race individuals, quadroons fashioned a strong cultural bond in their sense of otherness because they never felt themselves totally welcomed within either white or black society. Much of this sense of racial exclusivity persisted many generations beyond the days of antebellum slavery.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Black Slaveowners; Mulattoes; Octoroons; Passing.

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QUAKERS

The Society of Friends (Quakers) has played a fundamental role in the history of American slavery and its abolition. From the society's founding in Great Britain in the 1650s, Friends promoted a spiritualistic and rigorous Christianity. Quakers faced persecution for rejecting both the established church and contemporary class and sexual distinctions. This radicalism led to a questioning attitude toward slavery, as is seen as early as 1657 when their earliest leader, George Fox, advised Friends with slaves to convert them and treat them as brothers. On a visit to Barbados in 1671 Fox controversially preached to slaves, and later he suggested that Quakers should limit the service of slaves to thirty years and give them compensation. Fox's companion, William Edmondson, went further in a 1676 tract stating that Christian freedom could not coexist alongside physical slavery and justified slave rebellion. However, as Quakers sought religious and political freedom by creating settlements in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, they also discovered that their work ethic and links with trustworthy West Indian and English brethren gave them economic advantages in the transatlantic trade. American Quaker merchants found that the West Indies was a natural market for their products, and this led on to transshipment of sugar and direct participation in the slave trade. Eventually Newport, Rhode Island, would become America's largest slave-trading port. By the eighteenth century, these wealthy Quaker merchants, who were by nature proslavery, formed part of an increasingly secularized elite, while ordinary Quakers tended to become more quietistic and conservative.

Nevertheless, the Germantown Protest in Philadelphia in 1688 is one example of how slavery remained problematic for some Quakers. From 1711 onward, the

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting faced continuing controversy over slavery, mainly from Quaker farmers, but a conservative majority ensured that it went no further than advising members not to participate in the slave trade. The next two decades saw similar debates among other American Quakers and the publication of Quaker antislavery tracts, with radicals like John Farmer and Benjamin Lay being disowned for causing dissension.

Thus by the 1740s Quaker testimony against slavery was well defined, but it was only through the work of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet that it actually became widely accepted within the society. By 1755 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting ordered that Friends who traded in slaves should be officially admonished, a step followed elsewhere. This development corresponded with a reforming drive among Friends to abandon the worldly values that their gains in political and economic power had brought. For the first time Quaker influence now made abolition a real political issue in America, leading to the first legislative attempts to outlaw the slave trade in the 1760s. By 1776 the Philadelphia Meeting ruled that Friends should free their slaves and provide them compensation, or risk dismissal; this was a groundbreaking decision, once again setting a trend to be followed even by southern Quakers. It was Quaker pressure in 1780 that led the state of Pennsylvania to declare slavery to be illegal. Furthermore, it was the prompting of American Quakers that encouraged the London Meeting to move to active abolitionism. So despite their small numbers, the Quakers provided an essential transatlantic nucleus of leadership and financial backing for the fledgling abolitionists. The long tradition of Quaker female activism and separate women's meetings also meant that it was among Quakers that female abolition found its beginnings and many of its greatest figures.

After the slave trade was banned in 1808 American Quakers became ever more withdrawn and sectarian in feeling; they disliked public controversy and, in addition, were distracted by the Hicksite theological schism in the 1820s. Thus abolitionist Friends generally followed a gradualist position advocating peaceful lobbying, publishing campaigns, boycotts of slave produce, plans for educating freed slaves, and colonizing them in Africa; or more radically being prominent in the sanctuary offered by the Underground Railroad. The Quakers' commitment to gradualism meant that the society in the North and South remained united and it seemed to help their lobbying against the Fugitive Slave Law, but it meant that they forfeited the leadership role they had before 1808. In Britain after 1807 where abolition was less contentious, Quakerism

was more radical; abolition was vital to the triumph of British abolition in 1833. The British Quakers example and influence inspired some American Friends like Arnold Buffum and John Greenleaf Whittier to support the immediatist American Anti-Slavery Society. To most American Quakers, immediatism seemed divisive and un-Christian. Some local meetings prohibited Friends from joining the society. As a result of the disputes aroused by immediatism. Friends like the Grimké sisters left or were expelled; the culmination of this internal unrest came in 1842 in a local schism, with Charles Osborn forming the Indiana Anti-Slavery Friends. With the approach of the Civil War most Friends, no matter how committed they were to abolition, remained true to their pacifist principles and refused to support it. Involvement in Reconstruction after the war was more suited to Quaker ideals, and so they were conspicuous in philanthropic attempts to help and educate ex-slaves and to transform the South. Friends have continued to be leaders in campaigns against slavery and forced labor throughout the world right up to the present day.

— *Gwilym Games*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Coffin, Levi; Grimké, Angelina; Grimké, Sarah Moore; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Woolman, John.

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JOHN A. QUITMAN (1798–1858)

A staunch defender of slavery and states' rights, Mississippian John A. Quitman was a southern nationalist in

the pivotal secession era. Quitman was born near Kingston in Rhinebeck, New York, to a Lutheran minister; he was one of eight children. He graduated from Harwick Seminary in 1816, studied law, and in 1821 was admitted to the Ohio bar. He taught briefly in Pennsylvania but began a legal practice in Natchez, Mississippi, in 1821.

Quitman was a large landowner with several plantations and hundreds of slaves. Although it is difficult to determine just how many slaves he held at any one time, records indicate that his largest plantation at Palmyra included 311 slaves (1848). At Monmouth, his base of operations, he had primarily house servants, but on smaller holdings, Quitman's slaves numbered thirty-nine, forty-five, and eighty-five at various times.

From 1821 to 1858 Quitman was a significant figure in Mississippi politics as a representative, senator, governor, and, from 1855 to 1858, as a U.S. congressman. During his years of leadership in state politics, he became associated with the nullification movement, was a protégé of John C. Calhoun, and became the most recognized figure in antebellum Mississippi.

When Calhoun and South Carolina advocated nullification of the 1828 and 1832 tariffs, Henry Clay pushed a compromise through Congress to lower tariff rates over a ten-year period. South Carolina reacted by repealing its tariff nullification. In Mississippi, Quitman nevertheless encouraged support for the principle of nullification and formation of a states' rights party, which culminated in a May 1834 nullification convention in Jackson, Mississippi.

Quitman envisioned himself as a military man. He led an expedition in 1836 to support Texas independence and, although the unit saw no combat, the effort enabled Quitman to pursue his military interests. During the Mexican War (1846–1848), Quitman was commissioned a brigadier-general under General Zachary Taylor. Active at Monterey, Mexico (September 1846), Quitman's troops were the first to enter Mexico City after its surrender (November 1846). Commanding General Winfield Scott appointed the Mississippian military governor of the city, and Quitman became a major-general in April 1847.

Quitman was considered for the presidential nomination at the Democratic Convention in 1848 in Baltimore but was elected governor of Mississippi in 1849 instead. Inaugurated in January 1850, Quitman had a brief and, at best, a stormy term in office. The governor opposed the Compromise of 1850 and called a state legislative session to protest Henry Clay's latest compromise measures, thus reaffirming his role as leader of Mississippi's proslavery forces.

After becoming a co-conspirator with Cuban fili-

bustering leader Narciso Lopez, Quitman was indicted by a New Orleans grand jury for violating neutrality laws. He resigned the governor's office in February 1851, but was later acquitted. Quitman served in Congress from 1855 until he died in office on July 17, 1858.

The question remains: Was Quitman a secessionist? Evidently he did support secession (as governor in 1850) when he responded to what he deemed an attack on states' rights, but he never became an extreme southern nationalist.

— Boyd Childress

See also: Lopez, Narciso.

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JAMES THOMAS RAPIER (1837–1883)

James Thomas Rapier was a teacher, newspaperman, planter, and congressman from Alabama and one of the most prominent African American politicians in the United States during the Reconstruction era. He was born in Florence, Alabama, in 1837 to John H. and Sally Rapier, both free blacks. His father was a barber, one of the few occupations legally open to free blacks in antebellum Alabama, and a very successful businessman. He accumulated substantial property, and most of his children received an education—out of the state, for it was illegal for free blacks to be educated in Alabama. At the age of seven, James Rapier was sent to live with his slave grandmother and uncle in Nashville, Tennessee, in order to attend school there. After receiving a basic education in Nashville, Rapier spent a year working on steamboats on the Cumberland, Mississippi, and Tennessee rivers. At the age of nineteen, Rapier left the South and moved to Canada to continue his education at the Buxton School.

The Buxton School was located in Buxton, Ontario,

a prosperous black utopian community of over two thousand founded by ex-slaves in the late 1840s and home to Rapier's aunt and uncle with whom he lived. At first Rapier seemed preoccupied with acquiring material wealth through various business schemes, but following a religious conversion during a Methodist revival, he applied himself to his studies and determined to return to the South to aid enslaved blacks. Rapier left Buxton in 1860 and enrolled in a normal college in Toronto where he received a teaching certificate in 1863. After a year of teaching school in Buxton, Rapier returned to Nashville in 1864 to begin working among the newly freed blacks.

Rapier leased land for cotton planting and served as a correspondent for a northern newspaper. With the end of the Civil War, he became active in the fight for civil rights for the former slaves. The Tennessee state government's failure to enact legislation guaranteeing black equality disgusted Rapier, and in 1866 he returned to Florence, Alabama. Renting several hundred acres of rich land, Rapier quickly became one of the most prosperous cotton planters in northern Alabama, and after passage of the Congressional Reconstruction Act (1867), he actively recruited and organized black political activists in Alabama.

Rapier attended the first Republican state convention in Alabama and quickly became one of the party's most prominent leaders. In 1870 he was the first black to run for statewide office (secretary of state) in Alabama, and although he was defeated in this first bid for political office, two years later he was elected as one of Alabama's representatives to the Forty-third Congress. During his time in the U.S. House of Representatives, Rapier became known for his fights for civil rights and educational opportunities for blacks and for his efforts to improve transportation and commerce in Alabama. Rapier was defeated in his bid for reelection in 1874 and ran for Congress for the last time, unsuccessfully, in 1876.

Rapier devoted the remainder of his life to black labor organizations, encouraging blacks to migrate west; Republican Party politics; and raising cotton. In 1878 Rutherford B. Hayes appointed him as collector of internal revenue for the Second District of Alabama, a position he held for the next four years. In 1883 James Rapier died in Montgomery, Alabama, of tuberculosis. Although he was only forty-five years old at the time of his death, Rapier had lived a remarkably full life, not only as one of the South's most prominent Republican politicians, but also as a prominent symbol of African Americans' accomplishments in the mid-nineteenth century.

—James L. Sledge, III

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RICHARD REALF (1834–1878)

A poet and radical abolitionist, Richard Realf became a member of John Brown's band of insurgents that hoped to liberate slaves in the United States by invading the mountainous regions of Virginia and inciting a slave insurrection. He abandoned the mission prior to Brown's attack on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859, and after the Civil War, he became a well-known poet who often described in verse the efforts to abolish slavery in the United States.

Realf was born in Sussex County, England, into a poor peasant family. He left home at age seventeen to pursue a literary career and became a protégé of Lady Noel Byron, widow of the famous poet, George Gordon (Lord) Byron. Realf arranged through Lady Byron to settle on one of her estates in Leicestershire in order to learn estate management and cultivate his literary ambition.

But shortly after beginning his new career, he became the center of a scandalous event that underscored a central tension throughout his adult life: the romantic struggle between the "real" and the "ideal," between the worldly passions of the flesh and those of the mind and spirit. He fell in love with the eldest daughter of the estate, despite what he realized were "great [social] gulfs between us that could never be bridged." She became pregnant, and he, "desirous of finding some other place in which to dwell" and having "instincts" that "were democratic and republican," fled to the United States (Johnson, 1879).

Realf settled in New York City, worked briefly for the evangelical reformer Louis Pease at the House of Industry, and soon became a self-described "radical abolitionist"—meaning that he sought the immediate abolition of slavery and was willing to go to great lengths to effect it. He went to Kansas in 1856 to help defend the territory against slavery, and in the following year he joined John Brown's company of revolutionaries. In 1858 the group met with some expatriate African Americans in Chatham, Canada, to recruit new members and to establish a "provisional constitution" to govern areas in the southern part of the United States that Brown hoped to liberate from slavery. Realf was appointed secretary of state of Brown's provisional government.

Shortly after the Chatham meeting, however, Realf read Francis Wayland's *Limitations of Human*

Responsibility, and that work caused him to abandon his radical abolitionism. The “book taught me,” he said (Johnson, 1879), that certain ideals should never be acted upon. Instead of working to abolish the sins of the world, he now decided to escape them. In 1859, therefore, he began training to become a Jesuit priest at the Jesuit College at Spring Hill, Alabama, and the following year he joined a utopian Shaker community at Union Village, Ohio, a perfectionist and millennialist sect that required from its members, among other things, absolute celibacy and restraint from all carnal pleasures.

In 1862 Realf renewed his fight against slavery by joining the Eighty-eighth Illinois Volunteer Infantry. He continued to write highly romantic verse, fashioned after that of Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley, and some of his poems were published in *Atlantic* and *Harper's* monthlies. His efforts to abolish slavery—whether while serving with John Brown or during his service with the Union army—represented the only sustained periods in which he was able to act on his spiritual and reform ideals and reconcile the struggle between the passions of the flesh and those of the mind and spirit.

In 1865, after his discharge from the Union army, Realf married Sophia Emery Graves. But he abandoned her within months and began making plans to join John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida, New York, utopian community, a community that practiced group marriage and a sacred form of free love. “I wanted always to live in accord with the Invisible Truth,” Realf told Noyes, “and very many times it seems to me that the struggle in my nature between the beast and the seraph, the flesh and the spirit, was greater than I could bear.” He wanted to escape the “howl of the beast” in a world “so very atheistic,” and to “become alive to all righteousness” at Noyes's sacred community in Oneida (Johnson, 1879).

But Realf never made it to Oneida. He got as far as Rochester, New York, before succumbing to what he described as a “prolonged debauch” that included a bigamist marriage to a prostitute named Catherine Cassidy. He tried to abandon her as well, but she followed him wherever he went. After she caught up with him in San Francisco in 1878, Realf took a fatal dose of morphine, “as the only final relief” from her “incessant persecutions” (Johnson, 1879).

— *John Stauffer*

See also: Border War (1854–1859); Brown, John; Harpers Ferry Raid; Romanticism and Abolitionism.

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RECONSTRUCTION. See Frederick Douglass; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; George Washington Julian; Freedmen's Bureau; James Thomas Rapier.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND (1810–1873)

Charles Lenox Remond was born in Salem, Massachusetts, to John and Nancy Remond, both noted black abolitionists. His mother played a significant part in establishing the Salem Antislavery Society in the early 1830s, and in 1835 his father became a lifetime member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. John and Nancy Remond's involvement in antislavery activities greatly influenced the future direction of their son's life.

Charles began participating in the American Antislavery Society at an early age and became a staunch supporter of white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In his early years, Remond found Garrison's philosophy of nonresistance appealing, but his own abolitionist philosophy would eventually become much more radical as he came to the conclusion that white abolitionists did not fully understand the problems facing African Americans.

In 1838 Remond was hired by the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society to lecture—the first black to hold the position. For the next two years he traveled throughout New England delivering antislavery speeches and organizing new antislavery societies. In summer 1838, two new antislavery societies were established in Maine shortly after a visit from Remond.

Remond also spoke out in favor of women's involvement in antislavery activities. In most cities, women were encouraged to create their own auxiliary societies rather than just work alongside men. When women delegates were refused seating at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, where Remond was serving as one of four representatives of the American Anti-Slavery Society, he voiced his disapproval and proceeded to remove himself from the assembly. Remond's trip to London had been financed by several female antislavery societies.

Remond continued on the lecture circuit for the

next year, returning to the United States in 1841. His speeches were well received, especially in London and Ireland, but this was frequently not the case in the United States. Remond became increasingly disillusioned with Garrison's belief that voting constituted tacit support of a proslavery government operating in compliance with a proslavery constitution. In 1848 Remond cast his ballot for Free Soil candidate Stephen C. Phillips, who, if elected governor, pledged greater appropriations for the support of black schools.

By 1850 Remond was supporting a more radical approach to abolition. At a convention held in New Bedford, Massachusetts, to discuss the *Dred Scott* decision, Remond stated that he was prepared to write an address encouraging slaves to revolt. He also suggested that change in the South would likely be the result of violence. He believed that the efforts of abolitionists had been a failure because conditions for most blacks remained dismal.

During the Civil War, Remond recruited soldiers for the Union army; this was further evidence of his growing discontent and radicalism. He eventually became less involved in public life, owing to failing health that was exacerbated by the death of his second wife. Remond died in Boston in 1873.

— Beverly Bunch-Lyons

See also: Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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REPUBLICAN PARTY. See Emancipation Proclamation; Free Soil Party; Abraham Lincoln; Whig Party.

RICE CULTIVATION AND TRADE

The English established colonial outposts along the eastern seaboard of North America in the seventeenth century, seeking to accumulate great profits. Hoping to capitalize on great wealth in gold or silver as the

Spanish had done in the previous century in the Americas, many in England believed that the acquisition of the New World's fortune would be an easy task. Only after realizing that Virginia and surrounding regions were not replete with precious metals did the English settlers understand that the task of planting colonies, and of making them economically viable was a long and arduous process.

The North American colonists turned to agriculture in the hope that a "cash crop" might emerge that would make the colonial ventures profitable. Tobacco, a plant previously cultivated by the Native American inhabitants of the region, emerged as the staple crop of Virginia and the Carolinas. Farther to the south, in coastal areas of South Carolina and Georgia, planters began to cultivate indigo and rice. Of these crops, rice would emerge as the most successful and most profitable for the low country regions.

Rice cultivation was not an indigenous form of agriculture in South Carolina and Georgia, but rather, it was introduced by outsiders. Rice was not cultivated in Europe in the seventeenth century—it was a cereal grain whose cultivation was limited at the time to vast portions of southeastern Asia and two geographical regions of Africa. Rice cultivation was prevalent among the Malagasy, the indigenous people who inhabited the island of Madagascar. African peoples of the Upper Guinea coast, a region corresponding to modern-day Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, were also familiar with rice culture.

The cultivation of rice is a true Africanism, an African cultural survival that endured the harshness of the Middle Passage and managed to take root, literally, in the soil of the Americas. Africans brought rice cultivation to Brazil, to parts of the Caribbean basin, and eventually to the North American colonies of Georgia and South Carolina. The introduction of the grain was successful, bringing tremendous profits to the planter class of the low country region. Interestingly, the planters' profits were due to both the labor and the intellect of the enslaved Africans who worked the coastal plantations and farms.

It was common knowledge among coastal South Carolina and Georgia planters that the higher prices traders demanded for African slaves drawn from the Senegambia region was because these slaves possessed skills and experience in the cultivation of rice. The expertise of the Senegambian slaves was so valued that these slaves may have had some bargaining rights with their owners with respect to how their labor would be employed in the rice fields. Some historians have suggested that the "task system" may have originated in the coastal rice plantations as slaves sought to mitigate

against the more brutal labor regime associated with the “gang system” that was commonly used. The planters’ awareness of the true value of their slave property was evident as Georgia and South Carolina planters became more discriminating in their purchase of new slaves, hoping to acquire only those who had previous knowledge and experience in rice cultivation.

Rice cultivation was a demanding enterprise, and anyone who did not have a respectable level of sophistication in the task was unlikely to profit from its cultivation. There is a certain time during the growing season when the rice fields must be flooded; precision in the timing of this action is critical to the quality and quantity of the harvest. In addition, the harvesting of a rice crop in a premechanical harvesting era, coupled with the perils of operating in malarial-infested regions, made cultivation especially difficult. Having a trained labor force adept at the task made the cultivation of rice more manageable in the South Carolina and Georgia coastal plantations and farms.

The use of Senegambian slaves who were experienced with rice cultivation is one expression of the “specialization of labor” that Adam Smith would later endorse in *Wealth of Nations* (1776). The successful use of trained slaves to cultivate rice also demonstrates that white planters realized that Africans came equipped with skills that could be utilized for the better management of the plantations and farms of the low country. This type of ethnic awareness, or cultural differentiation, suggests that planters were aware of the intrinsic wealth and value of African slaves as individuals.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Georgia; Sea Islands; South Carolina.

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NORBERT RILLIEUX (1806–1894)

By making what many people consider to be the most significant technological advancement in the history of sugar refining, Norbert Rillieux, a free octoroon (a person who is one-eighth black), dramatically changed the nature of labor on nineteenth-century sugar plantations. Having been born the son of a Louisiana sugar planter, Rillieux was familiar with the refining process. Later as a student at L’Ecole Centrale in Paris, he devoted himself to the study of engineering and developed expertise in the emerging steam technology. Returning to Louisiana in 1840, he applied his knowledge of steam technology to sugar refining—gaining patents in 1843 and 1846 for variations of his multiple-effect vacuum pan evaporator.

Before Rillieux’s technological breakthrough, plantations employed a wasteful and dangerous sugar-refining system known as “the Jamaica train.” In this process, a series of large, open kettles were heated, and a line of slaves stood beside the hot steaming kettles pouring boiling sugarcane juice from one kettle to another. As the juice was passed along, it gradually became thicker and eventually crystallized. It was extremely uncomfortable work, and many slaves received disfiguring scars from the boiling juice. The process was slow, labor intensive, wasteful of fuel, and produced a poor-quality sugar.

Rillieux’s adaptation of the vacuum pan distillation process applied the latent heat in the steam to economize on fuel. Using a partial vacuum, he was able to heat a number of kettles with the steam produced by the first. In addition to the obvious fuel savings, the system produced higher-quality sugar. Initially, there was some resistance in implementing the new system. There was a significant start-up cost, and many plantation owners were concerned that their uneducated slave labor force would be unable to run the equipment. Although, in the end, most plantations had to hire a skilled laborer to maintain and oversee the operation of the machinery, the new technology was compatible with the slave system, and the enormous savings the process brought, made sugar production very profitable. Producers were able to lower prices and thus make fine-quality sugar affordable to a much larger market, which in turn drastically increased demand.

In order to feed this growing market, sugar plantations expanded, and thus the demand for slaves to grow and harvest the sugarcane increased. Although Rillieux’s technological advancement ended the unpleasant and wasteful system of the Jamaica train, it caused the sugar industry to expand and resulted in

greater economic incentives to defend the plantation economy. It serves as an interesting contradiction to the prevailing notion that technological evolution minimized the economic attractiveness of the slave economy.

As the slave system became progressively more difficult to maintain, greater restrictions were placed on all people of color, which made life in Louisiana increasingly difficult for Rillieux. Having profited significantly from his patents in the United States, Rillieux returned to France in 1854 and developed an interest in Egyptology. His interests in evaporation and sugar machinery were rekindled later in life however, and in 1881 he patented a system for heating juice with vapors in multiple effect, a system that is still used in sugar refineries today.

— *Mark Cave*

See also: Louisiana; Octoroons; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.

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ROMANTICISM AND ABOLITIONISM

More than mere coincidence accounted for the concomitant rise of romanticism and abolitionism in the United States and Europe. Romanticism placed its emphasis on the natural world and the natural rights of man, and made it possible, for the first time, to write about and dramatize the life and plight of the common man and to elevate such to the level of art.

This was an important development at a time when there was much civil unrest among the growing underclass in Europe, and it predated the Reform Act of 1832 in England as well as the enfranchisement of the propertyless in other European nations and the United States. In many ways, romantic philosophy gave rise to the democratization of Europe and of the United States, and it provided much of the foundation for huge social and political eruptions like the French and American revolutions. It is not surprising, then, that abolitionism as an organized movement got under way

at about the same time as romantic thought was sweeping Europe and the United States. In fact, the language of "natural rights" and the "rights of man"—which romanticism borrowed in part from the Enlightenment and extended—was fused with the moral rhetoric of the Bible to provide the substance of the philosophical, moral, and political positions of early abolitionist rhetoric.

Although much historical attention has been devoted to abolitionism and much literary attention has been given to British and U.S. romanticism, little has been written on the relationships between romanticism and the rise of racial politics in the nineteenth century. Such a discussion should not be limited to considerations of the appearance of traditional romantic themes and tropes in texts by black authors—for example, the "innocence" of childhood versus the "experience" of slave identity consciousness, the use of sentimentalism, the emphasis on "self-reliance," the valorizing of the meek and lowly or the "natural man." But it should also include some speculation about the rise of romanticism in light of the political upheavals surrounding the issue of slavery and the rise of a natural rights philosophy.

In other words, literary romanticism (here the rise of Nature in opposition to ordered civilization associated with the Enlightenment) is less about escaping the political realities and anxieties of civilization than it is about choosing in Nature a more uncertain, or less determined, terrain on which to work out those political anxieties. Thinkers and writers found that contemporary issues associated with civilization—most notably the French Revolution and its aftermath, rampant poverty among a growing underclass, and abolitionism—which so plagued the creative imagination were more easily worked out in the coded poetic language of Nature than in the highly charged and volatile political terms of the public debates of the day. Such cross-cultural readings offer new ways of understanding and reading romanticism as well as the romantics.

In *Romanticism and Gender* (1993), Anne Mellor poses a monumental question to romanticists and, more broadly, to students of literature. She asks her readers to reconfigure what they have traditionally known as romanticism by centering women's writings in that period instead of on works by men. We are instructed that by doing so, new dominant themes emerge and new aesthetic principles become normative. Such an inquiry, then, gets to the heart of the ways in which dominant representations of literary romanticism get established and maintained through an emphasis on male-authored texts and the suppression of female-authored texts.

Similarly, any serious consideration of romanticism's relationship to abolitionism must focus on the literary production and the concerns of blacks during the romantic period, which would inevitably include a number of slave narrative texts as they were the most common literary form among blacks. Even a cursory perusal of these texts demonstrates the extent to which romantic thought so thoroughly permeated the discourse of the abolitionists. An equally cursory glance at the canonical romantic writers demonstrates the opposite directional flow of such influences.

— *Dwight A. McBride*

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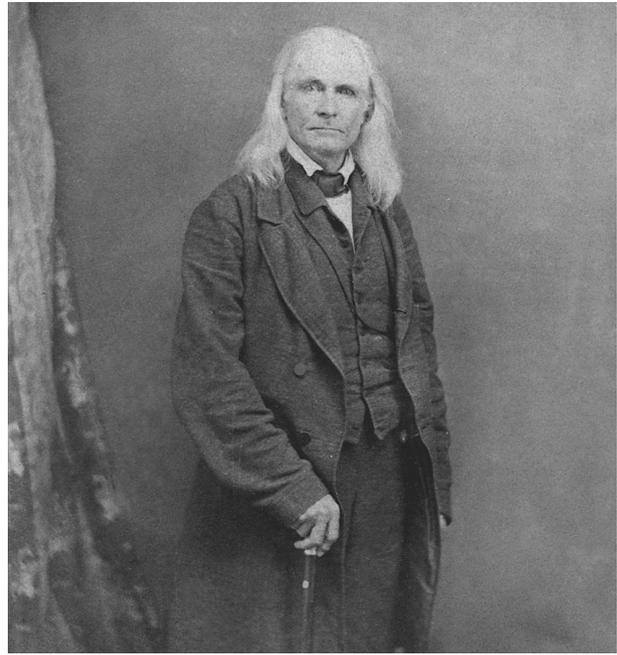
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EDMUND RUFFIN (1794–1865)

According to popular legend, the southern slaveholder Edmund Ruffin fired the first and last shots of the Civil War. In April 1861, at age sixty-seven, Ruffin was invited to ignite the cannon that fired on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. On June 18, 1865, two months after the conflict had ended, Ruffin died by suicide. Ruffin's biographer enhanced his legend, describing the final moment as Ruffin wrapped himself in a Confederate flag before firing the fatal shot. This final irony lacks veracity, but Ruffin's suicide note—that he could not live in a world under Yankee rule—is accurate.

Ruffin is one of the more intriguing figures in the antebellum South. A proslavery advocate and plantation owner and ardent southern nationalist, he applied scientific farming methods at an early time. Born in Prince George County, Virginia, in 1794, Ruffin attended the College of William and Mary, served briefly in the War of 1812, and began agricultural experiments at age twenty-five on his land along the James River. His success focused on using marl, a calcium carbonate, to enrich damaged soils and greatly heighten productivity. Ruffin documented his work in *An Essay on Calcareous Manures* (1832) and in *Farmers' Register*, an agricultural journal he edited from 1833 to 1842.



Edmund Ruffin, one of the most vocal “fire-eaters” of the proslavery South, was said to have fired the first shot against Fort Sumter. (Library of Congress)

In 1843 he moved to Virginia's Hanover County to a new estate named Marlbourne. Ruffin's outspoken stance on slavery significantly overshadowed his success and reputation as an agricultural reformer, but historians fully recognize his contributions to southern agriculture. He was a significant but not necessarily large slaveholder—at Marlbourne there was a total of forty-one slaves.

Politically, Ruffin had little experience at either the state or federal level, even though he served in the Virginia State Senate (1824–1828). In 1831 the moderate Ruffin skillfully defended a slave falsely accused in Nat Turner's revolt, but by 1850, he was increasingly agitated about constant attacks on slavery. His proslavery stance only solidified as the nation moved closer to war. Ruffin, fearful the South could never exist without slavery, was counted among the staunchest secessionists. Ruffin utilized his extensive network to spread proslavery views through conversation, and he used the written word to support disunion. Ruffin could be found wherever a favorable audience might be gathered across the South.

In appearance, Ruffin was an unmistakable character with long, flowing white hair in his later years. He wrote extensively for newspapers in Charleston and Richmond. One major article, “African Colonization Unveiled,” was serialized in *DeBow's Review* (1859–1860) and also published as a separate pamphlet. Ruffin aired

his views on secession in three other widely circulated pamphlets. A political novel, *Anticipations of the Future* (1860), pointed to the absolute necessity for secession and southern independence.

Ruffin was visible, vocal, and prolific, but his efforts probably had little impact on progress toward secession. In 1858 he and Alabamian William Lowndes Yancey formed the League of United Southerners to encourage secession, but it failed to ignite public opinion. Never one to miss an opportunity for calling attention to his cause, Ruffin joined the Virginia Military Institute Cadet Corps (December 1859) to witness John Brown's execution. He sent pikes seized from Brown's followers to southern governors for public display in order to promote secession. Finally, the excitable Ruffin joined South Carolina's Palmetto Guard to fire the first rounds aimed at Fort Sumter—the opening shots of the Civil War.

By 1861 Ruffin was not in particularly good health, and he spent the war years as a virtual exile. As his family properties were damaged and subject to raids, he finally landed at Redmoor, some 35 miles west of Richmond. As the southern cause crumbled and the inevitable became more obvious, Ruffin held steadfast to his views of southern independence. When the end came, Ruffin began preparation for suicide—a solution he had long considered.

Legend has it that just after noon on June 17, 1865, Ruffin wrapped himself in a Confederate flag and ended his own life. Although the legend is undocumented, Ruffin did pen a suicide note. Declaring his hatred for the “perfidious, malignant, and vile Yankee race,” Ruffin repudiated northern rule even to the grave but chose not to attack blacks or to mention slavery. For Ruffin, though, his proslavery views survived to the end of his life.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Fire-Eaters.

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RUNAWAY SLAVES. See Slave Patrols; Slave Catchers; 36°30' North Latitude.



SAMBO THESIS

In *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959), Stanley M. Elkins compared slavery in the South to Nazi concentration camps and concluded that the institution of slavery in the United States had resulted in the obliteration of the African American personality and the creation of a docile, malleable slave personality—the “Sambo.” Elkins’s study was motivated by what he claimed was evidence of the slaves’ disinterest in resisting the slave regime, particularly the lack of consistent slave rebellions in the United States as compared to the slave regimes of Brazil and the Caribbean.

Historian Ulrich Bonnell Phillips’s analysis of the Old South was based largely on the plantation records and journals of slaveowners, which had produced an enduring image of the southern plantation as a pastoral paradise where content and obsequious blacks worked under the close supervision of “paternalistic” whites. According to Phillips, slaveowners said a black “was what a white man made him.” Thus black slaves were envisioned and memorialized as being highly sociable, hypersexual, musical, superstitious, subordinate, lazy, amusing, affectionate, and loyal.

Elkins’s Sambo model of the slave temperament was peculiar to the United States because of the “totalitarian” nature of slavery in the antebellum South, which Elkins compared to slavery as it was institutionalized in other countries and at other times. In South America, for example, other institutions (e.g., the Catholic Church) had an almost equal impact on the lives of the slaves as did slaveowners, whereas in the United States, nothing mediated the absolute power of the slaveowner over the slave. Ultimately, Elkins found the concentration camps of twentieth-century Nazi Germany most like the closed society of the South before the Civil War, referring to the camps as a form of human slavery based on a “perverted patriarchy.”

Beginning with the transportation of prisoners to the Nazi camps in closed cattle cars, which Elkins compared to the below-decks shipboard experience of Africans on the transatlantic voyage from Africa to the Americas, absolute control over the inmates of the camps was implemented. Neither camp inmate nor American slave possessed any certainty about the

future. And, according to Elkins, both Nazi concentration camps and the institution of slavery in the U.S. South relied on strategies of terror: deliberate and in each case consistent punishments were intended to reduce the resistance of the prisoner/slave and to control his or her attitudes and behavior. Yet, according to Elkins, an “adjustment” to conditions was ultimately obtained, and a kind of status quo ensued.

Relying heavily on the work of the psychologist Bruno Bettelheim, Elkins proposed his own analysis of the slave personality. The experience of slavery in the United States “infantilized” the African Americans, making them “perpetual children” in need of close supervision and direction. Like the inmates of German camps, who saw their guards as father figures and assumed the demeanor of children, slaves in the U.S. South also assumed “childlike” behaviors in accepting the owner’s value system, seeking to please the owner, and judging fellow slaves by the guidelines used by the owner. Because the American slave identified with her or his owner, who became, according to Elkins, the figure who was most emotionally important for slaves, resistance to slavery by the slaves in the United States was rare or nonexistent.

Other historians have pointed to the writings of French colonists in Haiti, who at least suggested that their treatment of their own slaves had produced a similar personality type or behavior, except that Haiti was the site of the hemisphere’s only successful slave overthrow of a slave regime. Slaveowners in Brazil likewise memorialized their impressions of their slaves’ docility. And indeed, historians have noted that slaveowners through the centuries have traditionally described their slaves as loyal but lazy, sly, and sexually promiscuous, which perhaps suggests a unified strategy of slaveholding as necessary for the close supervision or “elevation” of the enslaved group rather than the actual existence of a personality type.

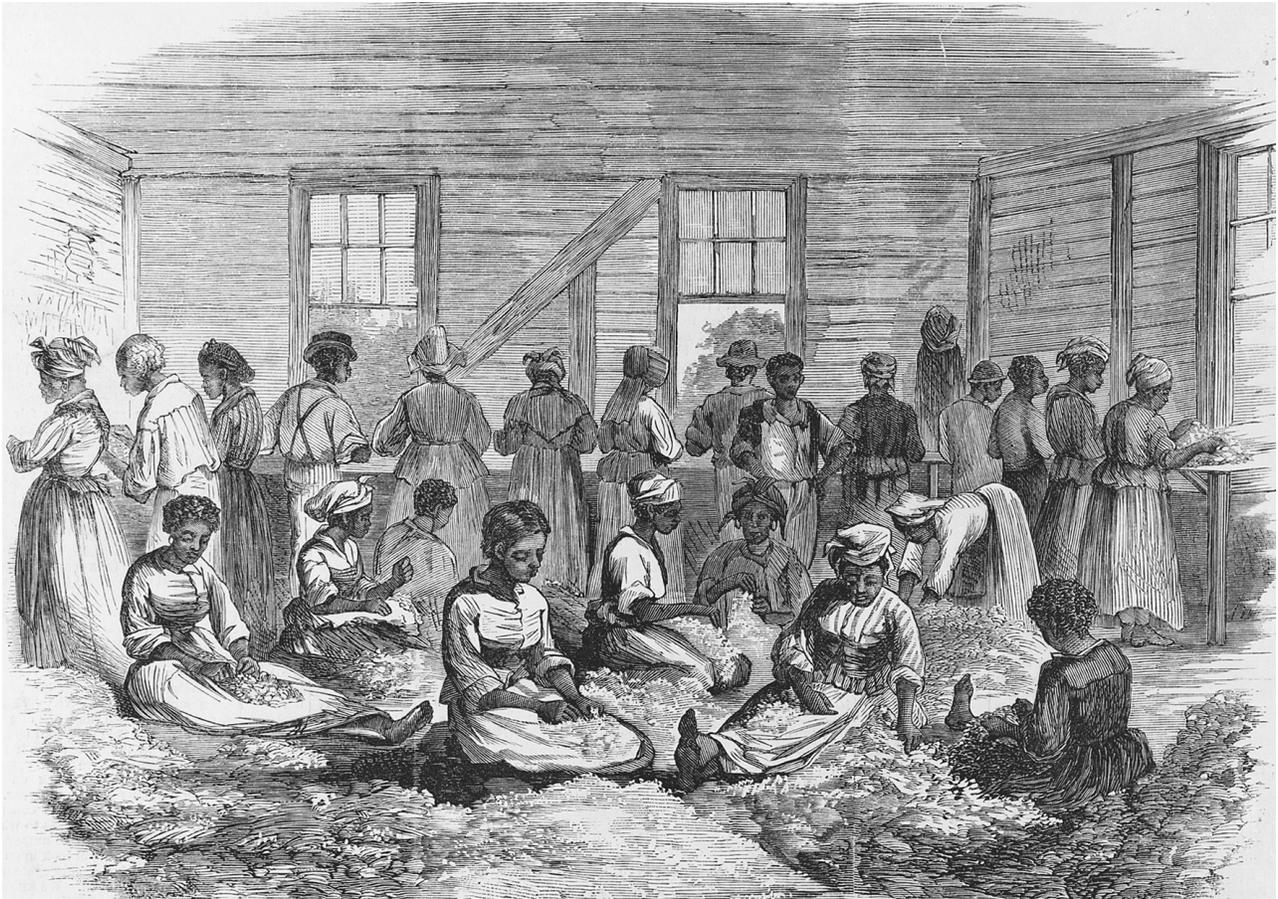
Slaves had space to create full-fledged communities, which had their own value systems, and some people in those communities had a significant effect on them, so slaves were not wholly dependent on the owner or the owner’s value system. One response to being a slave was the development of a theory of Afrocentrism, which placed the slave at the center of the story of slavery as subject and actor rather than as merely an object of white action. At least one historian had questioned the plausibility of reaching reasonable conclusions about an institution built around black slaves without addressing the philosophies, communities, and lives of those black slaves.

Whereas historians of slavery once relied almost ex-

clusively on written documents as source material, documents that had often been produced by slaveowners, new attention began to focus on so-called slave sources: slave narratives written by slaves who had successfully escaped slavery, slave autobiographies and correspondence (both letters to other slaves as well as letters to owners or former owners), and especially the transcribed interviews of former slaves conducted by the Works Progress Administration in the United States in the 1930s. Also, a new look at slaveowner sources—slave bills of sale; plantation account books listing births and deaths, work assignments, and punishments; and antebellum newspapers listing runaway notices and slave auctions—provided intriguing background material for constructing the histories of the slaves themselves.

Historians have now found evidence of a community that survived despite the sale and psychological and physical coercion of its members. An extended kin network tended to include both related and “orphaned” slaves who were not necessarily related by blood. Parents and grandparents educated child slaves in the ways of both blacks (including Africans and American-born) and whites. Religious interpretations by slaves were sometimes limited by the prohibition on slave literacy, although slaves did sometimes learn to read and focused on the attainment not just of spiritual or metaphorical freedom, but also of actual physical freedom in the here and now.

Despite Elkins’s support of the Sambo thesis, although spectacular resistance such as the eighteenth-century Stono Rebellion and the antebellum insurrections of Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner might have been limited, most slaves did engage in acts of daily resistance. This type of resistance included work slowdowns, feigning of illness, intentional injury to themselves, temporary escape (truancy), and successful escape beyond the reach of slavery’s laws. Communities of maroons (slave runaways who set up camp along the borders of settled areas) also existed throughout the antebellum period. House slaves, especially females, were sometimes in a position to resist in more significant ways by poisoning food or water or by committing arson. Some historians have also speculated as to whether female slaves might have aborted pregnancies in order to prevent an increase of the slave population. In addition, recent discoveries in state and federal archives suggest the existence of full-fledged conspiracies of slaves to overthrow slavery in the United States; some of these conspiracies were discovered, and the slaves executed or sold. Clearly, the suggestion that U.S. slaves had been reduced to docility is soundly rebutted by a record of consistent and



Many of the marsh-strewn and palmetto-lined Sea Islands were a financial base for agricultural operations in the United States. (Library of Congress)

creative resistance to slavery from the colonial period through the Civil War.

— Dale Edwyna Smith

See also: Elkins, Stanley M.; Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell; Stono Rebellion; Turner, Nat; Vesey, Denmark.

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SEA ISLANDS

The name "Sea Islands" generally identifies the Atlantic coastal islands of the South Carolina and Georgia low country and northern Florida. There have been estimates of approximately one thousand islands in the Sea Island chain. However, not all of them are inhabitable. Those that are inhabitable range from less than 15 square miles to just over 100 square miles. The inhabitable islands are the home of the Gullah and Geechee people and their associated language and culture. These islands, along with 30 miles inland onto the mainland of the states that they adjoin, form the Gullah/Geechee Nation.

The English worked to claim mainland North America before the Spanish or the French, but both of those nations had already established colonial spheres and begun settlements in the area before the English arrived. English Loyalists, called the "British Lords Proprietors," came from the sugar plantations of Barbados and began settling the region after England's

King Charles II granted a charter in 1663 that opened Carolina to colonial settlement. Those who came wanted to increase their wealth by expanding land ownership and producing crops. So, they brought with them the Africans who would one day build the base on which Gullah culture was developed and Geechee culture would grow.

During chattel slavery, many of these marsh-strewn and palmetto-lined islands served as a financial base for agricultural operations in the United States. It was in this region that long-staple Sea Island cotton was grown. This is considered to be the best cotton in the world. The islands were also the center of indigo production and shipbuilding. "Carolina Gold" rice became another major cash crop that contributed to the economic structure of the United States.

Today, many of the islands have been bought and converted into resort areas that sport huge golf courses and numerous tennis courts. This would not have been the case had the nation adhered to General William Tecumseh Sherman's Special Field Order, Number 15, issued on January 16, 1865. Within the field order, this area was specifically set aside for former enslaved Africans—"the islands from Charleston south [and] the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea." However, President Andrew Johnson nullified the order in September 1865, and as a result the Sea Islanders of African descent then had to purchase their property.

The descendants of these Africans still live on these islands today and continue their Gullah/Geechee culture, which first began in the plantation soil. They stood on their human right to self-determination on July 2, 2002, when they had a public ceremony declaring theirs to be the "Gullah/Geechee Nation" and enstooled their own Queen Mother as the official leader or "head on the body" of the Gullah/Geechee Nation. This leader serves as an official liaison and spokesperson who will ensure that their position is heard and that their land rights are protected for future generations.

— Marquetta L. Goodwine

See also: Geechee; Gullah; Rice Cultivation and Trade.

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SEAMEN'S ACTS

In 1822, in the wake of Denmark Vesey's famous slave conspiracy in Charleston, South Carolina, that state's legislature passed an act mandating that free black sailors should be jailed while their vessels were in the state's ports. Employers were made liable for the costs of detention, and any sailor not redeemed by his employer by the time the vessel left port could be sold into slavery. Over the next four decades, this law inspired similar seamen's acts in Georgia (1829), North Carolina (1830–1831), Florida (1832), Alabama (1839, 1841), Louisiana (1842, 1859), and Texas (1859).

Southern legislators were particularly concerned about limiting contact between free black sailors and local slaves, because they were fearful that the free blacks would encourage and assist slave escapes. Although these seamen's acts were intermittently enforced, and often only as a result of public scrutiny and pressure, they raised questions of comity (the respect of one state for the laws of another) and state sovereignty and generated court challenges, protests from northern states, as well as diplomatic challenges.

The first challenge came in the federal courts, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared the South Carolina act unconstitutional in the case of *Elkison v. Dellesline* (1823). But influential Charlestonians, working through a newly organized South Carolina Association, pressed for continued enforcement of the law, and state officials complied. No federal official ever saw fit to enforce the Supreme Court's decision. Long after Vesey had faded from the public mind, white southerners continued to defend these seamen's laws as a symbol of states' rights.

Northern seaboard states frequently challenged the laws. A significant number of free blacks in cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia worked as sailors in the coastal trade, and the seamen's acts threatened their freedom and deprived their employers of their services while in southern ports. In 1844 Massachusetts sent attorneys Samuel Hoar and Henry Hubbard to Charleston and New Orleans, respectively, to institute suits on behalf of free black citizens of

Massachusetts who were jailed under the South Carolina and Louisiana laws. But threats of violence forced both men to return to Massachusetts before they could challenge the constitutionality of the acts. Officials in each city had informed the men that their lives were in danger and that they could not be protected from angry crowds.

Great Britain, which also used free black sailors on commercial vessels, protested enforcement of the acts to federal officials during the 1820s and 1830s. This was one of the factors behind the challenge in the *Elkison* case. In the 1850s, through a mixture of lobbying, bribery, and obsequiousness, the British consulate convinced Louisiana (1852), Georgia (1854), and South Carolina (1856) to rescind or modify their acts (such acts had already fallen into disuse in several states by this time). After the sectional controversy stirred by John Brown's 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, the laws were seen by many southerners as too weak and too ineffective to be revived.

— Roy E. Finkenbine

See also: Louisiana; South Carolina; Vesey, Denmark.

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SEMINOLE INDIANS

Slavery played an important role in both the removal and destruction of the Seminole. They are a Muskogean tribe whose original territory extended from Georgia into north Florida. As this area was first colonized by the Spanish, they were caught up in the struggle for Florida waged between British, Spanish, and American settlers. The Seminole were sympathetic to Africans, and their lenient treatment of the slaves they owned would cause them many problems after the United States gained control of Florida in 1819. Eventually, the Seminole retreated into the Everglades to escape removal to Oklahoma.

By the seventeenth century, the Seminole had learned about African culture from free blacks and slaves who had moved or been brought into Seminole land by the Spanish. Before the American Revolution, the Spanish offered freedom to slaves who escaped from the British. However some Seminoles also bought slaves during this period, paying for them with



Seminoles in Florida rose in revolt in 1835. With the help of the "black Seminoles," the Native Americans battled the United States army for nearly a decade. (Photo © Estate of Bernanda Bryson Shahn/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY)

livestock. Most made little money from the use of slave labor, although slaveownership increased the prestige of Seminole leaders.

Seminole custom allowed slaves to live in a separate village, paying their masters a portion of the produce or livestock they grew. Because the slaves were more skilled agriculturists than the Seminole, they often prospered, eventually farming large fields and owning herds of livestock. African slaves dressed like their Seminole masters, wearing little clothing when they worked in the fields. On festive occasions, they donned turbans, shawls, beaded moccasins, leggings and the shiny metal ornaments the Seminole favored.

Slaves owned by white Americans or Creek and Cherokee Indians often fled into Spanish Florida. When their owners crossed the border to recover them, they met with resistance from both the Seminole and the Spanish. Because of their allegiance to Spain, the Seminole were considered fair game by

Americans, who killed or wounded many Seminole in several raids into Spanish territory.

Spain eventually realized it could no longer hold Florida and sold the region to the United States in 1819. The terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819) guaranteed fair treatment to the Seminole, but the United States did not keep its word to the tribe. After Florida became part of the United States, slaveowners in states adjacent to Florida demanded the return of escaped slaves living in the former Spanish territory. Many escaped slaves had found refuge with the Seminole because of their lenient attitude toward slaves. As a result, white and Indian slave catchers were allowed to hunt fugitives in Seminole territory.

During the second term of James Monroe's presidency, which ended in 1825, the United States government began a policy of Indian removal. The Seminole were moved to a smaller reservation in Florida, and some of the land taken from them was given to the Creek Indians. As a result, the Seminole came into conflict with the Creek, a larger and more powerful tribe. Blacks who had been free for decades were captured and returned to slavery. There were many disputes between whites and Seminole over the return of fugitive slaves, but most were settled in favor of the white planters.

Between 1832 and 1833, the United States pressured the Seminole to leave their land in Florida and relocate to Oklahoma. The Seminole feared that if they moved to Indian Territory in Oklahoma their slaves would be taken by the Creek. However if they stayed in Florida, they would lose their slaves to the whites. Many Seminole did sign the treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson, agreeing to surrender their Florida lands and relocate within three years. Others, under the leadership of Osceola, refused to leave and started an uprising in 1835. They fled to the Everglades, where they fought the United States army for nearly a decade with the help of runaway slaves called black Seminoles who lived with them. The black Seminoles were fierce fighters and played a prominent part in the fight against removal.

The United States military captured Osceola through treachery, and he later died in prison at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. Despite the loss of Osceola, other Seminole tribal leaders continued to fight against the American forces despite the army's attempts at systematic extermination. They had mastered the art of guerrilla warfare in the swampy Everglades and continued the struggle until 1842 when the United States abandoned the war. The Seminole War had cost the United States \$20 million and the lives of fifteen hundred soldiers. Many Seminoles were also killed during the war, while some fled as far west as Texas, but the

U.S. government failed in the total removal of this tribe. For this reason the Seminole are called the Unconquered People.

— *Elsa a. Nystrom*

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MARY ANN SHADD (1823–1893)

As the first female editor of a North American weekly newspaper in Canada and an African American woman, Mary Ann Shadd fought for the integration of blacks into society. Fiery and immensely controversial, she promoted abolition, equal rights, and women's suffrage.

Born on October 9, 1823, in Wilmington, Delaware, as the eldest of thirteen children of wealthy shoemaker Abraham Doras Shadd and Harriet Parnell Shadd, young Mary grew up in an activist climate. Her childhood home was an Underground Railroad stop, and her father represented Delaware at national conventions for the Improvement of Free People of Color. As a youth, Shadd attended a private Quaker school for African Americans, in which several of her teachers were white abolitionists. As a young woman during the 1840s, she taught in schools for blacks in Wilmington; West Chester, Pennsylvania; New York City; and Norristown, Pennsylvania.

When the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) made life hazardous for northern blacks, Shadd joined the exodus to Canada West (present-day Ontario). As the final destination of the Underground Railroad, Canada already had a sizable black community, and after emigrating in 1851, Shadd opened a school to educate fugitive slaves and other blacks who were unable to obtain schooling. She encouraged others to emigrate and published the instruction pamphlet, *Notes of Canada West* (1852) as an aid. An immensely popular guidebook, it helped many fugitives survive the trauma of relocation.

After meeting the antislavery journalist Samuel Ringgold Ward, Shadd pressed him into helping launch one of the best fugitive slave weeklies, the staunchly integrationist *Provincial Freeman*, in 1853. Nonsectarian and apolitical, the newspaper advocated temperance, black education, and women's rights to

achieve its primary goal of uplifting the black race. Although listed as editor, Ward was merely a figurehead: Shadd was the pivot on which the paper turned.

Through the *Freeman*, she continued advocating black emigration to Canada, a preference that placed her in conflict with many influential African American abolitionists. Never faint of heart, Shadd penned powerful editorials encouraging blacks in Canada West to insist on fair treatment, even if that meant being assaulted. Repelled by the begging of newly free slaves, she pushed fellow emigrants to reach for financial independence. In the *Freeman* of March 25, 1854, she asserted that the progress of the fugitives “would be a triumphant rebuke to those who once held them as chattels, and to those who hold that the slave requires to be prepared for freedom, for [former slaves] would exhibit the spectacle of a people just escaped from a galling yoke competing as free men, successfully and honorably.”

Shadd’s frequent attacks on black leaders for failing to adequately aid black Canadian migrants led to breaches with other African Canadian activists. Her most publicized feud was with Henry and Mary Bibb, the leaders of the black settlement at Windsor, Ontario, and the publishers of the rival newspaper, *Voice of the Fugitive*. Bibb supported an assistance program for refugees that Shadd feared would prevent blacks from becoming self-reliant.

By the late 1850s, the *Freeman* was regarded as the organ of Martin R. Delany’s African Civilization Society, but it was constantly plagued by financial difficulties. The *Freeman* folded in about 1858, after the black community’s sexism had forced Shadd to turn the editorship of the paper over to her brother Isaac.

Marrying Toronto barber Thomas F. Cary in 1856, Shadd bore two children before being widowed in 1860. Returning to the United States to recruit Union troops, she retired to Washington, D.C., after the U.S. Civil War to teach. A law degree earned from Howard University in 1883 went unused. She died in 1893. A legendary crusader for justice, Shadd blazed a remarkable trail.

— *Caryn E. Neumann*

See also: United States–Canadian Relations on Fugitives; Delany, Martin R.

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SHADRACH FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE

The first successful rescue of a runaway slave held in federal custody under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 occurred on February 15, 1851, when local blacks seized Shadrach Minkins from a Boston, Massachusetts, courtroom. Minkins was never recaptured, and no convictions were ever secured against the people who aided in his escape.

Prior to fleeing bondage, Minkins had been a servant in the Norfolk, Virginia, household of John DeBree, a purser in the U.S. Navy. In May 1850 Minkins escaped to Boston, where he worked as a waiter in the busy commercial district near the city’s wharves. To minimize the risk of capture, he often adopted the pseudonym Frederick Wilkins. On February 12, 1851, John Caphart, a Norfolk constable hired by DeBree to track Minkins, arrived in Boston seeking Minkins’s rendition (legal return to slavery). Caphart obtained a warrant for Minkins’s arrest from George Ticknor Curtis, the federal fugitive slave commissioner in the city and, three days later, Minkins was arrested by U.S. Marshal Patrick Riley.

Minkins was immediately taken before Commissioner Curtis for a hearing on the question of his rendition. The Boston Vigilance Committee appointed six prominent local attorneys, including the black jurist Robert Morris, to serve as his counsel. After they requested and were granted a three-day delay to prepare a defense, everyone except Morris, Minkins, and several marshals left the courtroom. Suddenly, as if by a prearranged signal, several dozen local blacks pushed open the door, rushed inside, seized a surprised Minkins, and hustled him out of the building and into the street. Within minutes, they had disappeared into the African American neighborhood on Beacon Hill. Through the efforts of Morris, the black abolitionist Lewis Hayden, and their contacts on the Underground Railroad, Minkins reached the safety of Montreal within a few days.

News of the rescue reverberated throughout the nation’s capital. Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky

demanded a thorough investigation, and President Millard Fillmore ordered the U.S. attorney to try all persons who may have “aided, abetted, or assisted” in Minkins escape (Collison, 1997). The ensuing investigation led to the arrest of eight local abolitionists, including Morris and Hayden, for their alleged roles in the rescue. All eight were indicted by a federal grand jury and tried in U.S. district court. The initial trials in May and June 1851 showed the weakness of the government’s case. Five of the accused were immediately acquitted owing to insufficient evidence; the other three were bound over for retrial on various technicalities. Although the retrials dragged on for over a year, all of the alleged rescuers were eventually acquitted and released.

The Minkins rescue, and the inability of federal authorities to convict any of his rescuers, proved a major embarrassment to the Fillmore administration and raised sectional tensions between North and South. The affair also heightened the determination of free blacks in the North, and their abolitionist colleagues, to resist enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

— Roy E. Finkenbine

See also: Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Underground Railroad.

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SHORT-STAPLE COTTON

Short-staple cotton pertains to cultivated strains of *Gossypium hirsutum* that are domesticated as a cash crop, with “short-staple” referring to the short length of the fibers of this species in comparison to other domesticated species of cotton. It is native to Central America but has been grown intensively in the southern United States since the 1790s. Like all cottons, *G. hirsutum* is a perennial in the wild, but in cultivation it is grown as an annual. As it was the chief cash crop of the South by the mid-nineteenth century, most southern slaves worked on plantations and farms that produced short-staple cotton.

Before it became a major cash crop in the 1790s, short-staple cotton was grown only for household consumption. Its fibers clung tightly to the seeds, which made seed removal a lengthy process that occupied evenings and rainy days along with spinning and weaving. Thus short-staple cotton was an integral part of the household economy in the late eighteenth cen-

tury, but it was the cotton gin, which automated the separation of the fibers from the seeds, that allowed for the cultivation of short-staple cotton as a cash crop.

Prior to the development of the cotton gin, only longer-staple cottons, with seeds that were easily separated could be grown commercially in the New World. However, these long-staple cottons (primarily *G. barbadense*) had a lengthy growing season that could only be accommodated in the Caribbean islands and the coastal islands of South Carolina and Georgia. *G. hirsutum*, however, had a shorter growing season, and grew in virtually any soil; thus it was also referred to as upland cotton.

The introduction of the cotton gin along with more productive and easily cultivated strains of *G. hirsutum* at the end of the eighteenth century spurred the re-opening of the Atlantic slave trade before its final ban in the United States in 1808, and the demand for slaves suddenly grew after a period of several decades of decline. Cotton cultivation also postponed the inevitable resolution that Americans faced concerning slavery by creating a new market for the domestic slave trade. The debate over the expediency of slavery as an economic system became a moot point as cotton’s economic potential became apparent. Questions concerning slavery’s morality were hushed as the revitalized domestic trade increased the value of all slaveholders’ property.

The cultivation of short-staple cotton also sped the migration of planters and yeomen, as well as their slaves, to the southwestern territories and states as lands there were prime for cotton production. Virginia planters, who had turned away from labor-intensive tobacco toward wheat, readily sold their excess slaves to cotton planters in the Deep South. Many of them took their entire plantation populations with them and relocated to the Southwest. Easy credit and plentiful lands made the wealth to be generated from cotton planting seem boundless, but such reckless investments in frontier lands and slaves contributed to several economic downturns throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Although southern planters were not often noted for widespread efforts at agricultural reform, the selective breeding of strains of short-staple cotton illustrates one exception to that generalization. As early as the first decade of the nineteenth century, southerners looked for hardier and more productive strains of *G. hirsutum*. In 1807, for instance, William Dunbar first cultivated a sample of a productive Mexican strain in Mississippi, and throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Dr. Rush Nutt crossbred that strain with several others to develop the

hardy and productive Port Gibson (Mississippi) strain, which became a very popular variety throughout the South. In the 1840s and 1850s southerners developed several other new strains of *G. hirsutum*, but none were as popular as the Port Gibson strain.

For the slaves who cultivated the cotton, the specific strain mattered little as all involved the same labor patterns, although short-staple cotton cultivation was generally less labor intensive than long-staple cotton production. In almost all circumstances, the short-staple cotton routine employed the gang (rather than the task) system of labor. Cotton growing began with the clearing of the fields in late February and March; planting began after the last frost, usually on April 1; and as the young plants grew, repeated passes with the plough killed grasses and weeds that competed with the cotton plants and thinned out all but the strongest plants. By late May and early June, the slaves continually went through the fields with hoes, scraping weeds and grasses, and pushing dirt around the base of the plant. Scraping passes continued until the lay-by time, in midsummer, when the slaves tended to livestock, food crops, and plantation maintenance. The picking season began as soon as the bolls opened, usually in September, and as the bolls opened faster than they could be picked, the harvest ran into December and even January. At the height of the harvest, slaves often picked 100 or more pounds of cotton in a day, but earlier and later in the season, individual totals amounted to 15 or 20 pounds. A separate “trash gang” of children and elderly slaves followed the main gang of pickers.

Once collected, the trash gang cleaned the cotton as it dried on scaffolds while waiting to be ginned. After the gin removed the seeds, the cotton awaited baling in a separate magazine. Baling involved the use of a cotton press, and the labor of six to eight slaves as well as a horse or mule to compress as much as 500 pounds of cotton into a squared-off bale.

The production of short-staple cotton tied the southern slave economy to the Industrial Revolution and an international economy. Raw southern cotton became finished yarn and cloth in northern and European cotton mills, and some of that cloth became the clothing worn by both planters and slaves. Many plantations forsook food crops to raise cotton and thus became consumers of food grown in the northwestern states. Wealthy planters also purchased European luxury goods as displays of their wealth and elegance.

Short-staple cotton is still a major cash crop in many southern states, and its cultivation was the agricultural basis for the sharecropping economy of the “New South.” The cultivation processes described here remained virtually intact until the 1950s, when

planters began to invest in farm machinery to automate cotton production.

— David J. Libby

See also: Cotton Gin; Long-staple cotton.

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WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS (1806–1870)

Along with Edgar Allan Poe, William Gilmore Simms was the antebellum South’s leading man of letters. He was also a notable defender of slavery, and his writings helped to articulate the South’s proslavery argument.

Perhaps one of the more overlooked southern antebellum literary figures, Simms stands just below Poe in reputation among the South’s men of letters. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, Simms remained in the city for most of his life. His father, a failed merchant, left young Simms in his grandmother’s care and traveled to Mississippi. Simms was educated in Charleston, briefly apprenticed to a druggist, married in 1826, and was admitted to the bar in 1827.

His real interest was writing, and Simms published a book of poetry by 1825. He published four more books of verse by 1830 and in 1828 began publishing the *Southern Literary Gazette*, which he edited. Although short lived, Simms’s intent was to defend and promote southern literature. He published the *City Gazette* in 1829, a local newspaper that he was forced to sell in 1832. In 1830 he suffered the deaths of his father and mother, and his wife died in February 1832. To this point, his literary output was not impressive.

Simms traveled north in 1832, meeting several important writers and publishers, and produced his first important work, *Atlantis* (1832). The poem was well received in the United States and England and demonstrated his literary potential. Several works of fiction followed, including *Guy Rivers* (1834) and *The Yemassee* (1835), generally considered his best work of fiction. During this time, Simms earned up to \$6,000 a year in royalties and, although this proved the high point of his literary profits, he was one of the few men in the

United States who earned a respectable living by writing. He continued with an impressive list of published works of fiction for much of the rest of his life.

The defining moment for Simms as a southerner came in 1837 when English traveler Harriet Martineau published *Society in America*, an attack on slavery. In response, Simms penned "The Morals of Slavery," which was first published in the recently begun *Southern Literary Messenger*, housed in Richmond. The essay was reprinted as a pamphlet. In 1832 Simms revised his response to Martineau for a collective volume of writings titled *The Pro-Slavery Argument, as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States*.

For Simms, defending slavery was a moral issue. He contended that God approved of the institution as a means both to rescue and preserve the savage (i.e., slave), and thus slavery represented a moral contract with God. With this direct argument, Simms became a spokesman for the South and its peculiar institution, with others like Beverley Tucker, J. B. D. DeBow, Thomas Dew, James Henry Hammond, and Edmund Ruffin.

Simms's stance on slavery also appears in his fiction, where there is natural affection between master and slave, which is generally beneficial toward the slave. He utilized his views in *The Yemassee*, where he defended the South. In another of his successful fictional works, *The Partisan* (1835), Simms uses a slave as a hero. In *Woodcraft* (1852), Simms responds to Harriet Beecher Stowe's view of slavery and southerners in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

During his prolific career, Simms used essays, fiction, and history to defend slavery and the southern way of life. His literary career is often overshadowed by his political views, but Simms was easily the most prolific southern novelist in the antebellum period. In 1856 a speaking tour in New York had to be abandoned when he was first abused and then ignored. Simms remained in South Carolina during the war at the "Woodlands," his Barnwell County plantation. The war interrupted and virtually ended his writing career, and he died in Charleston in 1870. His moral defense of slavery still marks him as a staunch defender of the South and clouds his successful literary achievements.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Literature; Proslavery Argument.

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1619

The year 1619 has assumed an iconographic place in African American history and life, but its exact meaning and import are generally misunderstood. Much like other notable dates in history, 1776, for example, the proverbial certainty of popular conventional wisdom often belies the true relevance of the events that occurred. Despite the confusion, the date is one that bears historical weight.

Our knowledge of 1619 stems from a brief mention that John Rolfe included in an early history of the Virginia colony when he wrote: "About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars" (Rolfe, 1971). Many have made the false assumption that these Africans who were introduced at Jamestown, Virginia, represented the start of slavery in what became the United States. It is more likely that these Africans were "remaindered" captives who had not sold at auction in the Caribbean markets and were taken by the Dutch traders to Virginia where they were sold by bid as indentured servants. Slavery did not begin in 1619 at Jamestown, but it is clear that within a generation of the arrival of these African captives, Virginia law began to recognize the existence of slavery within the colony.

Some who came to America as indentured servants made prior arrangements with a master who would pay for their transoceanic journey and then contracted with the servants for a specified period of indenture during which they repaid their transportation costs. Others, who arrived unannounced, like the twenty Africans of 1619, became indentured to Virginia masters through a bidding process that was somewhat akin to later slave auctions that would become altogether too common in the slaveholding region of the United States. The laws of colonial Virginia indicate that by the early 1640s slavery had become established within the colony, and further evidence shows that many African indentured servants were variously transitioned into slavery. A black indentured servant named John Punch was made a "servant for life" in July 1640 as his punishment for running away from his master. This type of penalty was much harsher than that imposed on white indentured servants who committed the same offense in the 1640s.

It is also erroneous to claim that the twenty Africans who arrived at Jamestown in 1619 represent the first Africans to set foot on the lands that eventually became the United States. There were Africans among some of the early Spanish exploring parties that ventured along coastal and inland portions of North America. Estevanico (1503–1539) was an enslaved African who was shipwrecked in the coastal Gulf south with the Spanish explorer Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Survivors of this misadventure (1528–1536) traveled along the Gulf Coast and into the Southwest until they made their way back to Mexico. Estevanico, also known as Esteban or Black Stephan, was likely the first person of African descent to set foot on North America—certainly the first for whom documentary evidence survives.

One would also be mistaken to claim that the presence of slavery in colonial Virginia represented the first use of that practice on soil that later formed the United States. The Spanish established the colonial outpost of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, and this community holds the distinction of being the oldest continuously-settled town in the United States. The founding of St. Augustine followed a failed attempt just two years prior to establish a French Huguenot refuge in the same vicinity at Fort Caroline, near modern-day Jacksonville. Slaves were used in both the Fort Caroline and St. Augustine settlements. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the Spaniard who established the St. Augustine settlement, had permission to introduce 500 slaves within the first three years of the colony's existence, and evidence shows that slaves were used there as early as 1565.

What then is the true significance of 1619 in African American history and life? Historian Lerone Bennett captured the essence of this issue in his path-breaking work *Before the Mayflower: The History of the Negro in America 1619–1962* (1962), a study that recognizes the essential importance of the arrival of twenty involuntary African immigrants who arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. In the common parlance of historical longevity, the place of the Pilgrim fathers and mothers who arrived aboard the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620 has been elevated to a significant place in our national mythology. Bennett argues convincingly that those whose arrival antedated that of the Pilgrims should have no less import in the making of American history and national life.

The cultural significance of 1619 is also noted in the hundreds of historical monographs that include the date as a part of their title, thereby implying the larger meaning of the historical importance of the year. Few, if any, would recognize the historical significance of 1528, the arrival of Estevanico, or 1565, the founding of St. Augustine, to be as historically meaningful as 1619.

Certainly the centrality of Jamestown, Virginia, as the first permanent British settlement (1607) in North America, and the eventual understanding that the thirteen British colonies that were established on the eastern seaboard formed the nucleus of the nascent United States play a large part in embellishing the historical significance of the twenty Africans who arrived in 1619.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Indentured Servants; Johnson, Anthony; Virginia.

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SLAVE CATCHERS. *See* Catchers, Slave.

SLAVE PATROLS. *See* Patrols, Slave.

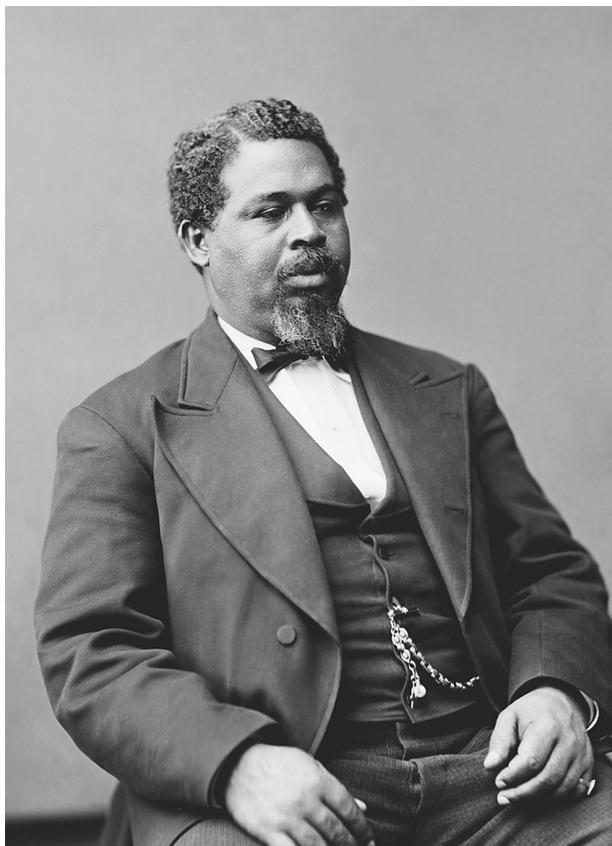
SLAVE PREACHERS. *See* Preachers, Slave.

ROBERT SMALLS (1839–1915)

Robert Smalls made a bold and heroic escape from slavery to freedom during the Civil War. In 1862 Smalls along with a slave crew of eight men commandeered the Confederate transport steamship *Planter* and navigated it out of the Port of Charleston, South Carolina, delivering it to the Union blockade fleet. His life afterwards was one of struggle, achievement, and fighting for the rights of blacks by serving in the South Carolina state legislature and the U.S. Congress.

Robert Smalls was born into slavery in Beaufort, South Carolina, on April 5, 1839. His mother Lydia was a house servant for the family of John McKee. His life was atypical of a slave, as he grew up in the household without the burden of working in the fields. After McKee's death in 1848, his son Henry owned Robert and Lydia. In 1851 he took Robert to Charleston, and hired him out for jobs such as waiter and lamplighter.

Smalls, however, was drawn to the waterfront environment, so he became a stevedore, foreman, and sailmaker. He also worked on a schooner, becoming a skilled navigator and sailor. It was at this time that he



Robert Smalls escaped from slavery to freedom during the U.S. Civil War. (Library of Congress)

engineered a financial plan to pay Henry \$15 per month and keep the remainder of his wages for himself. In 1856 Smalls married a slave named Hannah Jones, and he eventually purchased freedom for her and their baby daughter Elizabeth from Hannah's master.

By July 1861 Smalls began working on the side-wheel steamer *Planter*. Once the Civil War began, the Confederate army turned *Planter* into an armed dispatch and transport vessel. Smalls never accepted his enslaved condition, teaching himself to read, write, and navigate the Charleston harbor. In his mind freedom was not impossible.

During the morning of May 13, 1862, while the captain and his crew were ashore in Charleston, Smalls, his wife, family, and a crew of twelve slaves sailed out of the harbor. They raised the South Carolina Confederate flag as they began their daring escape. Smalls, dressed as the captain, and knowledgeable of all the signals that would enable him to pass Fort Sumter, sailed *Planter* toward the Union army blockade. When out of range of the Confederate artillery, he raised a white flag and offered the ship to the Union fleet.

Smalls and his crew were welcomed as heroes. He was

named captain of the *Planter* and was the only black captain in the U.S. Navy during the Civil War. His knowledge of the waterways of Charleston helped to defeat the Confederate forces through his leadership in over twelve sailing excursions. Smalls was honored by President Abraham Lincoln, and he used his influence to persuade the president to allow slaves to join the Union army.

After the war Smalls settled in Beaufort, South Carolina. He entered politics, serving in the state senate during Reconstruction from 1868–1870. In 1875 he began the first of five terms as a U.S. congressman. Smalls became an advocate of free slaves, fighting for education and equality for blacks. In 1897 he was awarded a congressional pension and in 1900 he was awarded \$5,000 for his role in the capture of *Planter*.

When he left politics, Smalls served as duty and customs collector in Beaufort. He died on February 22, 1915.

— Anthony Todman

See also: Gullah; South Carolina.

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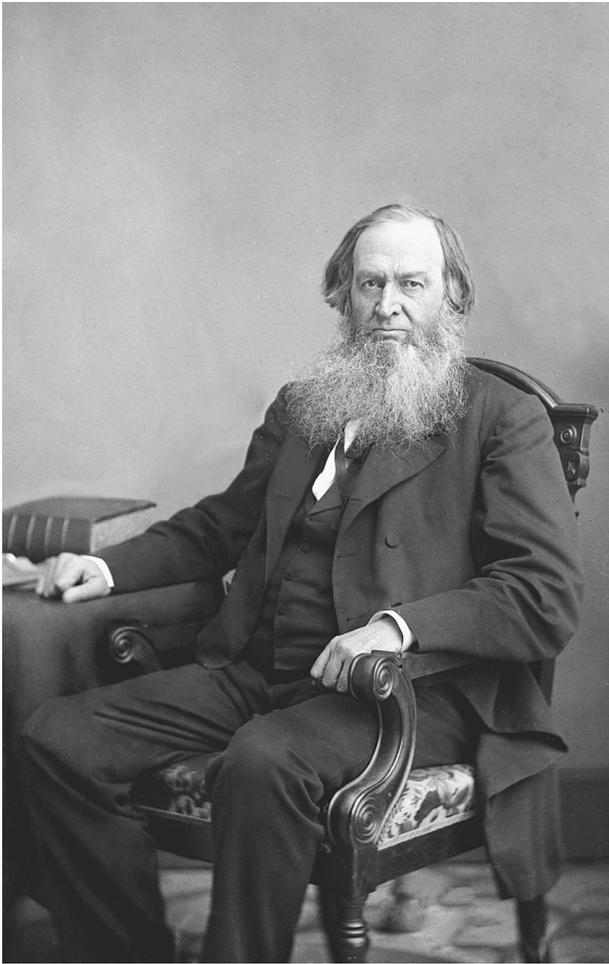
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GERRIT SMITH (1797–1874)

Among the most renowned American abolitionists, Gerrit Smith devoted his life and most of his great wealth to the cause of equal rights for all men and women; the immediate abolition of every sin was his most passionate desire, and he went to great lengths to effect it.

Smith was born into one of the wealthiest families in the country and grew up in the rural village of Peterboro in Madison County, which is part of the "Burned-Over District" of western New York. The young patriarch had visions of becoming a man of letters, an eminent lawyer, a respected minister, or a



Gerrit Smith worked to transform his village of Peterboro into an antebellum model of interracial harmony. In 1846 he gave roughly 50 acres of land in the Adirondacks to each of some three thousand poor blacks from New York. Smith saw this as a way for African Americans to become self-sufficient and isolated from the virulent racism in the cities. (Library of Congress)

statesman, but immediately after graduating as valedictorian from Hamilton College in 1818, a series of incidents occurred that precipitated his turn to reform work; these included the death of his mother, the death of his new bride, and the retirement of his father, who requested that Gerrit manage his vast property concerns. In little more than a year after reaching “manhood,” he found himself back in the family “mansion house” overlooking the village green of Peterboro, bound to his ledger books and land office, with his dreams shattered and the two most important people in his life dead.

In 1823 he married Ann Carroll Fitzhugh Smith, a

cousin of George Fitzhugh and a fervent evangelical. She was instrumental in converting Smith to evangelism, fueling his religious zeal, and spawning his vision of a broad sacralization of the world. He soon became an avid temperance reformer, and in 1827 he joined the respected American Colonization Society, whose efforts to colonize blacks in Africa represented for him the most effective way to bring about gradual emancipation and an end to degradation among free blacks. In the early 1830s, when many radicals became “fanatics” by turning to immediate abolition and attacking colonization as inherently racist and unrighteous, Smith continued endorsing colonization while also flirting with immediatism. From 1834 to 1837 he was virtually unique among abolitionists in his efforts to reconcile the principles of colonization with those of the American Anti-Slavery Society; he viewed the efforts of each organization as complementary versions of the same war on slavery and racial prejudice, despite cries from immediatists that colonizationists wanted to preserve slavery and rid the country of free blacks.

Smith’s final and complete repudiation of colonization occurred in 1837, two years after he formally resigned from the society; the break corresponded with an important and fundamental shift in his identity as a patriarch and a reorientation in the source of his values: he became a self-described social “outsider,” turned inward, and affirmed the spiritual instincts and passions of the “heart” rather than the sin-infested conventions of social order and existing authority. His belief in the preservation of order, stability, and distinct hierarchies—values on which the principles of colonization were based—had crumbled. This was due in part to the Panic of 1837, which brought him to the brink of bankruptcy, and to the deaths of two children, one in 1835 and the other in 1836. In conjunction with his shift in values and identity, he became “born again,” free from the fetters of original sin, and applied his passions to the immediate abolition of every sin.

One of the most important applications of Smith’s religious vision was his reinterpretation of the Golden Rule, which he saw as a fulfillment of the ideal of empathy. He continually sought to participate in the feelings and sufferings of his black brethren and to see himself as a black man. “To recognize in every man my brother—ay, another self” was his wish, and he often described his efforts to “make myself a colored man” (Harlow, 1939). His empathic awareness had profound results: He worked to transform his own village of Peterboro into an antebellum model of interracial harmony; and in 1846 he gave to each of some three thousand poor blacks from New York roughly 50 acres of land in the Adirondacks as a way for them to attain the

franchise and become self-sufficient and isolated from the virulent racism in the cities. Black leaders throughout the North hailed his efforts to effect equality: Frederick Douglass, James McCune Smith, Henry Highland Garnet, and Samuel Ringgold Ward all became respected friends and allies; the black abolitionist paper, *The Ram's Horn*, went so far as to say: "Gerrit Smith is a colored man!"

From the 1840s through the Civil War, Smith's reform work in many respects mirrored the efforts of the black abolitionist community in New York. He helped found the Liberty Party in 1840, which interpreted the Constitution as an antislavery document, and he became one of the party's staunchest supporters. He was elected to Congress in 1852, but resigned after one term, out of disgust with the culture of Washington and the existing government, which had just passed the Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854) and repealed the Missouri Compromise. Smith also abandoned nonresistance and advocated violence as a last resort for ending slavery; he became a lead underwriter in the guerrilla warfare in Kansas and one of the six lead conspirators in John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859 in an effort to incite a massive slave insurrection. New York black leaders overwhelmingly endorsed political intervention, and by the 1850s they had little patience with the principles of nonresistance. Until his death, Smith continually championed equal rights for all and the end of exploitation, whether for blacks, women, or laborers. In 1873 Henry Highland Garnet summed up the feelings of many radicals by saying, "Among the hosts of great defenders of man's fights who in years past fought so gallantly for equal rights for all men," Smith was "the most affectionately remembered and loved" (Harlow, 1939).

— John Stauffer

See also: American Colonization Society; Brown, John; Harpers Ferry Raid; Immediatism; Kansas–Nebraska Act.

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VENTURE SMITH (1729–1805)

Venture Smith was the author of the autobiography, *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, A Native of Africa: But Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America, Related by Himself* (1798).

Venture Smith was born in Guinea in 1729. His enslavement, at age eight, occurred around 1737 when one Robert Mumford purchased him for "four gallons of rum and a piece of calico." Smith's narrative gives important details on how the transition from freedom to slavery to freedom occurred, as well as a clear picture of African village life.

Venture recollected that his father, a wealthy prince of Dukandara, Guinea, tried to appease the slave traders in his region by giving them goats and cattle, but this tactic ultimately failed and he paid for it with a tortured death at their hands, and the destruction of his village. As an adult, Venture recalled, "The shocking scene is to this day fresh in my mind, and I have often been overcome while thinking on it." He remembers his father as "a man of remarkable strength and resolution, affable, kind and gentle, ruling with equity and moderation."

Venture clearly outlined African village life as sedentary, with the production of crops and the raising of cattle, sheep, and goats. Polygamy was the norm, with wives having a veto over whether or not their husband acquired a new wife. When Venture's father attempted to take a third wife without Venture's mother's consent, she left him for a brief period for consolation. Venture remembers his mother leaving her husband's compound and not returning for some time.

Venture's narrative was published in 1798 in New London, Connecticut, and republished by his descendants in 1835. His narrative sought to "exhibit a pattern of honesty, prudence, and industry to people of his own color; and perhaps some white people would not find themselves degraded by imitating such an example." This represents the major theme in this narrative, which is not overtly antislavery, but emphasizes how frugality, hard work, and morality can uplift a man from the depths of an abyss. Antislavery is also represented in a theme that explains to whites that any black who can become a westernized version of himself is worthy of the highest rights that society can offer. In the Preface, Venture argues that slavery could inhibit the genius of George Washington or Benjamin Franklin, but his own sense of being African could not be broken and he "still exhibit[ed] striking traces of native ingenuity and good sense."

Venture's description of slave work is interesting. His obedience to his master's orders gained the mas-

ter's trust. However, this trust did not alleviate the hard burden required of a slave. Venture was required, as an eight-year-old, to "pound four bushels of corn every night in a barrel for the poultry, or be rigorously punished."

A large man known for his size and strength, Venture stated that "One time my master sent me two miles after a barrel of molasses, and ordered me to carry it on my shoulders. I made out to carry it all the way to my master's house. When I lived with Captain George Mumford, only to try my strength I took upon my knees a tierce of salt containing seven bushels, and carried it two or three rods. Of this fact there are several eye witnesses now living."

Venture's loyalty was tested one day by his master's son. The son wanted Venture to quit a job that he was doing for the master so that Venture could finish a job for him. When Venture refused, a fight ensued, with neighbors called to help the son subdue Venture. Because of Venture's strength, their attempt to bind him was in vain. The son went away in tears, and nothing else came of this episode. As a proud resister to enslavement, Venture suffered a number of harrowing punishments for resisting. One was when he "was carried . . . to a gallows made for the purpose of hanging cattle on, and suspended me on it." In another episode the wife of Venture's second master attempted to beat Venture's wife, but Venture interceded and stopped his wife from being beaten. This led to a physical confrontation with his master. Eventually Venture was sold to another master and subsequently to another. The narrative demonstrates that Venture was lucky not to have been sold to the West Indies for his resistance, as one of his masters had once threatened.

Venture was wise enough to help one of his masters pay for his services because Venture saw him as benign. This master, Colonel Smith, permitted Venture to be hired out so that Venture could earn some extra money. With this money, Venture eventually paid for his freedom. Venture explained that "I hired myself at Fisher's Island, earning twenty pounds; thirteen pounds six shillings of which my master drew for the privilege, and the remainder I paid for my freedom." At Fisher's Island, Venture worked for six months in which he "cut and corded four hundred cords of wood, besides threshing out seventy-five bushels of grain, and received of my wages down only twenty pounds, which left remaining a larger sum." Following his freedom, Venture, during the next several years, purchased two of his sons, Solomon and Cuff; his wife, Meg; and eventually his daughter, Hannah.

Venture's hard work and frugality led to a degree of prosperity: he was able to purchase a 76-acre farm and

purchase several slaves himself. Venture's elevation to property holder was based on a nonmaterialistic value of thrift that prompted him to write that "All the fine clothes I despised in comparison with my interest, and never kept but just what clothes were comfortable . . . but as for superfluous finery I never thought it to be compared to . . . a good supply of money and prudence." It was this attitude and his social values that enabled Venture Smith to acquire property in estate and property in men. His effort at slaveholding was for no other reason than that the "Negro man oblige me to purchase him." This obligation and his hiring of black wage labor represent a problem area in his narrative since each worker seemed to take advantage of Venture's trusting nature. One black man, Jacklin, a comb-maker, ran off with all of Venture's investment, and another, Mingo, was taken to court when Mingo did not pay off a debt note. Black slaves and workers sought him out because of his character; and he sought them out because he needed their labor and obviously sought to lift them from the degradation he once experienced.

Venture Smith died in 1805 at the age of seventy-seven and left an inheritance of a 100-acre farm and three houses.

— *Malik Simba*

See also: Autobiographies; Narratives.

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SICKNESS. *See* Diseases and African Slavery in the New World.

**SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF
FREE NEGROES UNLAWFULLY
HELD IN BONDAGE**

The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage was the first secular antislavery organization in America. Led by Philadelphia area Quakers such as Anthony Benezet, who had met yearly as early as 1758, the society organized itself in April 1775 when twenty-four men, including sixteen Quakers, met at the Sun Tavern on Second Street in Philadelphia to discuss the plight of an Indian mother who claimed that in the eyes of the law she and her

four children were free. Believing that the egalitarian and humanitarian principles of the Quakers ought to be extended to others, the men attempted to remedy the situation by organizing themselves and denouncing slavery both as an injustice to the slave and a temptation to sin for the owner.

The American Revolution caused its early members to suspend meetings until 1784, when it attempted to build a broader base of support. Although the impetus for reorganizing was a situation involving two free black men accused of being runaway slaves, reluctance by many Quakers to give up their slaves and the concern that Quaker pacifism might discredit the society's antislavery testimony led to a new rationale for abolishing slavery. Relying less on moral arguments, the society used the philosophy of the Revolution, which allowed them to portray slavery as a contradiction of American political values. Slavery, they argued, not only violated the law of God, but in an age of liberation and enlightenment, it undermined the rights of man. Accordingly, during its April 23, 1787, meeting, the society revised its constitution, elected Benjamin Franklin honorary president, and renamed itself the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race. Strengthened, the society's membership now included non-Quakers and such well-known individuals as Thomas Paine, John Jay, Noah Webster, and Dr. Benjamin Rush.

Pursuing a more pragmatic agenda, the society became a model for similar organizations in other states, such as New York. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society mounted a more aggressive attack against the slave trade and slavery itself. It sought to improve the existing social order and to bring about justice by more rigorously enforcing existing laws. As part of its efforts, it promoted the development of other societies, sent petitions to Congress, publicized state laws regarding slavery, printed and distributed antislavery literature, corresponded with prominent antislavery leaders in England and France, and began a policy of assistance to free blacks and to those illegally held in bondage. In addition to forbidding members to own slaves and backing the antislavery movement, the society also sought to improve the general social and economic conditions of blacks.

Although the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage evolved into an effective state society, its importance in the antislavery movement lies in the way early Quakers initiated antislavery thought and action and attempted to curtail the growth of slavery in colonial America. As such, its ac-

tivity contributed to the development and success of later abolitionist groups.

— Mark L. Kamrath

See also: Quakers.

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SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. *See* Quakers.

"SOLD DOWN THE RIVER"

In modern-day English slang, to have been "sold down the river" is an expression that implies that one has been duped, often through duplicitous machinations or chicanery. During the era of antebellum slavery, the peril of being "sold down the river," if spoken with a degree of certitude, was a formidable threat to the life and well-being of a slave. On many occasions this threat alone led enslaved men and women to run away in order to emancipate themselves rather than face the uncertainty of a harsher destination.

Essentially the phrase "sold down the river" became a euphemism for sending a slave down the Mississippi River to the auction block at New Orleans, Louisiana. In the conventional wisdom of the antebellum South, slavery as perceived as being more harsh in Louisiana than it was in the states of the Upper South. This reputation had as much to do with climate, heat, and humidity as it did with the type of labor regimen associ-

ated with work on the sugar and cotton plantations of south and central Louisiana, respectively. Many believed the reputed claim that slaves were worked to death on the plantations and farms near New Orleans.

In addition, the danger of being “sold down the river” made it increasingly difficult for a slave to escape. Slaves in the Upper South were often situated in locations where a few days of a stealth journey might bring them to the Ohio River—the proverbial “River Jordan” that would carry them to freedom in the North. Due to the sheer distance involved and the logistics of maintaining oneself as a fugitive for an extended period of time, slavery in Louisiana would limit the options of a slave who sought to become a fugitive.

Many slaves were actually “sold down the river,” as the New Orleans auction block was one of the largest and busiest of the antebellum South. Trading slaves for sale at New Orleans was a common aspect of the domestic slave trade, which continued unabated after Congress closed the Atlantic slave trade in 1807. Slaves transported by river steamboat or coastal brigs, as well as those marched overland in long-distance coffles, regularly arrived at New Orleans where buyers gathered to acquire additional property in slaves. The flesh trade was brisk at New Orleans.

For many slaves who were threatened with being “sold down the river,” their most pressing fear, beyond self-preservation, was the separation from family and friends that would ensue if they were removed from the Upper South. The bonds of kinship and family, however tenuous they might be, were one of the few elements of stability that existed within the world of the slave. Sale to the New Orleans slave market threatened to destroy these powerful bonds.

The psychological effect of being “sold down the river” had varying effects on the slaves involved. In extreme cases, it was not uncommon for a slave to commit suicide by jumping into the river and drowning rather than submitting to the untold horrors that might be waiting at New Orleans. Perhaps the most famous case of a slave being “sold down the river” appears in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852). In this fictional work the main character Tom is sold and becomes the victim of the contemptible overseer Simon Legree. Tom’s stoic goodness and his tragic death at the hands of Legree affirmed one’s worst fears about conditions on Louisiana’s plantations.

Literature continued to reflect the wretchedness of plantation life in the Deep South well after the end of slavery. Mark Twain’s character Roxy in the novel *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1894) expresses contempt from her experience as a slave near New Orleans when

she states: “Sell a pusson down de river—*down de river!*—for de bes! I wouldn’t treat a dog so!” (Twain, 1894). Even though this fictional work was published a generation after emancipation, it still demonstrated the powerful resonance of an often-hated phrase.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Domestic Slave Trade; Franklin and Armfield; Louisiana; *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES (WOOLMAN)

The Quaker abolitionist John Woolman published two antislavery tracts: *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (Philadelphia, 1754) and *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, Part Second* (Philadelphia, 1762). The first presented Woolman’s moral objections to slavery; the second contested rationalizations for slaveholding and implicated slaveowners in the transatlantic commerce in “fellow creatures.” Both essays helped launch Quaker abolitionism and contributed to changing attitudes toward slavery that culminated in the antislavery movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Woolman first drafted *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* after witnessing plantation slavery in 1746 during visits to Quakers in Virginia and North Carolina. He withheld the manuscript until his ailing father in 1750 encouraged him to prepare it for publication. The Quaker Overseers of the Press approved and printed the essay in 1754. It was the first antislavery pamphlet endorsed and published by the Society of Friends.

Starting from a belief in human equality—“all nations are of one blood,” he wrote—Woolman pleaded for charity to the oppressed and restraint in the acquisition of wealth. The Lord had provided for Quaker settlers in America. Society and family benefited more from the example of moral practice than riches. So Christians were obliged to sympathize with slaves, “make their case ours,” even if at the cost of material gain. Unlike his Quaker predecessors Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford, Woolman spared slaveholders from invective. Because he understood the power of habit and interest, Woolman sought merely to disquiet slaveholders by questioning custom, exposing error and inconsistency, and arousing conscience.

Woolman published the second pamphlet at his

own expense, preferring not to draw from the Quaker funds because they included contributions from Quaker slaveholders. He also believed that the book would receive more careful study if it was available only through purchase. The pamphlet exhibited the insight gleaned from several years of entreating slaveholders to free their slaves. Working from similar principles and aims but with less caution than before, Woolman confronted prevailing apologies for slavery. He spoke for the capacities of Africans and their right to equality. Drawing from travel narratives to Africa, he illustrated the “barbarous proceedings” that led to enslavement and the transportation of Africans to the Americas. It was possible in theory, said Woolman, for slaveholders to treat slaves humanely. But few, if any, acquired slaves with charitable intentions or with beneficial effects.

Both pamphlets assisted early attempts by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to dissuade Friends from the sale, purchase, and possession of slaves. In 1754 the Overseers of the Press delivered Part One of *Considerations* to the Yearly Meetings in England and North America. Passages from the pamphlet were included in a landmark 1754 epistle to Friends from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting declaring slavery a sin.

Although the essays most influenced the Society of Friends, they circulated widely. The Quaker propagandist Anthony Benezet cited lines from the 1754 tract in the preface to his *Observations on Inslaving, Importing, and Purchasing of Negroes* (1759) and sent Parts One and Two with the antislavery pamphlets he distributed in North America and shipped to England. The essays were reprinted and bound with the first American edition of *The Journal of John Woolman* (1774) and with various editions of *The Works of John Woolman* published on both sides of the Atlantic in succeeding decades.

— Christopher L. Brown

See also: Quakers; Woolman, John.

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SOUTH CAROLINA

Dominated by slavery and its legacies, the history of South Carolina—as experience and example—has clearly influenced the broader historiographical twists and turns of North American slavery. There are several good reasons why this particular state figures so largely in the literature of involuntary servitude. Most obviously, there is the morbid appeal of the state’s unique history of ultraconservative reactionism. Such episodes include the period of states’ rights radicalism and the drafting of the ordinance of nullification in 1832, a leading role in the increasingly fanatical and racial justifications and defenses of southern slavery in the 1850s, and finally, the unilateral decision to secede in December 1860, which made the American Civil War an imminent and tragic inevitability. Together with the other great “mountain of conceit,” Virginia, South Carolina has been frequently mythologized as a spiritual center of the antebellum southern aristocracy—a sentimental image still profitably employed by the region’s tourist industry. Scholars of slavery on their grand tours of great southern cities, finding traces of “unofficial,” neglected, and marginalized sources, have perhaps felt impelled to counter such romantic chimera by documenting some of the state’s less apocryphal, but equally important, historical moments.

South Carolina was first successfully colonized by migrants from Barbados in 1670. They brought with them their well-established practice of plantation slavery and fundamental constitutions that left no doubt as to the intended status of their imported slave labor. These founding documents gave white freemen “absolute power and authority over Negro Slaves” and determined that, even allowing for a Christian conversion, Negro slaves would remain “in ye same State and Condition”—in other words, lifelong bondage (Wood, 1974). Other forms of enforced labor were tested in the early years of the colony, most notably white indentured servitude and the enslavement of Native Americans. The indentured servants proved both costly and unreliable, while the Native American option was found to be damaging to trade and seriously threatened the safety of the settlers. By contrast, African slaves allegedly posed fewer problems. Cheaply and easily secured, initially from the Caribbean, Africans

were seen as an attractive source of labor because of their invaluable frontier skills. When rice cultivation began to develop in the low country, West African knowledge of the planting and processing of this profitable staple crop further stimulated slave imports and eventually led to the formation of a black majority in the colony.

Outnumbered by slaves from around 1708, the white population began to show clear signs of insecurity and enacted a series of harsh and prohibitive statutes (in particular, the acts of 1712, 1722, and 1740), allegedly “for the better ordering and governing of Negroes and Slaves” (Wood, 1974), which set the general pattern of repressive “white over black” race relations in South Carolina for the next 250 years. Despite being legally confirmed in their chattel status, subject to close social control, and exposed to the constant surveillance and arbitrary justice of white patrollers, black slaves stubbornly refused to submit to the white colonial regime. The 1739 Stono Rebellion and the mass of documentary evidence in Lathan A. Windley’s third volume of *Runaway Slave Advertisements* (collected from South Carolina newspapers between the years 1730 and 1790 and published in 1983) demonstrate that point emphatically and irrefutably.

With Charleston prospering as a key area in international and interregional slave-trading systems and as a major exporter of staple crops, the low country dominated South Carolina’s economy and society throughout the eighteenth century. Large-scale plantation operations and planter wealth proliferated in this area, as did slave numbers and a constant concern for their “management.” Furthermore, it was this region that first gave rise to a clearly distinctive African American folk culture. From the collision of a plethora of African and European influences and in response to the demands of a new working environment, the black population creatively developed a range of composite or syncretic cultural forms. For example, a new language, Gullah, evolved, and it enabled slaves to communicate both in the language of authority and, more importantly, in code (Joyner, 1984).

From 1800 onward, as cotton began to take a firm hold in the up-country part of South Carolina, the whole state became both more economically dependent on slave labor and more marked by the rituals and tensions of the master–slave/aristocrat–yeoman social roles. Fearful of black revolt after the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822 and coming under increasing attack from northern abolitionists, the South Carolina elite set about strengthening the Charleston militia and actively deploying the “positive good” proslavery defense pioneered by John C. Calhoun. However, the

armor and ideology of the plantocracy failed to win the battles of the Civil War, and thereafter the state had to deal with the difficulties of Reconstruction.

A hospitable climate, a citizenry with an obvious devotion to history, and abundant archival resources detailing a rich, varied, and often tragic past ensure that armies of aspiring slavery scholars will continue to search for “the truth” about slavery in South Carolina—part of the necessary ongoing cultural analysis of “the peculiar institution.”

— Stephen C. Kenny

See also: Gullah; Rice Cultivation and Trade; Sea Islands; Stono Rebellion; Vesey, Denmark.

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SOUTH CAROLINA EXPOSITION AND PROTEST

The South Carolina Exposition and Protest, publications against federal tariff laws, were introduced in the state legislature in 1828 and mark the start of the nullification crisis. Although the *Exposition* failed to pass the legislature, its 1829 publication by the state government and John C. Calhoun’s authorship of this document, even though that was initially concealed, vested it with more authority than the shorter and less confrontational *Protest*. The *Exposition* established Calhoun as a preeminent southern political theorist as it recast states’ rights theory for the defense of slavery. Citing the precedent of the 1798 Virginia and Kentucky resolutions in response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, Calhoun sought to evoke state power against the actions of the federal government. But instead of an appeal to local majorities to check an undemocratic federal government, the *Exposition* devised ways and means to secure the interests of the slaveholding minority against the voice of the majority. The theory of nullification, or state veto, of federal laws outlined in the *Exposition* also violated the cardinal tenet of states’

rights theory, strict construction of the constitution, as it was nowhere mentioned in the Constitution and circumvented the amendment process laid out in it.

The *Exposition* contended that the policy of protection or levying tariffs was unconstitutional and oppressive to the slave South. Calhoun made the startling and unique claim that import duties equaled export duties and thus the main burden of the tariff fell on southerners, the nation's main exporters. According to this logic, the South, rather than all consumers, paid import duties. In an interesting if implausible discovery of political economy, Calhoun claimed that producers, not consumers, paid duties levied on foreign goods—and not all producers but producers of exported crops, that is, mainly the slaveholding planter class. He claimed that this policy was the cause of the South's economic woes, and he felt that the tariff should be lowered and should mainly be a source of revenue for the government rather than protection for northern manufacturing. Calhoun concluded with the pet claim of the South Carolina nullifiers that the federal government, which now acted against the profits of the slave South, would soon attack the South's system of labor, slavery.

Calhoun's championship of slaveholders' interests informed his minority-versus-majority theory of politics. He also referred to another venerable precedent, James Madison's *Federalist* No. 10, to legitimize the grievances of southern slaveholders. For Calhoun, the minority in question was synonymous with a particular class and section, and the only solution to majority domination was state sovereignty. The state as representative of the minority would have the power to veto a federal law that it considered unconstitutional. Calhoun's notion of state sovereignty justified nullification by a single state but was contradicted by his assertion that after a state veto, the supreme power to decide the question at issue would lie with the constitution-amending authority, three-fourths of the states. Furthermore, a minority—a little more than one-fourth of the states—could make or break federal law. Calhoun's theory of nullification was not only an undemocratic prescription for minority rule but could act as an ironclad protection for southern slaveholders against any federal attempt to regulate or abolish slavery. Later Calhoun would use the term *concurrent majority* to characterize his theory and to answer accusations that he favored minority rule. He would also claim that the nullifying state had a choice either to accede to the wishes of three-fourths of the states or secede from the Union, thereby laying the foundations for the southern notion of an allegedly constitutional right to secession.

Calhoun had injected a new issue into the traditional fears of propertied minorities in majoritarian republics, and that was the specific dilemma of the southern slaveholding minority. He would have no qualms about dispensing with minority rights when it came to northern abolitionists or the unionists in his own state. A state veto or minority check that he saw epitomized in the state government of South Carolina would lead to similar undemocratic, planter-dominated politics. His concept of nullification was profoundly conservative, designed to check what South Carolinian nullifiers saw as the excesses of democracy and majoritarianism.

— Manisha Sinha

See also: Calhoun, John C.; Nullification Doctrine; United States Constitution.

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SPAIN. *See* Illegal Slave Trade; Slavery along the Spanish Borderlands.

SLAVERY ALONG THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS

The 1860 census noted that the New Mexico Territory contained eight "chattel servants" who were property of white citizens who had emigrated from Texas. Clearly, most African chattel slavery along the Spanish Borderlands was found in Texas, where it was limited by economics and geography. If we include portions of the Louisiana Purchase in an extended definition of the Spanish borderlands, we can count slaves in Missouri and Kansas in this region. Except for Texas and, to a much lower extent, in Missouri and Kansas, slavery was unprofitable in the Borderlands. The Mexican government had banned African slavery in 1829. This was one of the problems that caused the Texas Question as Americans moved into Texas, bringing their slaves with them.

This consideration does not touch on Native Americans owning African slaves. If we use a broad definition of “Spanish Borderlands,” then we can consider various tribes in Florida and later in Oklahoma (Indian Territory) who brought their slaves with them during the Indian Removals of the 1830s. The question of Indian slavery was considered almost as soon as the Spanish touched the shores of the New World. Although the Spanish seemed to accept African slavery, they worked very hard to keep Indians out of slavery. Father Bartolomé de las Casas, early in his career, proposed to introduce African slaves into the Caribbean islands to spare the Indians the heavy labor, which was destroying them. Later, however, he changed his mind and opposed black slavery as well, and for similar reasons. The Spanish never fought as hard or as consistently against black slavery as they did on behalf of the Indians. Even though las Casas rejected black slavery, he owned several African slaves as late as 1544. The Spanish did not offer any concerted opposition to African slavery during the sixteenth century. The speculation is that the Iberians had become accustomed to having black Muslim slaves. There are several examples of these being a part of the Conquest (e.g., Estevanico who had been with Cabeza de Vaca and later with Coronado).

The work to emancipate African slaves in the Spanish New World was led by the Jesuits Alonso de Sandoval and Peter Claver during the seventeenth century. The Great Debate at Valladolid (1550–1551) was conducted as an inquiry into the nature of the Indian. Was he the “Natural Slave” as described in Aristotle’s *Politics*? The debate concluded that Indians were not the people discussed by Aristotle.

Although slavery was expressly prohibited by law in the Spanish dominions, the Indians were subjected to the *encomienda* system and the Mission Laws of California. The *encomienda* system was devised to provide landowners with an adequate labor supply. The earliest laws on this subject went into force in 1513, under the Laws of Burgos. The laws, though humane, were unenforceable. Las Casas, in his *History of the Indies* (1520), attacked the system. He called it, “The greatest evil which has caused the total destruction of those lands and which will continue . . . is the *encomienda* of the Indians as it now exists. . . also it is against God and [H]is will and [H]is Church” (Hanke, 1949). The Law of Inheritance for Two Generations (1536) permitted the *encomenderos* to pass on their *encomiendas* as inheritance (and the Indians with it) to their legitimate descendants or to their widows for one lifetime.

Another, far-reaching example of “Indian slavery” existed in the Mission System as established in Califor-

nia. The system, devised by the Franciscan Fathers, held the Indians in virtual slavery. The theory was that the Fathers were holding the lands in trust for the Indians until they became mature enough to handle the complexities of property and government themselves. The Indians were tied to the mission lands, they were denied free access, and the priests controlled every aspect of their lives, much as had the *encomenderos*, nearly two hundred years earlier. Even after the American conquest in 1848, California’s Mission Indians tended to remain on former mission lands. Tribes even took their current names from the specific missions around which they lived.

One other aspect of slavery along the Spanish Borderlands was that of Indians who took other tribes as slaves during war and conquest. The Navajos of the American Southwest had the reputation of such a practice. Spanish chronicles of the conquest stressed the fear inspired by the Navajos’ slaveholding practices.

In summary, while there was a great African slavery presence along the Spanish Borderlands, it was, in the main, limited to the American Southeast and Texas. Indian slavery was rampant in the West, with a number of tribes holding slaves during the American period and some tribes holding other Indians as slaves.

— Henry H. Goldman

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KENNETH M. STAMPP (B. 1912)

Kenneth M. Stampp, a native of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, earned his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin in 1942 and emerged quickly as a leading historian of the Civil War era in the United States. His *Indiana Politics*

during the Civil War (1949) and *And the War Came* (1950) marked him as an emerging scholar in the post-World War II years. Stampp's most influential work, however, remains his revisionist interpretation of North American slavery.

In a seminal article in the *American Historical Review* (1952) and in *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956), Stampp thoroughly revised the pioneer writings of the southern historian Ulrich Bonnell Phillips. Though respectful of Phillips's earlier contributions, Stampp nonetheless attacked him for ignoring slave life on small plantations and farms, for "loose and glib generalizing" about slave life, and for failing to view slavery "through the eyes of the Negro." In describing slavery, Stampp said, Phillips overvalued the "mild and humorous side and minimized its grosser aspects." In his opinion, Phillips was incapable of taking blacks seriously.

Reflecting the anthropological findings of his day, not Phillips's, Stampp remarked that "no historian . . . can be taken seriously any longer unless he begins with the knowledge that there is no valid evidence that the Negro race is innately inferior to the white, and there is growing evidence that both races have approximately the same potentialities." Writing during the opening stages of the civil rights movement, Stampp informed readers of *The Peculiar Institution*, "I have assumed that the slaves were ordinary human beings, that innately Negroes are, after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less."

The Peculiar Institution remained the standard work on black slavery until the 1970s. After careful research using plantation sources, Stampp described "the peculiar institution" as a dehumanizing, exploitative, but highly profitable labor system. Slaves toiled from dawn to dusk. "In terms of its broad social consequences for the South as a whole, however," he said, "slavery must be adjudged a failure." Though cognizant that not all masters overworked their bondsmen and women, Stampp nevertheless insisted that the blacks perceived slavery "as a system of labor extortion."

It was above all else a labor system, one predicated on rigid discipline. To function, slavery depended on rigid discipline and demanded unconditional submission by the black slaves to the wishes of their white masters. It also was a social system that repeatedly impressed upon the bondsmen and women their inferiority, a "closed" system determined to inculcate in them "a paralyzing fear of white men."

Whereas Phillips had defined slavery as a "school" for the allegedly heathen African Americans, Stampp interpreted it more like a prison where the slaves gained "a sense of complete dependence" and learned

the whites' "code of behavior." According to Stampp, under slave law, "the slave was less a person than a thing." Whites, employing whipping as a symbol of racial control, worked hard to make the slaves "stand in fear." Challenging Phillips's notion of planter paternalism, Stampp charged that "the predominant and overpowering emotion that whites aroused in the majority of slaves was neither love nor hate but fear."

Stampp recognized that masters provided incentives to the slaves—patches of land for truck gardens, passes to visit other farms and plantations, cash payments—as ancillary modes of racial control. Unlike Phillips, Stampp argued that the slave consistently "longed for liberty and resisted bondage as much as any people could have done in their circumstances." Subjected to all manner of brutal and barbaric treatment by their captors, the slaves nevertheless remained "a troublesome property," capable of withstanding and resisting their captivity. In the end, Stampp judged that "slavery had no philosophical defense worthy of the name . . . it had nothing to commend it to posterity, except that it paid."

Stampp's view of slavery—as morally oppressive but economically profitable—generally continues to dominate theoretical approaches to the study of slavery. According to historian Peter J. Parish (1989), "Most authorities now agree that [the slaveholders] received a return on their investment which was in line with, if not superior to, that available elsewhere." But, as Stampp's critics have argued, master-slave relations were more complex, more nuanced, than the author of *The Peculiar Institution* suggested.

Stampp did not recognize change over time. He envisioned slavery, according to Carl N. Degler (1976), as "a changeless snapshot." Also, whereas Stampp, like Phillips, focused mostly on the masters and their behavior, modern scholars pay considerably more attention to the slaves' perspective of and reaction to their bondage. Few scholars today agree with Stampp's description of slaves as a "culturally rootless people."

In its day, however, *The Peculiar Institution* ranked as a major corrective to the type of writing of Phillips's era, and it thus remains one of the most influential works on the history of slavery. It influenced generations of scholars determined to understand the long history of racism in the United States.

— John David Smith

See also: Paternalism; Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell.

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MARIA W. STEWART (1803–1879)

Hailed as America's first black female political writer, Maria W. Stewart was an intensely active abolitionist writer and speaker. She was the first African American woman to speak before a mixed-gender audience and to leave texts of her speeches. Stewart was much more than an abolitionist, however, as she addressed varied subjects such as religion, anticolonization, political and economic exploitation, black self-determination, and women's rights.

A free black born in Hartford, Connecticut, and orphaned at an early age, Stewart lived with a clergyman's family until age fifteen when she began working as a domestic servant. Although she did not have the privilege of a formal education, her attendance at local Sunday Schools and residence in the clergyman's home offered access to books and knowledge that formed her intellectual views. Following a religious conversion, Stewart believed that born-again Christians were obligated to condemn all forms of injustice and oppression. She believed her work was part of a larger mission and declared that she possessed "that spirit of independence that were I called upon, I would willingly sacrifice my life for the cause of God and my brethren" (Richardson, 1987). She began writing antislavery tracts after the mysterious death of her friend and mentor, David Walker, whose famous *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829) called for black militancy to oppose slavery and racial injustice.

Stewart's first tract, *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, the Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build* (1831), was printed by William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp, and excerpts appeared in Garrison's abolitionist weekly, the *Liberator*. Stewart also began speaking before Boston audiences at Franklin Hall and the African-American Female Intelligence Society. Using biblical references and the values espoused in the U.S. Constitution, she denounced slavery and asserted African Americans' rights to freedom and full participation in American democracy. Stewart's lectures can be more aptly termed political sermons because they were filled with her enduring Christian beliefs even as

they criticized the then current racist and sexist practices of the day.

Stewart questioned the American Colonization Society's intentions and recognized the racism of many of its members who believed blacks were inferior and unable to survive on their own in the United States. Stewart challenged colonizationists to support their claims of charity. Speaking before an audience at the African Masonic Hall in Boston, she charged, "If the colonizationists are the real friends to Africa, let them expend the money which they collect in erecting a college to educate her injured sons in this land of gospel, light, and liberty; for it would be most thankfully received on our part, and convince us of the truth of their professions, and save time, expense, and anxiety" (Richardson, 1987). Like many nineteenth-century African American abolitionists, Stewart displayed a fundamental concern with black civil rights and self-determination.

Unfortunately, Stewart's career as a public speaker was short-lived. Because social constraints impeded women's activities in the public sphere and there was insufficient responsiveness to her addresses, Stewart chose to end her speaking career in 1833 but continued working for freedom and opportunities for African Americans. Stewart published her speeches and writings in *Meditations from the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart* (1835), which was reprinted as *Productions of Mrs. Maria Stewart, Presented to the First African-Baptist Church and Society, in the City of Boston* (1879). She taught school in New York, Baltimore, and later, in Washington, D.C., during the Civil War. She was appointed matron of Washington's Freedman's Hospital in the early 1870s and supervised the hospital's service to many ill, destitute, and dispossessed former slaves until her death in 1879.

— DoVeanna S. Fulton

See also: American Colonization Society; Garrison, William Lloyd; Walker, David.

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WILLIAM STILL (1821–1902)

An abolitionist, writer, and Underground-Railroad activist, William Still was a free African American whose mother ran away from slavery and whose father purchased his own freedom. Still began working for the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in 1847. Three years later the society made him chairman of its Vigilance Committee to assist fugitives going through Philadelphia. During eight years in that job, he had contact with about eight hundred fugitive slaves, including about sixty children.

In Still's largely routine work there were some exciting moments, as evident on the day a man who purchased his own freedom contacted Still for family information. The two discovered that they were brothers, the younger having been left behind when their mother escaped from slavery. Still witnessed the arrival of such famous fugitives as Henry "Box" Brown and William and Ellen Craft. The Vigilance Committee worked closely with Thomas Garrett, Robert Purvis, and Lucretia and James Mott. Still was able to find temporary shelter for fugitives among other African Americans in Philadelphia.

One of Still's duties was to interview newly arrived slaves concerning their masters' names, their treatment, and their escape experiences. He carefully preserved these records, which years later provided source material for his book on the Underground Railroad. In 1855 Still visited former slaves in Canada and wrote a strong defense of their conduct and status, answering those who insisted that African Americans could not survive in freedom. His efforts to improve the status of African Americans continued after abolition, when, among other efforts, he led a successful eight-year struggle to desegregate Pennsylvania's streetcars.

William Still's book, *The Underground Railroad* (1872), fills an important place in the history of the Underground Railroad. One of a very few such works by African Americans, it is a significant supplement to white abolitionists' memoirs. Although he included sketches of the abolitionists, his emphasis was on the daring and ingenuity of the fugitives themselves. He did not depict them as passive passengers on an abolitionist-run railroad. Besides fugitives' accounts, his book included newspaper articles, legal documents, letters from abolitionists and former slaves, and biographical sketches. The many illustrations called attention to the role of absconding slaves in the struggle for their own freedom.

Still's book is a powerful testimony against slavery. The story of the fugitives' "heroism and desperate struggles," wrote Still, and "the terrible oppression that

they were under," must be preserved for future generations. Moreover, Still argued that books by African Americans would prove their intellectual ability and demolish ideas of racial inferiority. "We very much need works on various topics from the pens of colored men to represent the race intellectually," he wrote (Still, 1883).

William Still published his book himself and sold it through his own agents. When the first edition sold out he printed another, and in 1883 a third edition. It became the most widely circulated of such accounts and is still found in many African American homes.

Yet despite its large circulation it had little influence on the way white Americans viewed the Underground Railroad, for his spotlight on the fugitives was often overshadowed by the well-publicized work of their abolitionist collaborators.

— Larry Gara

See also: Craft, William and Ellen; Garrett, Thomas; Underground Railroad.

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LUCY STONE (1818–1893)

Despite Lucy Stone's significant contribution to abolitionism, her involvement in the woman's rights and woman suffrage movements has overshadowed her years of labor for the antislavery movement. Born in central Massachusetts, Stone was greatly influenced by the outspoken, early feminist-abolitionists Angelina and Sarah Grimké and Abby Kelley Foster.

Stone earned her way through Oberlin College, becoming in 1847 the first Massachusetts woman to obtain a college degree. Though abolitionism was rampant at Oberlin in the mid-1840s, it shunned the radical message of the Garrisonians upon which Stone modeled her ideology and her antislavery fervor. While at Oberlin, Stone was in charge of disseminating the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, a journal for western Garrisonians, and though women students were not permitted to speak publicly, she worked to prepare herself for a career as a women's rights and antislavery lecturer.

Shortly after Stone graduated from Oberlin, Samuel May, Jr., general agent of the American Anti-Slavery



Lucy Stone's involvement in the woman's rights and woman suffrage movements overshadowed her years of labor for the antislavery movement. (Library of Congress)

Society, hired her as an agent of the society to conduct antislavery lecture tours. When May chastised Stone for mingling women's rights issues with her antislavery message, they solved the conflict by agreeing that she would address the two concerns in separate lectures. Like her fellow Garrisonian feminist-abolitionists Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelley Foster, and Susan B. Anthony, Stone found it nearly impossible to separate the issues of political and social domination that enslaved African Americans from those that rendered women powerless.

In her first year of touring, Stone earned a solid reputation for converting people to the antislavery cause. Her success was based on a dynamic oratorical strategy—without written notes or text, she focused on relating heart-rending, true stories of families tyrannized and destroyed by slavery. Critics especially noted the persuasive power of her mellifluous voice on belligerent audiences. By the end of 1848, Stone was sharing near-equal billing with William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Until the late 1850s, she lectured throughout all of New England, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and parts of Canada.

Late in the 1850s, several years after her marriage to Cincinnati abolitionist Henry Blackwell, Stone sharply

curtailed her speaking engagements to remain home with her young daughter. In the midst of the Civil War in 1863, she joined Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in forming the Women's National Loyal League. Stone was elected president of the league's opening convention, which determined to organize northern women to petition Congress to secure a thirteenth amendment guaranteeing the freedom of African Americans.

In 1866 Stone participated with Anthony, Stanton, and others in organizing the American Equal Rights Association and lobbied legislators to make the Fourteenth Amendment, and later the Fifteenth Amendment, ensure universal suffrage. Then, in 1869, following a major political and ideological rift with Anthony and Stanton, Stone abandoned this struggle and aligned herself with Wendell Phillips and most male abolitionists who insisted that obtaining the franchise for African American males must take precedence over all other concerns, particularly woman suffrage. Stone dedicated the remainder of her life to women's rights and woman suffrage as a major leader of the American Woman Suffrage Association and as editor of the weekly newspaper, *Woman's Journal*.

—Judith E. Harper

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Anthony, Susan B.; Foster, Abigail Kelley; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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STONO REBELLION (1739)

A slave rebellion broke out near the Stono River in South Carolina in 1739. Known as the Stono Rebellion,

it was the largest uprising of its kind to occur during the period of the American colonies. The Spanish Empire in the New World had enticed the slaves of British colonies to escape to Spanish territory, and in 1733 the Spanish monarch issued an edict to free all runaway slaves from British territory who had made their way into Spanish possessions. Five years later, the Spanish in St. Augustine, Florida, earnestly pursued the policy and publicized this news. Information about the policy reached South Carolina's slaves through the seamen who landed at Charleston, South Carolina, and throughout 1739, the colony's government had problems with an increasing number of slaves escaping to Florida. As they promised, the Spanish offered refuge to the runaways, but occasionally, they sold them to other owners.

On Sunday, September 9, 1739, about twenty slaves, most of whom were from Angola, gathered under the leadership of a slave called Jemmy near the Stono River, 20 miles away from Charleston. They massacred several white families and looted their guns and ammunition. The next day they marched south, following the Pongpong River, which ran through Georgia to St. Augustine. While they marched, the rebels cried for liberty, raised flags, and beat drums. On the road, more slaves joined the rebels, whose number reached more than sixty—some scholars estimate it was about one hundred.

In high spirits, the reinforced rebels stopped their march for a while. They began singing and dancing and tried to enlist more people by beating drums; some of them were drunk. Although they had marched more than 10 miles, the rebels had met with no obstacle and were free to burn everything they saw.

In the meantime, the militia was gathering, and when the whites pursued, the rebel ranks were soon broken, and several were killed in battle. For the following month, colonial officials arrested and executed the rebels, hanging their heads on the landmark posts along the road. In total, forty-four blacks and twenty-one whites lost their lives during the rebellion and its aftermath.

Because the leaders of the rebellion were mostly from Angola, whites later avoided purchasing Angolan slaves because they feared their rebellious nature. The Stono Rebellion shocked white South Carolinians so strongly that their assembly passed laws to place import duties on the slaves from abroad to curtail the high black population rate in the colony. Of all the British colonies in North America, South Carolina had the largest majority African population. Blacks began outnumbering white residents in 1730, and in the colony's coastal area, blacks constituted two-thirds of the population.

In 1740 the colony collected all the Negro codes that were in use in order to rearrange them into a comprehensive new law. The new legislation fortified the whites' control of blacks, both free and unfree, by strengthening patrol duties and militia training and by recommending the master's benign treatment of slaves. South Carolina's 1740 Negro Code, along with Virginia and Maryland laws, provided models for the laws governing slaves in the expanding slave territory to the west.

— Hyong-In Kim

See also: South Carolina.

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HARRIET BEECHER STOWE (1811–1896)

Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut. She was the seventh of nine children born to Lyman Beecher, a leading clergyman, and his first wife, Roxana Foote. In 1816 her mother, Roxana died, but other than this early encounter with grief, Stowe's childhood seems to have been a happy one.

She first attended Dame School and later was sent to the Litchfield Academy. In 1824 she moved to Hartford where she studied and assisted her sister Catherine, a student teacher at Hartford Female Seminary. Then, in 1832, the family moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where her father had been appointed president of Lane Theological Seminary. Harriet started to teach shortly thereafter. Although she visited a plantation in Kentucky in 1833, it was in Cincinnati that Stowe gained firsthand experience of the great moral and religious disturbances that surrounded the issue of slavery. Her father, under pressure, found himself unable to take the radical stand demanded by some of the seminary students. As a result, many of the students withdrew in 1833, under the leadership of Theodore Dwight Weld, and became the nucleus of Oberlin College in Ohio. Stowe later made use of this incident in her writing.

During her time in Cincinnati, she began writing



Harriet Beecher Stowe, U.S. author and antislavery reformer. (Library of Congress)

and published her first fiction work, *The Mayflower: Sketches and Scenes and Characters among the Descendants of the Puritans* (1843). Her life was difficult and she worked hard. Her situation did not become easier when she became the second wife of Calvin E. Stowe in 1836. He was a distinguished biblical scholar but a man hopelessly ill-equipped for married life. The family was poor, and while still in Cincinnati, Stowe lived through the births of six of her seven children, the death of one child, a cholera epidemic and race riots, before finally leaving in 1850 to move to Brunswick, Maine. Her husband had received a professorship at Bowdoin College there, and the family spent two years in Brunswick before Calvin Stowe joined the faculty of the theological seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, which remained their home until 1864 when they retired to Hartford, Connecticut. Calvin Stowe died in 1886.

For Stowe, there was no “room of one’s own” in which to write, but while in Brunswick, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) reinforced her abhorrence of slavery and led to the writing of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*

(1852). Throughout the 1840s in Cincinnati, and despite her revulsion, Stowe had never become an active member of any abolitionist organization. Eventually her work brought her into contact with Frederick Douglass and other active abolitionists, but Stowe remained on the outside of any formal abolitionist groups. Nevertheless, she had contributed articles to abolitionist papers, set up a school for the children of former slaves, and through her cook, a former slave named Eliza Buck, learned that Buck’s children had been fathered by her owner. From Buck, Stowe learned that slave women were unable to help themselves. It was through its adherence to a woman’s world that *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* captured the emotions and imagination as no other antislavery literature had managed to do. It brought Stowe fame and, if not fortune, at least freedom from incessant money worries. The work may have sold 3 million copies in the United States alone, and in addition to being translated into many languages, it was the first American book to become a best-seller in Europe. It was admired by the Russian writers Leo Tolstoy and Feodor Dostoevski, and both Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot wrote admiringly of Stowe’s courageous entry into the “political sphere” with a subject deemed unsuitable for women at that time.

Inevitably, the book was challenged, particularly in the journals and papers of the southern United States, leading Stowe to accumulate material from laws, court records, newspapers, and slave narratives that she published as *The Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1853) and “Uncle Sam’s Emancipation,” which later appeared in a book with that title. She found the horrors of slavery more dreadful than she had imagined and continued her attack on “the peculiar institution” in *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856). That work developed a theme of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* to demonstrate that slaveholding demoralized the white population.

At the height of her fame, in 1853, Stowe traveled to Great Britain and was welcomed by liberals everywhere. On a second visit in 1856, she was honored by Queen Victoria, but on her third visit, in 1869, she was introduced to Lady Byron. Stowe’s subsequent book, *Lady Byron Vindicated* (1870), which accused the English poet George Gordon (Lord) Byron of an incestuous relationship with his stepsister, turned many people in Britain against her. Stowe suffered personal grief, including the loss of two sons, and her talented favorite brother, Henry Ward, accused of adultery, created a scandal involving ecclesiastical and civil trials. This caused incalculable emotional upset to all concerned. Nevertheless, during the 1870s, Stowe embarked on a highly successful public speaking career,

reading from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other works. She continued writing, contributing throughout her life to numerous magazines and journals, but her fiction after *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* consisted largely of New England novels and included *The Minister's Wooing* (1859), which James Russell Lowell saw as her masterpiece. An inveterate public commentator on personal and public questions, she included in that work her attack on Calvinism, a religion she eventually deserted. In 1871 she wrote a fictional essay, "My Wife and I," in which she defended a woman's right to a career. Her own career was both long and arduous, and during the 1880s, her critical reputation, together with her health, declined. The little woman who Abraham Lincoln supposedly credited with starting the American Civil War, died on July 1, 1896, with only her nurse present.

— Jan Pilditch

See also: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

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STRADER V. GRAHAM (1851)

Although the question of slavery was a complex political, social, and moral issue in the generation preceding the Civil War, the topic became increasingly litigious in the decade before that conflict. Some jurists believed the courts might succeed where legislative compromise and moral suasion had failed in reckoning effectively with slavery—that judicial fiat might mandate an equitable position with respect to the South's peculiar institution and the myriad concerns it engendered. The U.S. Supreme Court's action in *Strader v. Graham* (10 How. 82 [1851]) established a short-lived precedent, a policy it later ignored when considering the infamous case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857).

Dr. Christopher Graham was a Kentucky slaveowner who regularly hired out his slaves as professional musicians for performances in Ohio and Indi-

ana minstrel shows. Trained as performers by a freedman and recognizing their potential social and economic value in the free states, some of these bonded artisans grew disenchanted with their status as chattel property in Kentucky. In 1841 three of Graham's slaves escaped from Kentucky by crossing the Ohio River and seeking asylum as free men in Cincinnati. Since Kentucky law allowed the prosecution of anyone who aided or abetted the escape of slaves, Graham filed a lawsuit against Jacob Strader who owned the steamboat *Pike* that ferried the fugitives across the river.

The case involved several crucial legal questions that were yet unreconciled and untested in the national debate over a slaveowner's truest property rights in human capital. State law in Ohio recognized the fugitives as freedmen, and the language of the Northwest Ordinance (1787) had explicitly prohibited slavery from the region where the musicians performed and where they eventually sought their freedom. This was not merely a question of whether Ohio's laws could supersede the judicial prerogatives of Kentucky, but rather it called into question the validity of the U.S. government's assertion in the Northwest Ordinance that lands north of the Ohio River were free of slavery. Although Graham only sought compensatory damages for the value of the slaves that he had lost, the case that he filed against Strader was fraught with more potent meaning as the repercussions from legal ambiguities would have implications in the national debate on slavery.

Kentucky courts had established a precedent in *Rankin v. Lydia* (1820) that authorized emancipation for those slaves taken by their owners into free states or territories and made permanent residents there. The Kentucky Court of Appeals did not find that precedent applicable in *Strader v. Graham* because the circumstances of the case were quite different. The court held that Graham's slaves were merely sojourners who visited free states while in temporary employment and that were not taken into these regions for the purpose of establishing permanent residency outside of Kentucky. Accordingly, the Kentucky courts held Strader liable for the escape of Graham's slaves and ordered him to pay damages to Graham equivalent to the value of the three fugitives. Strader appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

On January 6, 1851, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney announced the U.S. Supreme Court's unanimous decision to dismiss the case for lack of jurisdiction. In Taney's opinion, it was the exclusive right of each state "to determine the status, or domestic or social condition, of the persons domiciled within its territory" (Witt, 1990). In what was largely viewed as a proslav-

ery decision, the U.S. Supreme Court had implicitly promised noninterference by federal courts with decisions that state courts had reached on slavery-related questions.

Chief Justice Taney's ruling also included other controversial statements. Taney believed that the Northwest Ordinance (1787) had been superseded by the adoption of the U.S. Constitution (1789), which provided a sense of equality (comity) to all states. Specifically, Taney held that the prohibition against slavery in the Northwest Territory ceased to exist once a territory became a state, but that states did have the right to determine the status of individuals within their respective jurisdictions. Justices John McLean and John Catron each filed separate opinions in which they challenged Taney's statements on the Northwest Ordinance and on the free navigation of rivers.

Had the U.S. Supreme Court followed its own decision in *Strader v. Graham* (1851) as a precedent, it might have similarly dismissed the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), but that did not happen. Apparently, the ensuing crisis fomented by the expansion of slavery into the western territories and the abject failure of popular sovereignty to remedy the situation had changed the judicial landscape by 1857.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Northwest Ordinance (1787); United States Constitution.

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THORNTON STRINGFELLOW (1788–1869)

Thornton Stringfellow was perhaps the leading proslavery spokesman in the Old South to base his arguments on the Bible. Born in Fauquier County in Virginia's northern piedmont, he lived there or in neighboring Culpeper County most of his life. His part of Virginia was majority slave—Culpeper County's population in 1850 was 42 percent white, 54

percent slave, and 4 percent free black. Stringfellow himself, the son of a slaveowning family, owned about sixty slaves. He was also a Baptist minister.

In the realm of reformers in the pre-Civil War United States, Stringfellow resembled his northern counterparts in many of his ideas, but in the defense of slavery, he resembled George Fitzhugh, another eastern Virginian. Although he involved himself in temperance and in domestic and foreign missions, he also committed himself to the South's proslavery crusade. In the 1840s, when northern churches determined to exclude slaveowners from Baptist missionary activities, he convinced his fellow Baptists in the South to separate themselves and organize a Southern Baptist Convention.

As a proslavery spokesman, minister, and planter, Stringfellow contributed a scriptural variant to the proslavery writings of the South in the 1840s and 1850s. The Bible offered a sure guide to "the true principles of humanity," as he wrote in *A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery* (1841). He demonstrated how God in the Old Testament ordained slavery and how Christ and the apostles in the New Testament, never challenging the institution, directed all Christians to accept their station in life, whether as servant or as master. How could it be, Stringfellow demanded of abolitionists in the North, that "God has ordained slavery, and yet slavery is the greatest of sins"? Stringfellow's writings made it easier for his fellow white southerners to view the institution of slavery as consistent with their understanding of Christianity.

Jacksonian though he was, Stringfellow contested any belief or behavior that would, in general, "level all inequalities in human condition" or, in particular, hold that "the gain of freedom to the slave, is the only proof of godliness in the master." Neither corporal punishment nor the breakup of slave families gave him pause—these, he held, were supported in Scripture. It mattered not that some translations of the Bible used the term "servants" instead of "slaves," he said, for we are talking of "not a name, but a thing." Nor did it trouble him that Abraham relied on an army of 300 of his own slaves—that so many "servants" might "bear arms"—though America's variant of slavery displayed nothing of the sort.

The "essential particulars" of slavery in the Old Testament and in the Old South, that it was "involuntary" and "hereditary," were what mattered—but then there was race. "The guardianship and control of the black race, by the white," he argued in *Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery* (1841), "is an indispensable Christian duty, to which we must yet look if we

would secure the well-being of both races.” One of Stringfellow’s works, “The Bible Argument: or, Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation,” was included in an anthology of proslavery writings: E. N. Elliott, ed., *Cotton Is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments* (1860).

See also: Fitzhugh, George.

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SUGAR CULTIVATION AND TRADE

Sugar was first cultivated in Asia about two centuries before the Christian era. Sugarcane from China, Java, India, and Persia began to be cultivated in Egypt after the seventh century BCE., and was taken by Arabs through northern Africa, and from there eventually arrived in Spain, France, and Italy. Sugar was also introduced into Syria and the Byzantine Empire. Sugar was produced in small quantities and was strictly considered a luxury item, but during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the appreciation of its food value emerged, and sugar became a substitute for honey, the principal sweetener known in the Western world.

In both the newly discovered Atlantic islands and in the Americas, the introduction of sugar cultivation transformed this expensive luxury item into a principal food product with larger consumption in every location. In 1500 the Portuguese islands of Madeira produced about 2,000 tons of sugar each year. Sugar was the only Western product that competed profitably with Eastern spices in European markets.

Colonists in the province of Pernambuco, Brazil, experimented with sugarcane cultivation as early as 1516. In 1532 Martim Afonso de Sousa established the first *engenho* (sugar mill), and in 1549 under Tomé de Sousa, the first royal governor and captain-general, sugar growers received a ten-year tax exemption. The climate and the white, chalky, clay-like, *massapi* soil along the Brazilian coast provided excellent conditions for growing cane. Sugar quickly became the basis of Brazilian prosperity, and the colony was the world’s first large-scale sugar producer. The king presented the

first governor with a difficult order: he was both to extend Portuguese authority and to make Brazil a profitable commercial venture. By 1573 Brazil shipped over 2,500 tons of sugar to Europe each year, and according to conservative estimates in 1600 Brazilian production had reached 30,000 tons. The labor requirements for the increasing sugar production promoted the development of a slave system.

Brazil’s colonization really began with sugar production—when the conqueror gradually abandoned his life of trading to administer a plantation and sugar mill. Cane planting required large land tracts and an increasing supply of cheap labor. Landowners looked to Native Americans as a natural labor force, but when voluntary labor was no longer adequate, colonists began acquiring slaves. The plantations prospered, but increases in enslavement led to hostilities from Native Americans. Because they protected the Indians, the Jesuits incurred the wrath of both the *fazendeiros* and slave raiders. After 1550 there was a rapid expansion of sugar plantations, while simultaneous drought, famine, and smallpox decimated the Indian population. From that time black Africans increasingly replaced Indian slaves. They proved a more economical labor force because of their greater physical strength and their ability to survive hard work under tropical conditions. Their fear of the nearby Indian population helped deter runaways. After 1580 the number of African slaves increased rapidly, with the sugar industry providing the wealth needed for importation.

The religious orders in colonial Latin America began cultivating cane and producing sugar for profit because they did not receive the funds that they had been promised to finance their missionary efforts. In 1594 Jesuit General Aquaviva ruled that colleges could produce their own sugar without violating the Jesuits’ governing rules or invalidating individual poverty vows taken by its members. Religious orders, thereafter, struggled to maintain an adequate workforce to produce sugar.

Until Brazil abolished the slave trade in 1850, Africans were the most numerous immigrants to Brazil. Many of them possessed greater skills and energies than their masters. In Brazil manumission was common, and slaves were usually allowed certain days to work for their own interests. They had legal rights—to own property, to marry without fear of being separated from their families, and to defend themselves—but actual practice at times belied the generous nature of the law.

Sugar plantations were almost self-sufficient socioeconomic units; consequently, no strong cities were established in colonial Brazil. Even after the

British and French developed sugar plantations in the Caribbean, Brazil continued to lead the American importation of African slaves. Since the working life of a sugar plantation slave was calculated at seven years, the growth and continuance of the slave trade was assured. Sugar planters made the maximum profit by working the slaves hard, feeding them meager rations, and then replacing those who died or were disabled each year. Some masters even freed nonproductive slaves so that they themselves would no longer have to provide for them.

The Dutch, when expelled from Brazil in 1656, took with them Africans familiar with all phases of sugar production. They introduced the sugar culture in the French and British islands in the Caribbean. Overproduction caused Brazil to lose its former commercial advantage. The discovery of great quantities of gold in Minas Gerais changed the economic situation and began an exodus of *fazendeiros* and slaves from the sugar-producing Northeast. The British reform movement that sought the end of slave trading provoked strong opposition in areas that depended on slave labor for sugar production. The March 1827 treaty between Great Britain and Brazil contained a clause promising the end of the slave trade by 1830, but it met with strong opposition among Brazilians.

During the eighteenth century slave labor developed an intensive sugar economy unique in history. The plantation system became all-important in the British colony of Jamaica and in French St. Domingue (present-day Haiti). Sugar became the dominant crop in Cuba, but coffee and tobacco were important as they were also on Puerto Rico. St. Domingue became the most productive of all Caribbean sugar colonies and a model for the colonial slave-holding society. By 1785 there were over five hundred thousand slaves there, a large portion of whom were African born. The mortality rate was high because of the hard labor in the tropical climate, poor sanitation, and housing, but mainly because of inhumane treatment. The supply of slaves had to be replenished continuously.

The Jesuits first introduced the cultivation of sugarcane into the French colony of Louisiana in 1751. The large-scale cultivation of sugar necessitated a more massive importation of slaves into the region, just as the sugar revolution of the previous century had caused enormous numbers of slaves to be taken to Brazil and the islands of the West Indies. Technological innovations, like the multiple-effect vacuum pan evaporator, developed by the octoroon Norbert Rillieux in the early nineteenth century served to advance the sugar-refining industry in Louisiana. In the early nineteenth century, some of the largest plantations of

the antebellum era were located in the sugar parishes of southeastern Louisiana.

— Sharon Landers

See also: Louisiana; Rillieux, Norbert.

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TALLMADGE AMENDMENT

The Tallmadge Amendment, an antislavery provision attached to the Missouri statehood bill of 1819, initiated the first sectional clash over slavery in the territories. In February 1819 a bill came before Congress calling for an enabling act to allow Missouri Territory to petition for statehood. As Missouri was a slaveholding territory embracing some ten thousand bondsmen, the common assumption was that Missouri would enter the Union straightaway as a slave state. Congressman James Tallmadge, Jr., of New York sought to change this scenario. He attached to the proposed enabling act an amendment closing Missouri to the further ingress of slavery and stipulating that slave children born in Missouri after its admission to the Union should be manumitted at age twenty-five. The Tallmadge Amendment proposed no regulations concerning slaves already present in the territory, but it did effectively prescribe a program of gradual emancipation that would ultimately extinguish the peculiar institution in Missouri. In short, the Tallmadge

rider decreed that Missouri would, in essence, join the Union as a free state. This point held palpable political significance, for at the time the nation was composed of an equal number of free states and slave states: eleven of each. So the admission of any new state would tip the balance of power in the Union in favor of either free soil or slaveholding interests. Tallmadge's scheme gave the advantage to the free soilers.

The Tallmadge Amendment caused great alarm in the South. Some slave-state politicians, such as Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina and future president John Tyler of Virginia, denied the authority of Congress to interfere with slavery in the territories. Others predicted disunion and civil war unless northern antislavery agitation ceased. Spencer Roane, Virginia's leading state supreme court judge, suggested that the South, "if driven to it," could form with the slaveholding West a "great nation" apart from the "northern Yankies [*sic*]" (Roane, 1906). Georgia senator Freeman Walker went further, suggesting that Tallmadge's crusade would lead to "civil wars," to "a brother's sword crimsoned with a brother's blood" (Moore, 1953).

Congress debated the Tallmadge Amendment for a full year. Reintroduced several times, the measure repeatedly passed in the House of Representatives, where northern delegates formed a majority. The amendment continually failed in the Senate, however, where southern representation equaled that of the North owing to the exact balance between slave and free states. Illinois senator Jesse B. Thomas broke the deadlock in February 1820 when he offered an amendment to the Missouri bill that became the basis for the Missouri Compromise. The Thomas Proviso called for the admission of Missouri as a slave state without the Tallmadge restrictions and proposed the admission of Maine as a free state in order to preserve the sectional equilibrium. In addition, the Thomas Amendment excluded slavery from the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30' minutes north latitude.

Henry Clay of Kentucky, who was then speaker of the House, incorporated these terms into legislation that became the Missouri Compromise. Thanks to Clay's crafty maneuvering, the act passed both chambers of Congress despite plenty of opposition. In the end, both sections grudgingly accepted the compromise. Southerners preferred an immediate short-term victory, while free-state leaders feared for the safety of the republic if they clung to the Tallmadge plan. As antislavery congressman Charles Kinsey of New Jersey explained, he opted for compromise because an antislavery victory in Missouri would be "gained at the hazard of the Union" (Fehrenbacher, 1980). Yet the

Missouri Compromise solved little. It left the slavery question to a future generation of Americans, who revisited the Tallmadge controversy time and again before ultimately fulfilling Freeman Walker's prophecy of a bloody civil war between American brothers-in-arms.

— Eric Tscheschlok

See also: Missouri Compromise.

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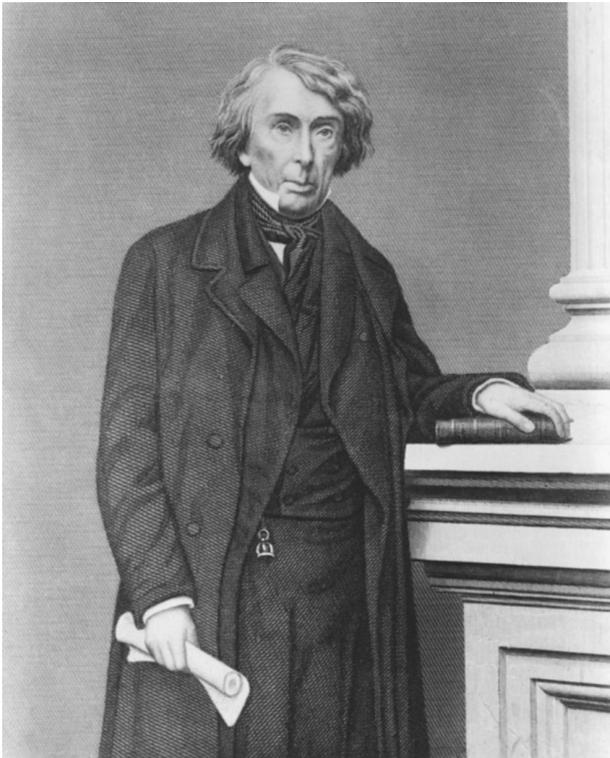
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ROGER B. TANEY (1777–1864)

Roger Brooke Taney, author of the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in the case *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, was one of the foremost judicial advocates of slavery in the nineteenth-century United States. Born on a southern Maryland tobacco plantation, Taney grew up in a wealthy planter family and never traveled far beyond Maryland's borders. After graduating from Dickinson College in Pennsylvania in 1795, he returned to his home state to study law.

As a young lawyer in Frederick County, Maryland, Taney earned somewhat of an antislavery reputation. In 1819 he defended Methodist minister Jacob Gruber, who was accused of inciting slaves to rebellion after preaching an antislavery sermon. In a passionate defense of Gruber, Taney referred to slavery as "a blot on our national character" and relied upon the Declaration of Independence to support his antislavery position. During this period, moreover, Taney freed his own slaves and joined the American Colonization Society, an organization that sought to transport American slaves to Africa. Taney's moderation on the slavery question typified southern opinion during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, particularly in a border state such as Maryland, where slaves constituted a small percentage of the total population.

Within the next decade or so, Taney adopted a more proslavery position. Appointed by President Andrew Jackson as U.S. attorney general in 1831, Taney



Chief Justice Roger B. Taney authored the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857). (Library of Congress)

wrote an unpublished opinion on the constitutionality of a North Carolina law regulating the immigration of free blacks that foreshadowed his ruling in the *Dred Scott* case. Taney referred to blacks as “a separate and degraded people” who “were not looked upon as citizens by the contracting parties who formed the Constitution” (Swisher, 1936). After Jackson appointed him as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1836, Taney began a twenty-eight-year judicial career during which he consistently defended slavery and the values of the Old South.

During the 1840s, Taney began his judicial defense of slavery. In *Groves v. Slaughter* (1841), a case involving the sale of slaves in Mississippi, Taney wrote a separate, concurring opinion affirming his commitment to protecting the peculiar institution. Although the majority opinion addressed only the narrow issue of the validity of the commercial transaction in question, Taney went beyond the scope of the matter and argued that power to regulate interstate slave trading lay exclusively with the states. By doing so, Taney hoped to ensure that the national government would not interfere with slaveholders' rights.

In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), Taney reiterated his

position in another separate opinion. This case involved the constitutionality of Pennsylvania's personal liberty law of 1826, which required slave catchers to obtain a proper writ from a state judge before removing any African Americans from the state. Writing for the majority, Justice Joseph Story invalidated this state restriction on the rendition of fugitives, holding that the power to enforce the slaveholder's right of recovery lay exclusively with the U.S. Congress. Taney, who concurred in overturning the Pennsylvania law, dissented on the issue of congressional control over slavery. The U.S. Constitution, he insisted, restrained states only from interfering with slaveholders' property rights. States, in his view, possessed the power—even the obligation—to assist in protecting those rights.

As the national debate over slavery and its extension intensified during the 1850s, so too did Taney's partisan commitment to the South. In *Strader v. Graham* (1850), he dismissed a suit for damages involving several slaves who were taken briefly into Ohio and later fled from Kentucky into Canada. When the slaveowner sued several men who allegedly aided their escape, defense counsel argued that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which banned slavery in the Old Northwest, freed the slaves as soon as they stepped on Ohio soil. The Kentucky Court of Appeals rejected this argument, and the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court. Writing for a unanimous majority, Taney dismissed the case for lack of jurisdiction, claiming that Kentucky's laws superseded the Northwest Ordinance. Again, the chief justice hoped to preserve slaveholders' rights by upholding the states' power to protect slavery.

The pinnacle of Taney's proslavery constitutionalism came in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857). Scott, a Missouri slave, accompanied his owner, an Army surgeon named John Emerson, to Illinois and later to Wisconsin Territory during the 1830s. Several years later, after Emerson's death, Scott initiated a suit against Emerson's wife claiming that by virtue of his residence in free territory, he had gained his freedom. The Missouri Supreme Court ruled against Scott, and even when he renewed his suit in federal court against his new owner, John F. A. Sanford (the name was misspelled in the official record), Scott was denied his liberty. Ultimately, he appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Instead of confining himself to the specific question of Scott's status and standing to sue, Taney delivered a proslavery diatribe that revealed his deep devotion to slavery and southern values. Taney held that the lower federal court should have dismissed the case for lack of jurisdiction. Because Scott was black, according to Taney, he was not a citizen and had no

right to sue. Even if he were a free black man, he was not a citizen under the U.S. Constitution. Blacks had long been considered, according to Taney, “so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect” (*Scott v. Sandford*, 19 Howard 393). Thus Taney not only ruled that Scott lacked standing to sue but also held, based on his interpretation of the Founders’ intentions, that no African American could claim citizenship privileges under the Constitution.

The second part of Taney’s opinion attacked congressional authority over slavery. Although some argued that this matter was not even before the Court, Taney attempted to steer the discussion of Scott’s status to the larger question of slavery in the territories. According to Taney, Scott’s sojourn in Wisconsin Territory did not make him a free man because Congress lacked the power to exclude slavery from the territories. Taney suggested that the Fifth Amendment’s due process clause prohibited Congress from interfering with slavery in these areas because to do so would violate the property rights of slaveholders who settled there. In arguing that the right to hold slave property was grounded in the Constitution, Taney proved his unflagging support for slaveholders’ rights. Northerners feared that Taney’s proslavery rhetoric portended the nationalization of slavery—the right to take slaves anywhere in the Union—and the opinion exacerbated the sectional conflict that culminated in the Civil War.

Taney remained committed to proslavery principles for the rest of his life. Having positioned the Supreme Court squarely on the side of slaveowners in the *Dred Scott* case, he asserted the unqualified power of the national government to protect slaveholders’ rights in *Ableman v. Booth* (1859). This case involved a Wisconsin abolitionist who had helped a fugitive escape, in violation of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Waging a battle with the U.S. Supreme Court over jurisdiction, Wisconsin judges challenged federal authority to prosecute the alleged criminal. In response, Taney issued a sweeping statement of judicial authority, upheld the controversial law, and fanned the growing fears of those who viewed the national government as the captive of slaveholding interests.

Throughout his judicial career, Taney was a staunch advocate of slaveowners. His opinions, though occasionally flawed in their reading of history and inconsistent in their understanding of the relationship between the national government and the states, proved a powerful weapon for white southerners in their efforts to perpetuate slavery. Only a bloody civil war and the subsequent reconstruction of the nation’s constitu-

tional order would reverse Taney’s consistently proslavery interpretation of the U.S. Constitution.

— Timothy S. Huebner

See also: *Ableman v. Booth*; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*; United States Constitution.

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TENTH AMENDMENT

The Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution reads: “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” This amendment, ratified in 1791 as part of the Bill of Rights, was first used to support states’ rights in the 1798 and 1799 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, and Thomas Jefferson had earlier cited it in his debate with Alexander Hamilton over the First Bank of the United States. Robert Hayne and John Calhoun cited the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions during the nullification controversy of the 1830s, which concerned the right of states to declare null and void any federal law they deemed unconstitutional. The states’ rights doctrine obviously related to slavery and was used as one of the main arguments for why the national government could not interfere with the issue. Even in the nullification controversy, however, states’ rights took center stage and the amendment itself was relegated to secondary status, even though it was the intellectual backing for the doctrine.

Early in the history of this nation, however, the courts weakened the Tenth Amendment. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), the U.S. Supreme Court under John Marshall made several significant moves to allow the federal government to gain more power and thus reduced the importance of the Tenth Amendment. First, the Court moved to deny Maryland’s right to tax the Second Bank of the United States, and generally prohibited states from taxing any “legitimate” federal function. Second, it expanded the government’s powers far beyond those enumerated in the Constitution.

Third, it was in this case that Marshall crafted the term, and to some degree the idea, of the “living constitution,” which means a Constitution that can grow with the times, and this Constitution is clearly one that usurps power from the states, limiting the Tenth Amendment. Marshall wrote: “We must never forget that this is a *constitution* we are expounding.” By this he meant that a constitution must change with the times, as opposed to a law code, which should remain fixed.

Fourth, and most importantly for the discussion here, the Court noted that the Tenth Amendment did not have the word “expressly” in it, which meant that any power not specifically mentioned in the Constitution as being prohibited to the federal government, could be used by the federal government, as long as the power was “necessary and proper” to the carrying out of a legitimate function. This interpretation clearly limits the scope of the Tenth Amendment, even though this ruling was not noted by either Hayne or Calhoun in their speeches on nullification.

Congress, which drew up the Bill of Rights, had rejected an attempt to insert “expressly” into the Tenth Amendment (a corresponding provision in the Articles of Confederation discussed the “expressly delegated” powers of the national government), so this amendment, through Congress and the Supreme Court, was soon much more limited in scope than some had hoped it would be. Judge Spencer Roane of Virginia tried to answer *McCulloch* in a series of essays, arguing that the Supreme Court could not take away the reserved powers, but over time, obviously, *McCulloch* and Marshall carried the day.

Related to the slavery issue was also the idea that if Congress became accustomed to a wide use of a clause in the Constitution that allowed it to regulate interstate commerce, it might then try to regulate slavery as a part of commerce. Another Supreme Court case, the *Passenger Cases* (1849), removed the possibility that the transportation of persons would not be called commerce, and so the issue was fully a concern for the nation in the 1850s. Of course, as long as the balance in the Senate remained, the political guarantee of slavery was fairly certain, but the whole issue of Congress’s power to regulate commerce added another part to the slavery debate. In addition, the Tenth Amendment was cited by both the majority and the dissent in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), and played a part in that ruling that further inflamed the nation.

The amendment has not been cited frequently in recent years. With regard to the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the Supreme Court seemed to lay this issue to rest, for the most part, when it held for the government in *Wickard v. Filburn* in

1941. Some civil rights opponents tried to reinvigorate the whole doctrine of “states’ rights” and the Tenth Amendment during the 1950s and 1960s, arguing that each state had the right to ignore the Supreme Court, nullify federal laws, and ignore civil rights reforms. It took nearly fifteen years, but civil rights reforms became the law of the land by the end of the 1960s. Finally, the Tenth Amendment was cited by both the majority and the dissent in a 1995 decision that struck down term limits for Alabama’s representatives to the U.S. Congress in 1995 (*U.S. Term Limits*). Thus the issue of the bounds of federal power is still poignant, and the Tenth Amendment is not totally forgotten, even though it is not invoked that often.

— Scott A. Merriman

See also: *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Hayne–Webster Debate; Nullification Doctrine; United States Constitution.

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36°30' NORTH LATITUDE

The boundary established at 36°30' north latitude separated Missouri (except for the so-called boot-heel region) from the Arkansas Territory and became one of the most significant borders within the United States during the antebellum era. Through the Missouri Compromise (1820), this line of demarcation limited slavery’s expansion in the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase Territory to points south of the line while lands above it became free territory that prohibited slavery. Within the Louisiana Purchase Territory, the Missouri Compromise only allowed slavery to exist above the 36°30' north latitude line in Missouri, which was admitted to the Union as the twenty-second state in 1821. The decision issued by the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) case effectively nullified the portion of the Missouri Compromise that had created the line of demarcation between slave and free territory.

From the point of its inception in the Missouri Compromise, the line of 36°30' north latitude by design would have allowed slavery to expand only into the territory that eventually formed the states of Arkansas and Oklahoma. This restriction, coupled with the South's desire for additional territory where cotton and slavery might expand, encouraged southern interest in Texas and other lands of the Southwest that belonged to Mexico. When the United States and Mexico went to war in 1846, Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced an unsuccessful resolution (known as the Wilmot Proviso) that sought to prohibit the expansion of slavery into any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. In 1848, after the United States defeated Mexico and acquired the huge Mexican Cession territory in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, some northern political leaders hoped that the 36°30' north latitude boundary might be extended westward to the Pacific Ocean.

By 1848 northern Democrats like Lewis Cass of Michigan and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois believed that the answer to the slavery controversy could be settled best not by an inflexible line of demarcation, but rather by an ingenious new concept, which they termed popular sovereignty. According to this new policy, the people of a territory seeking statehood would have the opportunity to vote for or against slavery in a popular referendum. The Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854), which included a specific provision for popular sovereignty, ran counter to the decision reached in the Missouri Compromise by allowing the possibility that slavery might become established in lands north of 36°30' north latitude if such was the will expressed by territorial residents in a popular referendum. The Kansas–Nebraska Act reignited the largely sectional debate over slavery's expansion into the territories and in so doing furthered the resolve of the free soil movement in the United States, inspired the creation of the Republican Party, and led the nation, many would argue, much closer to civil war.

Protests for and against the 36°30' north latitude line became moot in 1857 when the Supreme Court ruled that slavery could effectively exist anywhere within the United States. More than an ordinary boundary between states, the line of 36°30' north latitude assumed a much larger meaning in the sectional debate over slavery's expansion into the western territories.

—Junius P. Rodriguez

See also: Kansas–Nebraska Act; Missouri Compromise; Popular Sovereignty.

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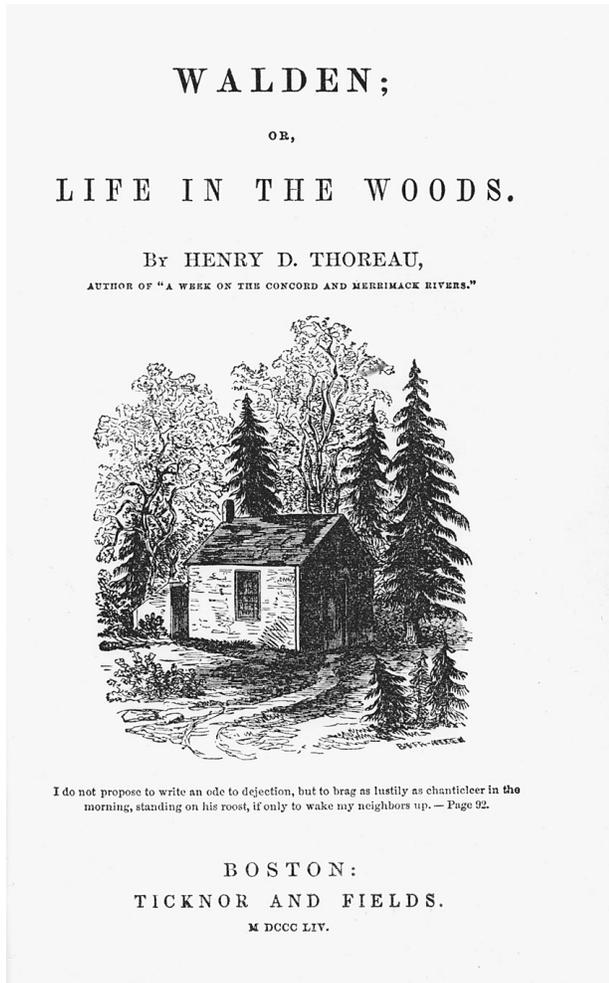
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HENRY DAVID THOREAU (1817–1862)

Though initially a reluctant reformer, Henry David Thoreau gradually became an ardent supporter of the antislavery cause and employed his talent as a writer to persuade others of the moral imperative of abolition. Thoreau never joined an antislavery organization, primarily because he spurned organized movements in any form, but his lectures and essays helped convince thousands in the North that slavery was immoral. In the 1830s he primarily directed his energies toward his fledgling career as a writer, but he was sympathetic to the antislavery cause, and over the next thirty years, the national controversy surrounding slavery impelled him to become more active and more militant in his opposition to it.

In the early 1840s, Thoreau's essays on slavery ("Reform and the Reformers" and "Herald of Freedom") were cautious and advocated reform on an individual level. He made his own stand against slavery in 1846 by refusing to pay a poll tax. He would not support the federal government in its efforts to expand slave territory through a war with Mexico, and consequently he spent a night in the Concord, Massachusetts, jail. Thoreau saw this act of defiance as a championship of both individualism and the collective responsibility that citizens share for the actions of a representative government. After his release, he wrote the philosophical piece "Resistance to Civil Government," in which he advocated passive resistance to a government that defied the moral will of the people. His adherence to pacifism rather than violence is a central tenet of the essay. Other than his classic work *Walden* (1854), Thoreau is best remembered for his "Resistance" essay—which subsequent generations have known as "Civil Disobedience." It has been reprinted countless times and inspired Mahatma Gandhi, John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

During the 1850s events on both local and national levels caused Thoreau to revise his position that non-compliance was the only morally justifiable way to oppose slavery. He began to break the law actively by becoming part of the Underground Railroad, and he fostered friendships with abolitionists like Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, and Franklin Sanborn. The



The cover of *Walden* depicts Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond. (Library of Congress)

passage of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) and the subsequent capture of Shadrach, Thomas Sims, and Anthony Burns—all in nearby Boston—ignited Thoreau's rage. In 1854 he wrote a scathing piece entitled "Slavery in Massachusetts," in which he lambasted the governor of Massachusetts for complying with the immoral Fugitive Slave Act, and he called on the state's citizens to defy it openly. Although he stopped short of advocating violence, he accepted the idea that force should be met with force when moral authority was at stake.

In 1859 John Brown's failed attempt to spark a slave insurrection at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, prompted an even stronger response from Thoreau. He had met Brown during one of Brown's fund-raising trips to New England in the mid-1850s, but although Thoreau supported Brown's cause, in a typical display of skepticism and parsimony, Thoreau refused to contribute money to the venture. After Brown's capture, however, Thoreau

was appalled at how quickly New England's admiration for Brown's efforts in Kansas had turned to condemnation for his actions at Harpers Ferry. Thoreau wrote three essays in support of Brown, praising both his ideals and his willingness to act on them. All three essays—"A Plea for Captain John Brown," "Martyrdom of John Brown," and "The Last Days of John Brown"—emphasized Brown's high moral stature rather than his actions. In these works, Thoreau made it clear that he believed moral authority justified violence.

Thoreau exercised much influence in his native New England where his antislavery essays were widely read and discussed. His eloquent prose and the moral force of his arguments made him a powerful proponent of the abolitionist cause.

— Elizabeth Dubrulle

See also: Brown, John; Burns, Anthony; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Harpers Ferry Raid; Shadrach Fugitive Slave Case; Transcendentalism; Underground Railroad.

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TRANSCENDENTALISM

Transcendentalism was an intellectual, religious, and literary movement centered in New England in the mid-nineteenth century that helped to highlight and disseminate the moral imperative of the antislavery cause. The transcendentalist movement originated in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s as a reaction against established religion, particularly Unitarianism. Rejecting the notions that God's will could be interpreted only by ministers and that religious practice must follow guidelines specified by organized churches,

transcendentalists believed that God's will was a constant, absolute truth that transcended physical phenomena and resided within everything in the universe, including man. Man could discover this higher law only by listening to his instincts and conscience rather than accepting a truth externally defined by traditional authorities like church and state. Once man discovered absolute truth, he was capable of reforming his behavior and attitudes to achieve perfection.

Reliance on instinct and conscience had two significant impacts on the movement. First, it meant that transcendentalists prized individualism and self-reliance, which produced an eclectic group whose members held varying opinions on almost every topic. The movement's spiritual center was Ralph Waldo Emerson, who relinquished his ministry in the Unitarian Church in 1836 following an intellectual crisis and shortly thereafter, in a commencement address at Harvard University, encouraged his listeners to undertake personal exploration of the soul. This spiritual call to arms, which was also articulated in his published writings, earned Emerson dozens of disciples, each of whom followed the dictates of his own conscience and many of whom followed him to Concord, Massachusetts.

Second, elevating individual conscience above society's established institutions resulted in a questioning of traditional notions concerning everything from the nature of the state to hygiene and housekeeping. This questioning coincided with and complemented the growing number of reform movements sweeping New England during the nineteenth century, and most transcendentalists sympathized with one reform cause or another. Although they desired reform, their belief in the integrity of the individual led many to spurn collective action as being too restrictive. Particularly in the movement's early years, reform on an individual basis was the only morally acceptable course of action.

From the beginning of the abolitionist movement, many transcendentalists were sympathetic to the cause, but their involvement varied. Some, like Henry David Thoreau, preferred to focus on reforming themselves before undertaking the reformation of those around them; others, like Amos Bronson Alcott, were involved in too many causes to contribute much time or energy to abolition; still others, Theodore Parker among them, threw themselves wholeheartedly into the antislavery effort. Regardless of the level of activism of individual transcendentalists, the plight of American slaves was kept at the forefront of transcendental thought by the efforts of the Concord Female Anti-Slavery Society, an extremely active and dynamic group that was organized and led by the wives, moth-

ers, sisters, and daughters of many of transcendentalism's brightest lights. These women advocated abolition with ferocity and entertained in their homes and in the society's meetings most of the antislavery campaigners that came through the area in the late 1830s and 1840s.

During the late 1840s and 1850s, national events like the Mexican War (1846–1848) and the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) produced a unanimity among transcendentalists as such events made the moral imperative of the antislavery cause undeniable. One by one, transcendentalists concluded that slavery contaminated the moral basis of the whole country and clearly violated God's higher law. In this one issue, the principle of individual moral reform gave way to the necessity for national moral reform, leading many to seek more public forums for their advocacy. Transcendentalists maintained that the higher law that forbade such practices as slavery was not intended to work on a philosophical plane above society but through society itself, with the actions of individuals serving as the most transparent window into the true nature of that society. Thus, by supporting a government that in turn supported slavery, all Americans in effect had become slaveholders. The fact that the U.S. government increasingly appeared to sanction the peculiar institution, despite the heightened agitation against it, particularly infuriated transcendentalists and prompted them to view slavery's demise as an intensely personal responsibility.

For many transcendentalists, philosophy gave way to action when authorities decided to return the fugitive Anthony Burns to slavery. The crowd that rushed the Boston courthouse to free Burns contained many transcendentalists, including Parker and Alcott. Transcendentalists spoke out publicly against slavery, and some aided in the activities of the Underground Railroad. Several fell under John Brown's influence when he toured New England raising additional funds for his work, and the young transcendentalist Franklin Sanborn was one of "the secret six" who financially supported Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. In commemorative addresses, Thoreau and Emerson rushed to Brown's defense after the failed insurrection, lauding Brown's high principles and idealism, although they refrained from mentioning his violent acts.

The antislavery movement gained moral strength from the transcendentalists and their increasing willingness to break man-made decrees that violated God's higher law. In this respect, the impact of transcendentalist thought was far greater than the contributions of the transcendentalists themselves. A younger generation of reformers, like Sanborn and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, believed that obedience to a higher

law justified all means, including violence and coercion, that were necessary to abolish slavery. This sense of righteousness contributed to the moral backbone of the antislavery cause during the 1850s as it challenged the government on traditional notions concerning the will of the majority and the rights of the governed.

— *Elizabeth Dubrulle*

See also: Brown, John; Burns, Anthony; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Harpers Ferry Raid; Higginson, Thomas Wentworth; Thoreau, Henry David; Underground Railroad.

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TRANSITION FROM SLAVE LABOR TO FREE LABOR

For over two centuries, various forms of unfree labor, especially African slavery, predominated in North America. After a short civil war, free labor triumphed over slave labor. How did this come about? British settlements in the Caribbean and mainland colonies fueled the demand for agricultural labor and its social reproduction where land was plentiful, crops and markets were lucrative, and labor was scarce. The gradual decision to switch from the labor of English and Irish convicts and indentured servants to African slaves

was essentially an economic one made by English merchants and planters who found a system of economic-based racial exploitation conducive to their best interests. The logical consequence of this decision to enslave was the rise of racial plantations in the British Americas worked by African slaves managed by white masters and overseers producing cash crops for consumption in European markets. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, a plantation revolution moved through the mainland Chesapeake, low country, and northern colonies as a result of the massive arrival of African slaves. This entailed the making of a regional disparity on the colonial mainland between societies with slaves in northern colonies and slave societies in the southern colonies. These regional differences were reinforced through wartime erosion, nation building, and gradual emancipation laws from the late eighteenth century onward. Many of the newly freed laborers ended up working as laborers, domestics, artisans, and sailors exchanging their labor for some form of compensation in the postrevolutionary decades.

Although this First Emancipation was significant—not least to slaves themselves—the most critical transition from slave to free labor in North America emerged as a result of a bloody civil war. During the antebellum decades, slave labor in the South and free labor in the North coexisted uneasily in the new nation. Slavery was the dominant system in the South politically and economically despite the existence of a majority of nonslaveholders. By 1860 there were 3.9 million slaves in fifteen southern states. This represented one-third of the South's population. It also represented two-thirds of all existing slaves in the New World. Meanwhile, free labor, especially wage labor, was becoming more important in the northern states, which increasingly removed independent producers from the land into the vortex of competitive market relations. These competing systems clashed over the future status of the western territories, although there seemed less dissent over the removal of Native Americans. The result was civil war.

The American Civil War began with different agendas. The North claimed it was fighting for the preservation of the Union; the South said it was fighting on behalf of states' rights. In actuality, both regions were fighting over the existence of slavery in American society. Although John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859 provided a hint, it was the actions of the slaves themselves that revealed this social reality during the chaos of war. Drawing upon the armed struggle between the two regions for control over their own lives and labors, the slaves helped to transform the civil war into a liberation struggle. Their actions included self-

emancipation toward federal lines; working as free laborers in army outposts as diggers, cooks, nurses, and servants; fighting for the Union military; work slowdowns on the plantations in the absence of white supervision; and undermining the psychological security of the slave regime. The slaves placed freedom on the Civil War agenda. As slave labor withered, free labor relations germinated according to specific regional, historical, and temporal conditions.

The military surrender at Appomattox together with passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865 ratified an imminent social process. Slavery was legally abolished along with the material basis for the plantocracy's domination, but the central transformation occurred in master-slave relations. Former labor lords were transformed into landlords whose property and power were devastated by emancipation. Former slaves gained their personal freedom through the culmination of their successful struggle against slavery, but they were also freed from the minimum material support provided through slaveholders' economic interests. Once the former slaves were forced to work but were only minimally provided for; they were still forced to work but now free to starve.

The freed people only had their labor power to survive in a vicious marketplace of competing landlords, disgruntled former secessionists, and federal employees demanding their return to work. A myriad of labor arrangements emerged, including daily, weekly and monthly wage labor, tenancy, and crop sharing. The most popular form of free labor to emerge in the post-emancipation plantation South was sharecropping as landlords sought labor and freed people sought autonomy. The crucial point about this complex postwar situation was that former slaves exchanged their labor for some form of compensation, which rendered them landless, unpropertied, and poor. The Republican Party's attempt to reshape the defeated South into a region of independent farmers existing in a free market under the rule of law essentially failed. If slave labor meant more than master-slave relations, its abolition did also. With emancipation, subsistence farmers in the South became increasingly drawn into the vortex of the cash-crop economy. The path had been cleared for northern and foreign capitalist penetration into the prostrate South on its own unimpeded terms. A similar unchecked advance of capital and social relations of free labor moved into the American West, especially after the final military subjugation of the Plains Indians during the 1870s. This free market, free labor free-for-all contributed to a prolonged economic depression from 1873 through 1896. Rural protest, the politics of

Populism, and urban emigration were the consequence. This freeing of labor from the land was the ultimate rung in the emancipation ladder, and it reached across all postemancipation societies. By the 1890s the United States was poised to continue its expansion beyond its territorial borders. The recent rhetoric of making the world safe for free markets through globalization suggests that this transition remains unfinished.

— Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie

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TRIANGULAR TRADE

In the triangular trade, a ship would depart from Newport, Rhode Island, for the west coast of Africa with New England rum. In Africa, most of the rum would be sold, and slaves would be purchased; a small amount of the rum would be used as currency to purchase slaves from tribal chiefs in the African interior. The slave-castle governors of the foreign powers of England, France, Holland, Portugal, and Denmark obtained the slaves from tribal chieftains and other brokers and housed the slaves in the castles until they were shipped abroad. The slaves would be chained down on small packed boats and taken to the West Indies for sale. The voyage was rough, and many slaves died en route from the terrible conditions. In the West Indies, the slaves would be sold for large sums of money, and the sugar needed for molasses and rum production would be purchased; the sugar would then be taken to New England.

In Newport there were some twenty-two stills that converted sugar into rum as early as 1730. In 1764 there were more than thirty distilling houses in Rhode Island. In the 1770s some 184 vessels in Rhode Island were involved in the slave trade—surpassed in quantity in the colonies only by South Carolina. Most owners never set foot on their ships and had no physical

contact with the slaves. The owners hired slaver captains to organize the ships and conduct price negotiations with the resident governors in Africa.

For example, two New England merchants, Aaron Lopez and his father-in-law Jacob Rivera of Newport, were active in sending ships to Africa with rum and other goods in exchange for slaves. They sent their first ship, the *Grayhound*, in 1761 to Africa to buy slaves and sell them in the Caribbean. Lopez sent at least eighteen ships to Africa to purchase slaves, and after Lopez had terminated his activities in this area in about 1774 or 1775, Rivera continued to send ships to Africa. Lopez owned at least twenty-six ships and was a major, if not the foremost, merchant in Newport. The clergyman Ezra Stiles, first president of Yale University, praised Lopez by describing him as “a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor and Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merchant in America” (Marcus, 1970). A ship of slaves could yield between £1,500 and £2,000, making the slave trade a lucrative business. The ship owners had virtually no contact with their ships or the slaves, and the slave trade was but one component of this monetary transaction connected with the triangular trade.

— *Yitzchak Kerem*

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SOJOURNER TRUTH (C. 1797–1883)

Sojourner Truth was an emancipated slave who became a prominent independent orator for women's rights, antislavery, and freedmen's rights. In 1826 Truth left her New York owner and took refuge with a nearby white family, the Van Wagenens. When she refused to return to her owner, Isaac Van Wagenen purchased her to keep her out of jail. Freed in 1827 under New York's gradual emancipation law, Truth sued later that year to have her son freed from slavery. Most African Americans did not turn to the courts for redress, and those who did rarely succeeded, but Truth won her son's freedom. She had a religious conversion, and in 1832 she joined the Kingdom of Matthias, a religious cult that collapsed in scandal two years later. Determined to become a traveling evangelist independent of any church, she changed her name from Isabella to So-



Sojourner Truth was a former slave who became a leader in the battle against slavery. (National Archives)

journer; by some accounts, she said that God gave her the last name Truth.

Sojourner Truth did not actively work against slavery until about 1850. In the years that followed, she was an effective itinerant speaker for abolitionism and women's rights in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and the Midwest. She spoke extemporaneously and with great power; like other ex-slave orators, she incorporated her own experiences into her speeches, and like other preachers, she drew on parables and lively images. Because Truth was illiterate, her words have come to us through accounts written by other people, accounts that are necessarily shaped by their interpretation of her.

Her best known speech, “Ar’nt I a Woman,” is a case in point. Truth spoke at an 1851 women's rights meeting in Akron, Ohio; twelve years later Francis Gage, an abolitionist and women's rights leader, wrote an account of the speech, which was then included in an 1875 revision of Truth's *Narrative of the Life of Sojourner Truth*. Gage cast the speech in a caricature of slave dialect, which Truth herself did not use. Moreover, some historians argue that Truth may not have given the speech at all. Her autobiography, which she sold to help support herself, was dictated to Olive Gilbert, a

white abolitionist. Truth was a shrewd woman, and she understood the value of the stories told about her effectiveness as an orator.

After the Civil War, Truth continued to work for equal rights for women and especially for African Americans. She helped resettle freedmen and campaigned for western land for them, attempted to desegregate the Washington, D.C., streetcars, and tried to vote in Michigan. “Ar’n’t I a Woman” has made her important to the twentieth-century women’s rights and civil rights activists, and the facts of her life justify seeing her as a strong and independent black woman fighting for justice.

— *Andrea M. Atkin*

See also: Women and the Antislavery Movement.

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HARRIET TUBMAN (C.1821–1913)

Harriet Tubman was born a slave in Dorchester County, Maryland, to Harriet Greene Ross and Benjamin Ross, who had ten other children. As a child, Harriet was assigned simple domestic chores, but she was moved to the fields in her early teens, and there, despite her small stature, Tubman developed legendary physical strength and stamina. When she attempted to prevent the punishment of another slave by the overseer, Tubman was hit on the head with a two-pound weight; in later life she often wore a turban to hide the scar. Her marriage to John Tubman, a free black, did not survive her escape to freedom in Pennsylvania in 1849, for when she returned for him, he had already married another woman and refused to accompany her north. Tubman continued to use his name, however—even after she remarried.

For more than a decade, Tubman made numerous trips back into the slave South to bring slaves to freedom in the North. Her success as a “rescuer” of slaves resulted in the circulation of reward posters bearing her description throughout the South and the border states. She armed herself with a rifle, both to protect herself from slave catchers and to bolster the courage of a slave who might change his or her mind and endanger the others. Tubman’s religious faith strength-



Known to many as “Moses,” Harriet Tubman was the best-known leader of the Underground Railroad. (Library of Congress)

ened her in her weariness, and she often sang spirituals as she accompanied fugitives on their journey. Although she most often worked alone, Tubman was in touch with other workers along the Underground Railroad, including William Still of Pennsylvania; antislavery activists Charlotte Forten and Frederick Douglass commended her work to undermine slavery.

During the Civil War, Tubman acted as a scout for Union military operations. Because of her generosity to others, she was often penniless herself. Petitions to the War Department on Tubman’s behalf for a pension for her services rendered were not successful, although in 1890 Tubman finally received a widow’s pension for the service her second husband (Nelson Davis) had rendered to the Union army. Selling photographs of herself was among the methods Tubman used to support herself during tough times, a strategy she described as “selling the image to keep the substance alive” (Buhle, 2000). In this canny use of her own likeness, Tubman, like Sojourner Truth and others, demonstrated a clear awareness of her significance in the history as well as the myth of U.S. activism and social change.

After the war, Tubman focused her energies on women's rights and helping the poor, working with the National Association of Colored Women, which later granted Tubman a lifetime pension. Because of her religious convictions, Tubman also worked closely with black churches, soliciting donations of used clothing and food for the poor and elderly in New York State, where she lived.

Tubman used money from her own meager store to buy a small parcel of land adjacent to her house to erect a home for the elderly poor, which was ultimately operated by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. An invalid in her old age, Tubman lived for two years at the Harriet Tubman Home for Aged and Indigent Colored People until her death in 1913. She has been honored by a U.S. postage stamp, and her home in Auburn, New York, is recognized as a national landmark.

Although she was one of a limited number of slave women who successfully escaped, because she was illiterate Tubman left no memoir. Still, historian George Rawick perhaps said it best: "Why must we always use Nat as the name for the rebellious slave? Why not Harriet?" (Sterling, 1984).

— Dale Edwynna Smith

See also: Forten, Charlotte; Still, William; Underground Railroad.

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ST. GEORGE TUCKER (1752–1827)

The author of a five-volume U.S. edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries* (1803), *Dissertation on Slavery* (1796), and noted jurist, St. George Tucker was the only prominent member of the generation who fought in the American Revolution to publish a plan for abolishing slavery in Virginia. Tucker was born in Bermuda in 1752. In 1771 he entered the North American mainland to study law under George Wythe at the College of William and Mary. Tucker

became a member of the Virginia Bar in 1774, but his law practice was shortened by the Revolutionary War. He reached the rank of lieutenant colonel, and he was injured at Yorktown. After the war Tucker practiced law at the General Court, Chancery Court, and Court of Appeals. In 1786 he served as part of Virginia's delegation at the Annapolis Convention. In 1790 he was appointed professor of law and police at the College of William and Mary, replacing George Wythe.

Tucker considered the introduction of slavery as one of America's greatest misfortunes and accordingly sought advice on how it might be ended in Virginia. He initiated a correspondence with prominent figures in Massachusetts—including Jeremy Belknap, James Sullivan, and John Adams—"having observed, with much pleasure, that slavery [had] been wholly exterminated from the Massachusetts" (St. George Tucker to Jeremy Belknap, January 24, 1795). Tucker posed a series of eleven questions "respecting the Introduction, Progress, and Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts." This correspondence continued into summer 1795, and in 1796 Tucker published *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It, in the State of Virginia*. The *Dissertation* was the only significant antislavery pamphlet to come out of Virginia in the country's early years. Tucker published his edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries* (1803), with annotations and appendices, commenting on the law of the United States and of Virginia. He included his *Dissertation on Slavery* as an appendix. Tucker clearly recognized the tragic irony of the continuance of slavery in that revolutionary age. "Whilst we were offering up vows at the shrine of liberty, and sacrificing hecatombs upon her . . . we were imposing upon our fellow men, who differ in complexion from us, *slavery*, ten thousand times more cruel than the utmost extremity of those grievances and oppressions, of which we complained" (Cullen, 1987).

Despite those impassioned sentiments, Tucker was no radical abolitionist. His plan called for a very gradual emancipation that would not eliminate all slavery in Virginia for nearly a century. Tucker himself was a substantial slaveholder, having acquired slaves upon his marriage in 1778 to Francis Bland, the widow of John Randolph of Matoax. Moreover, when given the opportunity as a jurist to rule that slavery was outlawed by the Virginia Constitution, Tucker refused.

In 1803 Tucker resigned from William and Mary and in 1804, was appointed to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. *Hudgins v. Wrights* came to the Supreme



A newspaper cartoon depicts the violent slave uprising led by Nat Turner. The uprising began on August 22, 1831, when Turner killed his master and his master's family. The revolt only lasted about a week, but Turner eluded capture until October of that year. He was later tried and hanged for the crime. (Library of Congress)

Court from a ruling of Chancellor George Wythe, Tucker's teacher and predecessor at William and Mary. Wythe had ruled that the Virginia Constitution declaration that all men are free and equal abolished slavery. Judge Tucker, disagreed. He noted that this provision of the Virginia Bill of Rights was "notoriously framed with a cautious eye" and only applied to free persons [1 Hen. and M. (Va.) 134 (1806)]. Despite Tucker's limitations as an antislavery advocate, he should be remembered most as the only Virginian of the revolutionary age to make a genuine attempt to abolish slavery.

— David M. Cobin

See also: Compensated Emancipation; Gradualism.

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NAT TURNER (1800–1831)

Nat Turner was a black mystic who led an insurrection against white families in Southampton County, Virginia, on August 22, 1831. Turner's was the most famous of the southern slave insurrections because of its bloodiness and the fear it instilled in southern whites.

The son of slave parents, Nat was born on October 2, 1800, on Benjamin Turner's plantation near Jerusalem in Southampton County, Virginia. He attended prayer services and Sunday chapel at his Methodist master's insistence, and as a youth, he played alongside white children. He demonstrated a superior intelligence, teaching himself to read and write, and even read and studied the Bible with his master's encouragement.

Several events changed his life dramatically. Shortly after his father escaped to the North, Nat and his mother, Nancy, were loaned to master Benjamin's son, Samuel. In 1810 the elder Turner died, leaving Nat and his mother the property of Samuel Turner, a strict taskmaster who insisted that his slaves obey him. In 1812 Nat was devastated when he was put to work in the fields. No longer could he play, associate with white children, or follow intellectual pursuits.

Nat became increasingly despondent. In 1812 he escaped the plantation but returned on his own after a month of hiding, claiming that “the Spirit” had instructed him to do so. He took a wife, Cherry, shortly thereafter. In 1822 Samuel Turner died, and Nat and Cherry were sold to separate masters in Southhampton County. Although Nat was able to visit Cherry and have children by her, he was not able to have the family life he desired. His new master, Thomas Moore, demanded even more labor of him. As he grew unhappier, Nat turned to Scripture for guidance.

In his *Confessions* (1831), Nat stated that religion became the dominant motivating factor in his young adult life. He recalled that as a youth, other slaves deemed him a “prophet” because he described events that had occurred before his birth. His role as a prophet and mystic increased through early adulthood, and in 1825, he had a vision in which “white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle” appeared beneath a darkened sun as “blood flowed in streams.” Shortly thereafter, he claimed to see angels in the sky, blood on the corn in the fields, and symbols on tree leaves.

Proclaiming himself a Baptist preacher, Turner described his visions to slave congregations at Sunday prayer meetings that he conducted. He emphasized the approach of Judgment Day, when God would raise the slave above the master. Preparing for his own role on Judgment Day, he gathered a small following of slaves and free blacks to assist him, telling them, “I am commissioned by Jesus Christ and act under his direction.”

Turner continued laboring on weekdays and preaching on Sundays. In 1827 a white overseer asked Turner to baptize him. When local churches refused to allow Turner the use of an altar for the ceremony, he used a nearby pond. He did not forget the insult white church leaders had extended him, and his disillusionment grew. In 1828 he had another vision, which he also described in his *Confessions*, “The Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first shall be last and the last should be first.”

This vision, combined with a chain of circumstances in Turner’s life, moved him toward insurrection. Upon telling his master, Thomas Moore, that slaves would be free “one day or other,” he was thrashed for insubordination. When Moore died later that year, Nat became the property of the deceased’s nine-year-old son until Moore’s widow re-

married in 1829 and Joseph Travis became Turner’s new master. Turner did the work expected of him to gain Travis’s “greatest confidence” and thereby be permitted to continue preaching and waiting for a sign from God. In February 1831 a solar eclipse was the first sign Turner needed to proceed with plans for insurrection. A second occurred August 13 when the sun grew dim and a black spot appeared on its surface.

In the early hours of Monday, August 22, Turner and six followers quietly entered Joseph Travis’s house. Armed with axes, they killed all five whites in the home, including an infant in its cradle. From the Travis farm, Turner and his followers moved from house to house, killing whites as they went. Attracting followers and weapons on the way, they soon numbered nearly sixty men mounted on horseback and armed with axes, swords, guns, and clubs. They killed a total of fifty-five white men, women, and children.

News of the insurrection spread quickly. Confrontations with armed bands of whites resulted in the death of many of Turner’s men and the dispersal of the rest. By Sunday, August 28, federal troops, militia, and armed bands of whites had killed or captured all but a handful of the insurrectionists, including Turner. He had evaded capture for nearly six weeks by hiding in a dugout under some fence rails. Finally found and captured on October 30, Turner recited his *Confessions*, an explanation of his actions, to attorney Thomas Gray on November 1. He was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death on November 5, 1831, and hanged six days later.

Nat Turner’s insurrection shocked and frightened Virginians. Because of the insurrection, Virginia’s legislature held its last serious debate on ending slavery in 1832, and Virginia and most southern states eventually passed strict laws to police their slave populations and prevent insurrections. Believing that abolitionism had somehow caused the uprising, most southerners also abandoned the cause of emancipation in the aftermath of Turner’s insurrection.

— Mary Jo Miles

See also: Virginia’s Slavery Debate.

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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN (1852)

Harriet Beecher Stowe's most famous work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was intended, in common with other nineteenth-century abolitionist literature, to turn its readers against the institution of slavery. Its success was remarkable. It sold some 3 million copies in the United States alone and was translated into many languages, and it became the first U.S. book to be a European best-seller.

The Compromise of 1850, together with the Fugitive Slave Act, was the primary impetus for Stowe's novel, but letters from friends also played their part. Her sister-in-law, in particular, urged Stowe to write about the major moral issue of the day with the words: "If I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what accursed thing slavery is." Stowe had increasingly been driven to public and written comment on the iniquities of slavery, but on March 9, 1851, she wrote to Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, to tell him that the time had come when even women and children should speak out for freedom and humanity. She asked him to accept a work that painted a picture of slavery as she and her acquaintances knew it. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began as a serial on June 5, 1851, the first installment occupying most of the front page.

Stowe's first-hand knowledge of slavery was limited, so for her facts she relied heavily on Theodore Dwight Weld's *American Slavery as It Is* (1859). Inevitably, given the large number of slave narratives being written, used and abused, in the abolitionist cause, her contemporaries searched for the "real Uncle Tom" among them. Josiah Henson, one of the best known fugitive slaves, whose autobiography, first published in 1849, told of his escape to Canada, was particularly associated with Uncle Tom. For many, Henson symbolized the successful fugitive, and versions of his autobiography that appeared after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* contained considerable alterations. As he aged, Henson, too, believed himself to be the model for Uncle Tom. His cabin and grave in rural Ontario became a tourist attraction, and the "Home of Uncle Tom" was still being advertised as such as late as the 1950s (Davis and Gates, 1990). *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a phenomenon with far-reaching effects.

The story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is simple enough. Tom, a valued slave of the Shelby household, is sold to pay off debts and is thus separated from his wife,



Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was intended to turn its readers against the institution of slavery. It sold some three million copies in the United States alone and was translated into many languages. It was the first U.S. book to become a best-seller in Europe. (Library of Congress)

Chloe, and his family. His life forms the basis of the plot. He is sold downriver, first to St. Clare whose daughter, Eva, Tom rescues from drowning, and ultimately to the evil Simon Legree, in whose ownership Tom dies. As the serial continued long past the original projection of four weeks, another story line developed. This one told of the adventures of Eliza who, having overheard Mr. Shelby agree to sell her young son flees with her son to join her runaway husband, George. Tom's story exposes the reader to the horrors of slavery as he travels deeper and deeper into the South; Eliza's story exposes the reader to the fears of the runaway as she and her family travel north to freedom.

Prior to writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe wrote mainly about the domestic sphere and sentimental love, subject matter that was deemed suitable for a woman. Her achievement in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was to

transfer the techniques of “the lady’s novel” to a subject with which it was not associated—that of slavery. Her text insists that African American slaves should be perceived as fellow humans possessed of a moral dignity that often surpasses that of the white population. Stowe’s slaves suffer when their families are disrupted and their women are exploited, and when they are lashed, they bleed.

The novel relocates the moral center of society away from those with power, that is, the white males of the text, and places it firmly in the realm of the weak and defenseless—with the women, children, and slaves. Nor are the rhetorical strategies at work in the text purely sentimental. It is made clear from the beginning of the novel that the sale of Tom is “God’s curse on slavery.” Mrs. Shelby’s words initiate a providential plot line in which Tom is marked as God’s own and all human efforts to save him are doomed to failure.

Stowe reinforces divine authority throughout the novel, emphasizing the religious view of U.S. history via a vast array of scriptural imagery, parallels, quotations, preaching, and sermons. Eliza’s famous river crossing is thus both actual and symbolic, and Tom and Eva share a simplicity of faith to which all might aspire. The business of chattel slavery demanded a world without God or conscience, but the character of Tom, whose Christ-like demeanor enables his submission to the worst that slavery can offer, ensures that the first concern remains with God and salvation.

The nineteenth-century reader would have been fully aware of what was at stake: it was eternal life and the death not only of bodies, but of souls. Yet, in the twentieth century, Tom’s submissiveness has created considerable debate. To many critics, his submissiveness has seemed incongruous, even objectionable, when measured against the tenets of realism, political or social, rather than in terms of a nineteenth-century Christian ideal. The most famous challenge comes from James Baldwin’s “Everybody’s Protest Novel” in *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), in which he argues that Eliza and George escape only because they are mulatto and can pass as white; the blacker Uncle Tom is condemned by the text to die a slave. Baldwin concludes that the text is racist.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the designation of an “Uncle Tom” was pejorative and used to indicate an African American’s unnecessarily sycophantic stance toward the white population. This usage may have come about as much through the innumerable stage and film versions of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*—none of which were authorized by Stowe and from which she received no profit—than from any reading of the texts. These stage and film versions em-

phasized the stereotype, brought into being the “blacked-up” character that allowed white actors to play Afro-American roles, and did much to bring into being the minstrelsy tradition. From 1853 to 1930 the play of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, especially George L. Aiken’s adaptation, was probably never off the boards, and Americans who saw no other play saw this one. There may have been as many as five hundred troupes operating in the 1890s with productions, to quote one critic, “surpassing the fantastic and bordering on the insane” (Crozier, 1969).

In 1918 Paramount produced a feature film, with Marguerite Clark playing both Eva and Topsy; Universal filmed an elaborate production in 1927; and a 1932 version by the Moscow Art Theater emphasized the miseries of the slave, had Topsy save Eva’s life, and omitted all reference to religion.

It has been claimed that *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* altered the course of history and that Abraham Lincoln once referred to Harriet Beecher Stowe as the woman who “started the Civil War.” In its day, the work was praised by writers as diverse as George Eliot, Fyodor Dostoevski, and George Sand. More recent studies have recognized the revolutionary nature of the text in terms of women’s writing. It may be that no other novel, before or since, has done so much to alter the thinking of an entire generation.

—Jan Pilditch

See also: Compromise of 1850; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Stowe, Harriet Beecher; Weld, Theodore Dwight.

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UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

The Underground Railroad refers to the assistance abolitionists provided fugitive slaves going through the northern states, usually on their way to Canada.



Professional slave catchers sometimes engaged in gunfights in their efforts to capture escaped slaves and return them to the South. (Library of Congress)

Such loosely organized local activity later formed the basis for a popular legend that included stories of secret hiding places and various railroad terms as “stations” “passengers,” “conductors,” and even several “presidents” of the underground line. In the years after the Civil War, Underground Railroad stories frequently appeared in the northern press. Unmentioned in the legend was the role of fugitive slaves themselves, who planned and conducted their own escapes from a hostile southern environment with little available help.

Legendary accounts distorted historical reality and often exaggerated the number of slave escapes. Yet they had a basis in fact. Some abolitionists, like Levi Coffin of Cincinnati and Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware, made a personal cause of aiding fugitive slaves. Their efforts to develop efficient networks of activists gave a semblance of effective organization to their own locales. Yet most such work was on a haphazard and makeshift basis. There was no national system.

An important element in the legend was provided by memories of the vigilance committees that formed

in various northern communities. Those committees assumed greater importance with passage of the Fugitive Slave Law (1850). The committees provided food, temporary housing, travel directions, and sometimes transportation to fugitive slaves passing through their communities. They also conducted some well-publicized civil disobedience, like the 1851 rescue of Jerry Henry by the Syracuse committee. Less successful was the attempt of the Boston committee to free Anthony Burns, whose return to slavery under heavy military guard sparked protest in Boston and throughout the North. Abolitionists later purchased and freed Burns.

Some rescues, like the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue of 1859, were more spontaneous. When a fugitive slave was arrested a few miles from his home in Oberlin, Ohio, an abolitionist crowd literally removed him from his place of confinement and sent him to Canada. The federal government indicted thirty-seven of the instigators of the rescue. The trials received national attention and prompted numerous demonstrations near the jail where the rescuers were held. At the same time, a county grand jury indicted the federal

marshal and others for kidnapping a black. That indictment paved the way for a deal in which federal and state authorities dropped charges.

Slaves who successfully escaped their bondage were not frightened or passive, but courageous individuals who made their own daring and ingenious escape plans. Slaves who were rescued by Harriet Tubman's heroic trips into the South may have been the exception. Most escaping slaves had no such assistance. Many traveled alone by night, hiding during the day. Ellen and William Craft escaped from Georgia with Ellen disguised as an ailing master and William as his loyal servant. Frederick Douglass borrowed the free papers of a black sailor and refused to reveal his escape method in early editions of his autobiography. Henry "Box" Brown had himself literally shipped from Richmond, Virginia, to the Philadelphia antislavery office. When fugitives received help from the Underground Railroad, it was only after they had completed the most dangerous part of their journeys. Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Henry Bibb, Anthony Burns, the Crafts, and thousands of others deserve recognition at least as much as white abolitionists who risked their own liberty and property to assist slave escapes.

Although secrecy was clearly essential when fugitive slaves were in danger of recapture, abolitionists were quite open at times about their fugitive slave work. In 1844 a Chicago antislavery newspaper published a cartoon captioned "The Liberty Line" that illustrated and accompanied a story describing the Underground Railroad listing the names of local "conductors." Although never arrested by authorities, Levi Coffin made no secret of his abolitionist sympathies or of his work on behalf of fugitive slaves. Each rescue had widespread notice in the press, and the violation of civil liberties of whites who helped escaping slaves served to deepen anti-southern sentiment in the North. Some fugitive slaves were featured guests at abolitionist gatherings, while others were speakers.

Abolitionists used the Underground Railroad to spread their message, and southern apologists responded by attacking the railroad as a violation of the constitutional protection of private property. Southern congressmen exaggerated both the number of escaping slaves and the monetary losses caused by those escapes. Fugitive Slave Law trials gave both sides material for their propaganda. By 1855 the law had become largely a dead letter in the North and a major cause for complaint in the South.

It was in the period after the Civil War that the idea of the Underground Railroad took hold in the American psyche. Former free soilers and abolitionist sympathizers gained inflated reputations, for hundreds of

newspaper stories frequently associated all who had been antislavery with local tales of the Underground Railroad. Facts for such stories were often gleaned from interviews with family members or acquaintances of the aging activists. Several leading abolitionists wrote memoirs that later became source material for histories of the Underground Railroad. Although such memoirs contained important information, they were never supplemented by the narratives of former slaves or by information from William Still's important book on the Underground Railroad. Still, who chaired the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, later published his own contemporary records of slave escapes and emphasized the role of the fugitives themselves. Even though the Underground Railroad clearly helped some fugitive slaves reach freedom, it was a far more complex institution than the simplest legend would suggest.

— Larry Gara

See also: Coffin, Levi; Fugitive Slave Act (1850); Garrett, Thomas; Still, William.

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UNION HUMANE SOCIETY

Begun by Benjamin Lundy in 1815, the Union Humane Society aimed primarily at extending humanitarian assistance to blacks in Ohio, but it also had the distinction of seeking to embrace all existing antislavery organizations. The society resembled the Quaker antislavery societies that had operated for decades in Pennsylvania to aid free blacks and fugitive slaves; its efforts to abolish slavery would eventually involve almost one thousand antislavery societies.

Lundy, a twenty-six-year-old New Jersey Quaker, organized the society in St. Clairsville, Ohio, when after much reflection over the "sad condition of the slave" he called a small number of friends to his house (Earle, 1969). Deeply affected by the frequent slave coffles he witnessed in Wheeling, Virginia, he expressed his desire to relieve those held in bondage. The society quickly

grew to include nearly five hundred members, among whom were most of the influential preachers and lawyers in the state of Ohio. On January 4, 1816, Lundy (under a pseudonym) published a circular on the subject of slavery in which he appealed to the philanthropists of the whole country, urging them to organize themselves in a similar manner. He also proposed that societies should be formed wherever “a sufficient number of persons could be induced to join them,” that a name common to all societies should be adopted, and that, in addition to a uniform constitution, correspondence should be kept up between all societies (Earle, 1969).

In promoting “gradual emancipation,” the constitution of the society, which was drafted on April 20, 1816, relied on the Golden Rule and on statements from the Declaration of Independence asserting the inalienable rights of man. In addition, its stated goals were to remove legal restrictions, to assist blacks illegally held in bondage, and to protect the rights of free blacks entering Ohio. Beyond working for the abolition of slavery, members of the society also promised to vote only for political leaders who opposed slavery and to erase racial prejudice and various forms of discrimination. Lundy’s publication of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the only exclusively antislavery journal in the country at the time, aided in this cause. However, as discussion of slavery increased, Lundy discovered that any plan to abolish slavery had to deal with a range of complexities. This became evident with the founding of the American Colonization Society and Thomas Hedges Genin’s attack at the semiannual meeting of the Union Humane Society at Mount Pleasant on its plan to send blacks back to Africa. Even though Lundy did not initially agree with Genin, Genin’s views were part of a message delivered on behalf of the Union Humane Society at the 1819 American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in Philadelphia.

Such internal disputes aside, the inability of the Union Humane Society to spread ideas and to limit slavery eventually led to disinterest and, ultimately, its disbanding. However, despite the society’s declining effectiveness in promoting the abolition of slavery, the impact of Lundy and his organization can be seen in the effectiveness of other antislavery advocates, such as William Lloyd Garrison.

— Mark L. Kamrath

See also: American Colonization Society; Gradualism; Quakers.

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UNITED STATES–CANADIAN RELATIONS ON FUGITIVES

Between the American Revolution and the Civil War, the institution of slavery influenced relations between the United States and Canada. Slavery’s continued existence in the United States and its demise in Canada after 1793 strained the relationship between the two countries; the primary reason for the tensions between the two was the fact that thousands of runaway slaves from the United States sought refuge in Canadian territory. The exact number of blacks who relocated in Canada is elusive, as is the percentage of those who were fugitive slaves as opposed to free blacks. Previously estimated at thirty thousand to forty-five thousand, recent reassessments support a more modest figure of around twenty thousand blacks who relocated to Canada prior to 1860. It is probable that most blacks who left the United States and resettled in Canada were fugitive slaves, particularly after the U.S. legislature’s passage of a harsh Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. Canada’s rejection of U.S. appeals to extradite such fugitives led to numerous attempts to resolve the issue diplomatically. Eventually, all attempts by southern slaveholders to obtain a satisfactory solution to the fugitive slave problem—meaning, the rendition of their property—met with failure.

As Canada’s reputation as a haven for runaway slaves grew in the early nineteenth century, so too did the pressure placed on the U.S. and Canadian governments by slaveowners and abolitionists alike to implement governmental policies favorable to their cause. Southern slaveholders resented the lack of assistance from the U.S. government and the lack of cooperation from the British and Canadian governments in the return of fugitive slaves. Especially aggravating to slaveowners was the Canadian courts’ consistent upholding of the principle, espoused in the Upper Canadian Abolition Act (1793), that fugitive slaves who entered

Canada were thereafter free. Canadian courts rejected American appeals to extradite such refugees. Southern slaveowners were thus unable to retrieve their slaves.

The first official attempt by U.S. slaveholders to elicit aid in the recovery of fugitive slaves was made in 1819 when the owners of several slaves who had escaped from Tennessee to Canada urged the U.S. secretary of state to negotiate an arrangement whereby they could regain possession of their property. The official Canadian response was that the fugitives, by their residence in Canada, were free. This became the standard reply to such requests.

The U.S. House of Representatives resolved several times between 1821 and 1860 to engage in full-fledged diplomatic negotiations to draw up a treaty acceptable to slaveholders' interests. Successive U.S. ministers to Great Britain, including Richard Rush, Albert Gallatin, and James Barbour, were instructed to engage in negotiations for a favorable disposition of the issue. Each time, however, the British government refused to acquiesce to U.S. wishes.

Facing the continued failure of diplomacy in solving the problem of extraditing fugitive slaves, masters frequently took matters into their own hands. Some slaveowners traveled to Canada and attempted to regain their property forcibly. This type of activity violated Canadian kidnapping laws, and authorities in that country consistently protected fugitives. Slaveholders also continued to seek individual extradition orders in their quest to regain their property: most of these efforts, too, were unsuccessful.

Some slaveholders tried to extradite their runaway slaves under the pretext that the slaves faced criminal charges before southern courts. This legal stratagem was based on an 1833 Canadian statute that provided for the surrender of fugitive criminals from foreign countries. According to this law, anyone charged by a foreign country with murder, forgery, larceny, or other felonies could be extradited at the discretion of the Canadian government. This legislation seemed to threaten the freedom of all runaway slaves from the United States: first, because many slaves had committed such crimes either before or in the process of escaping; and second, because slaveowners might bring false charges in order to regain their property. Three test cases came from Kentucky, where, in the late 1830s, individual slaveowners requested the extraditions of runaways Thornton Blackburn, Solomon Mosely, and Jesse Happy.

In the first case, Blackburn's master tried to have him extradited on the basis that Blackburn had participated in the mob that had effected his rescue, but the Canadian authorities denied the extradition request. In

the second case, Mosely had stolen his master's horse and had ridden it to Buffalo where he sold the animal and escaped across the Niagara River into Canada. Extradition was requested on the basis that Mosely was a horse thief. Canadian officials agreed that the crime had been proved and ordered the extradition. Mosely, however, escaped from his jailers and was never returned to his master. In the third case, Jesse Happy had also stolen his master's horse in the process of escaping, but he left the animal on the American side of the border and wrote a letter to his owner explaining where to find it. The owner later reclaimed the animal. In what is seen as the definitive ruling on extraditions arising from the 1833 Canadian statute, Canadian and British officials declared that extradition in Happy's case not be granted. The decision implied that any act a slave committed as part of his escape should be considered an act of self-defense rather than a felony.

William Parker's story further illustrates Canada's position concerning fugitives. Parker's participation in the Christiana Riot on September 11, 1851, during which one slave catcher was killed and another mortally wounded, forced him, along with several other leaders of the resistance to flee their Pennsylvania homes. Traveling to Toronto, Parker learned that Governor William Johnston of Pennsylvania had officially requested his extradition. Parker appealed in person to the governor general, Sir James Bruce, earl of Elgin and was assured that he would be considered a fugitive from slavery, not justice. Parker was not extradited.

The closest the countries came to resolving this issue came in the Webster–Ashburton Treaty (1842). Article 10 of this treaty between the United States and Great Britain provided for the mutual surrender of fugitive criminals from both countries and Canada. Yet in the end, Canadian and British officials made it clear that a liberal interpretation of Article 10 would be followed when it came to fugitive slaves and that crimes that occurred as a result of a slave's escape were not considered to be the basis for extradition. Canada remained a haven for refugee slaves until slavery was abolished in the United States.

— Sharon A. Roger Hepburn

See also: United States–Canadian Relations on Fugitives; Abolitionism in the United States; Webster–Ashburton Treaty.

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UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Despite slavery’s pervasive influence on the political, economic, and social life of the United States, the country’s Constitution, at ratification, did not explicitly mention the practice and institution of chattel slavery. Only with the post–Civil War amendments (the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments) did the Constitution expressly acknowledge slavery’s existence. The Founders spoke of slavery euphemistically, preferring ambiguous phrasing to an explicit delineation of slavery’s place in the country’s political order. Nonetheless, the Constitution’s authors consciously designed institutions that accommodated, supported, and eventually entrenched slavery within the structures of political power. Consequently, those few euphemistic references in the original Constitution have had lasting influence on the course of political development in the United States and on constitutional interpretation.

Constitutional references to slavery fall into three classes: those that could have referred only to slavery; those that encompassed slavery and other practices or institutions; and those that did not directly touch on slavery, but had significant, indirect, and perhaps unforeseen consequences for slavery or slaveholding interests.

Five provisions fall within the first category, and they represent key compromises made at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. The first, Article I, section 2, paragraph 3 (generally called the three-fifths compromise) stipulated that both representation within the House of Representatives and any direct taxes would be apportioned to the states according to their populations, calculated “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.” This stipulation increased the representation of slaveholding states in Congress, but simultaneously decreased any potential direct tax liability.

Similarly, Article I, section 9, paragraph 4 ensured that all regions of the country would be equally affected by any possible “capitation” tax. This national uniformity of any possible direct taxes meant that slaveholding could not be singled out for taxation, a concern of some slaveowners who thought northerners would try to tax slavery out of existence.

Also under Article I, section 9, paragraph 1 stipulated that Congress could not ban the international slave trade until 1808. This twenty-year prohibition fostered an even greater reliance on slave labor in the South and allowed for a domestic slave market to develop. Meanwhile, the fugitive slave clause (Article IV, section 2) not only prevented free states from emancipating runaway slaves within their borders, but also required them to release any fugitive slave to his or her owner. In addition, Article 5 rendered unamendable until 1808 both the fugitive slave clause and the ban on prohibiting the international slave trade.

The second class of constitutional provisions reinforced the economic and physical domination slavery required. Article IV, section 4 required the federal government to help suppress domestic insurrections, if a state so requested, thereby putting the federal government in the position of defending slaveholders’ property interests if slave rebellion occurred. Similarly, Article I, section 8, paragraph 15 allowed Congress to muster state militias to combat insurrections, including slave revolts. Article I, Sections 9 and 10 prevented the federal and state governments from taxing exports, which precluded any effort to tax the products of slave labor.

The third class of provisions generally gave political advantages to slaveholding interests that enabled them to forestall efforts to eliminate slavery. Because of the three-fifths compromise, southern states had more votes in the House of Representatives and the electoral college than if only free citizens were represented. Also the amendment process (Article 5) required the agreement of three-quarters of all states, enabling the South to veto any constitutional amendment to ban slavery. In addition, congressional powers to admit new states and adopt regulations for the territories (Article 4, section 3) created opportunities for slave states to ensure that their numbers would not diminish.

In short, the constitutional provisions that touched on slavery, either directly or indirectly, represented a significant victory for southern interests at the time of

the country's founding. Why was the South able to prevail on virtually all contested issues relating to slavery at the Constitutional Convention? Mark Tushnet (1981) argues that the political concessions to slavery at the founding resulted from proslavery interests colliding with antislavery sentiment. That is, the political, economic, and social interests of slaveowning states came into conflict with the northerners' more diffuse antislavery sentiment, based on moral or religious sentiment. Consequently, the diffuse attitude could only yield in the face of such well-focused interests. Indeed, one could argue that the interests of the northern states lay primarily in promoting a political union, and slavery was the price of that union.

The question remains whether the North drove a very hard bargain in its negotiations at the Constitutional Convention. Were concessions on slavery necessary to the Union's formation? The academic debate has yet to resolve the issue, but clearly the distinctive form of the political union of the United States, its thoroughgoing federalism, emerged primarily because of the centrifugal forces of slavery. In order to form an economic and political union, the framers of the Constitution found it necessary to preserve, in large part, the existing legal arrangements that enabled slavery to flourish in the South after the American Revolution.

At the time of the country's founding, the legal framework supporting slavery lay exclusively at the state level. The then-emerging natural law position, articulated most forcefully in *Somerset v. Stewart* [98 English Reports 499 (1772)], held slavery to be contrary to natural law; therefore slavery could exist, in a legal sense, only as a creature of positive law (legislative or executive-made law). The slavery-related provisions of the U.S. Constitution recognized and validated the exclusively local law of slavery, as it then existed in the American states. Thus the constitutional priority of federalism, which allowed both legal systems to coexist under a single constitutional order, both sought to restrict federal governmental intrusion on individuals and tolerated a property right in slaves.

In doing so, the Constitution embodied a tension between the "higher law" impulses of the American Revolution and the deeply political compromises over slavery. The high-toned aspirations of "We, the people" were profoundly at odds with slavery's entrenchment, simultaneously revealing within the Constitution an idealism and a complicit pragmatism.

Through the nineteenth century, these countervailing tendencies gave rise to intense political and normative arguments over the legal meanings of the Constitution's view of slavery. Followers of William Lloyd Garrison echoed his denunciation of the Constitution

as a "covenant with hell" while other, equally ardent antislavery activists sought to confine or eliminate slavery through constitutional practices. On the other side, proslavery politicians, in both the North and the South, viewed constitutional provisions like the fugitive slave clause as the touchstone of the American union. From their perspective, defending the principle of union required a defense of slavery. Proslavery forces tried to transform the constitutional place of slavery from a necessary evil to a positive good; it was, they argued, the glue that held the American union together.

These struggles often emerged in the context of federalism because of the differing positive law of free and slave regions. Northern free states and southern slave states held fundamentally different assumptions about the legal status of blacks within their respective regions. In general, northern legal systems assumed blacks to be free citizens unless proven otherwise, while southern law viewed blacks as slaves unless proven to be free.

Conflicts over the legal status of blacks typically arose when slaves moved from a slave jurisdiction to a free one, either with or without their owners' permission. The legal status of fugitive slaves was clear within free states: the Constitution explicitly prevented northern states from emancipating them (Article 4, section 2). But some northern judges ruled that free states were not required to protect the slave property of southern masters traveling through their jurisdiction. Further legal conflicts arose over northern efforts to protect the free black population in the North from bounty hunters and from the North's refusal to cooperate with slaveowners or their agents seeking to reclaim alleged fugitive slaves.

Later, as the Civil War drew to a close, northern Republicans began laying the foundation for the constitutional abolition of slavery. Although Congress had banned slavery in the territories and the District of Columbia in 1862 and Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves held in the rebellious southern states, a general abolition required more than statutory or executive action. In their efforts to dismantle slavery, Republicans also aimed at the broader southern "slave power," which they believed dominated national politics before the war.

The simple language of the Thirteenth Amendment—"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction"—not only abolished slavery but also implicitly aimed at the South's racial hierarchy. Opponents to the Thirteenth Amendment argued that it profoundly and impermissibly reconfigured the federal relationship, allowing the national

polity to restructure the civil and economic life of an entire region. This opposition soon collapsed as the reelection of President Lincoln in 1864 and the installation of a large Republican majority in the House of Representatives assured passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

The formal end of slavery in the United States came on December 6, 1865, over 240 years after a Dutch ship unloaded the first cargo of Africans in Virginia. Enormous battles lay ahead to secure basic civil and political rights for emancipated slaves, and, more broadly, to disentangle slavery from the fabric of both the Constitution and society.

— Douglas S. Reed

See also: Personal Liberty Laws; *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*.

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DENMARK VESEY (1767–1822)

Denmark Vesey, a former slave, a skilled carpenter, a literate free black, and a man of imposing strength, was the leader of an abortive slave rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822. He was born in 1767, and it is not clear whether his birth occurred in Africa or on the island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean. He lived as a slave boy on the island in the 1700s. In 1781 at age fourteen, Denmark and 390 other slaves were transported to St. Domingue (Haiti). The ship's master, Captain Joseph Vesey took an interest in the boy, dressed him up, and took him to his cabin. On arrival at Cape François, St. Domingue, Denmark was sold along with other slaves.

On Captain Vesey's next trip to Cape François, he was told that the French sugar planter who bought Denmark had rejected him, complaining that Denmark was "unsound and subject to epilepsy" (Lofton, 1948). According to the slave-trading practice at the time, Captain Vesey had to take Denmark back, and between 1781 and 1783 Denmark sailed with his master on slave-trading voyages to different ports in the Caribbean and once to Africa. As a consequence of his travels, Denmark learned to speak English, French, Danish, and Spanish.

In 1783 Captain Vesey decided to settle in Charleston, South Carolina, which, at the time, was a growing urban center and ranked as the fourth largest city after New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. One of the reasons Captain Vesey abandoned the slave trade was that in the 1780s the market for slaves in the United States began a downward slide. More importantly, in 1783 the state of South Carolina imposed heavy duties on slave imports, and beginning in 1787, it prohibited trafficking in slaves. Thus the economic climate did not favor slave trading. The suspension of the trade was only temporary, because in 1803 a boom in cotton production led to an increased trade in slaves. Captain Vesey, having given up trade in slaves, began a business in Charleston as a ship chandler, and for the next seventeen years, Denmark served his master in Charleston.

As a result of the cosmopolitan character of Charleston, external influences were bound to permeate the society. For instance, the ideological rhetoric of the French Revolution gradually crept into the city, and Denmark and others were later to borrow a leaf from the rebelling slaves of St. Domingue. As a slave in Charleston, Denmark was like most urban bondsmen who worked as domestics for the urban elites, which included shipbuilders, lawyers, doctors, engineers, merchants, and businessmen. Because of Denmark's skills as a carpenter he was hired out by his master, which provided Denmark ample opportunity not only to earn extra cash, but also to educate himself through reading about current events in Charleston and elsewhere. The freedom to move around aided Denmark in establishing a network with slaves and free blacks, and this circle of friends became the pivot around which he later organized his plot.

Another significant development in Denmark's life occurred in December 1799 when he won a lottery prize of \$1,500. In January 1800 Denmark met his master, Joseph Vesey to negotiate his freedom and used \$600 of the prize money to buy his freedom. As a freeman, Denmark used the \$900 he had left to establish a carpenter workshop. From then on he joined the ranks

of free blacks who lived in Charleston and worked as carpenters, tailors, hairdressers, barbers, cooks, seamstresses, shoemakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, painters, contractors, merchants, coal and wood dealers, and artisans. Many of them, including Denmark, were successful in their chosen professions.

Despite the successes of free blacks, their social status in antebellum Charleston was only a level above that of slaves. Even with manumission, free blacks never achieved total freedom. For instance, despite Denmark Vesey's wealth, the law still required him to carry his manumission papers wherever he went, and until 1783, when a law was enacted against the abduction and selling of free blacks, they could be kidnapped and sold into slavery all over again. Free blacks were tried in the same manner as slaves, and they lacked legal representation. By about 1820 there were 3,165 free blacks living in Charleston whose privileges were circumscribed; it was only a matter of time before they reacted.

Based on external influences and his own conviction, Denmark became dissatisfied with the status of African Americans in the United States, and he felt the degradation of African Americans in Charleston cast an aspersion on his race. He was, therefore, impatient with blacks he considered servile and worked strenuously to galvanize those blacks who thought there was no way to change their subservient status. With time Denmark became a strong critic of the institution of slavery. His intellectual crusade was informed by reading about slavery, the American, French, and Haitian revolutions; and about abolitionists and their activities. His extensive knowledge enabled him to understand hardships inherent in the institution of slavery, and he was not afraid to express his views.

Denmark began his program for freedom by sensitizing potential participants in his plot to overthrow the slave system. He felt it was his responsibility to inform blacks in Charleston that whites were neither superior nor were they God, and he also prepared his followers psychologically to dislike whites. He used the Bible as a basis to criticize the evils of slavery—reading from the Bible how the children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt from bondage. He also made references to the success of Haitians in their bid to acquire independence from the French.

By December 1821, Denmark Vesey took a major step in achieving his objectives by picking able and trusted confidants. Among them was Peter Poyas (a slave belonging to one James Poyas), a literate ship carpenter whose job allowed him to move freely, which meant he could coordinate communication between rural and urban slaves. Others included Rolla and Ned Bennett, slaves of Governor Thomas Bennett; their

closeness to the governor meant they were able to spy and inform on the white community of Charleston. Another important associate of Denmark was Jack Glenn, a literate and skilled slave whose occupation was painting. Glenn acted as the group's treasurer, collecting money from hired-out slaves who had disposable income for the purchase of weapons and horses. Monday Gell, a skilled harness maker, was also a member of Denmark's circle of confidants. Gell managed a shop on Meeting Street and was well regarded by whites, who considered him intelligent, steady, and dependable. Among Denmark Vesey's lieutenants, Jack Pritchard (Gullah Jack) was deemed to have been the most effective. He was said to possess supernatural powers and was therefore considered a conjurer. He commanded considerable respect among rural Gullah slaves who lived in the coastal Sea Islands. Denmark relied on Gullah Jack to rally the cowardly and hesitant slaves by using his assumed powers.

Once Vesey's team was in place, the business of extensive recruitment began. A number of meetings were held in Vesey's house, in Monday Gell's shop, and at Bulkley's farm on Charleston Neck, at which the leaders compared notes, exchanged information and planned strategies for the operation. The recruitment effort went beyond Charleston. Recruiters went as far as the coastal islands to the east, Georgetown to the north, the Combahee River to the south, and St. John's Parish in Berkeley County to the west. Denmark Vesey and his co-conspirators took utmost care to prevent any possible leaks, but their efforts in this regard were unsuccessful.

July 14, 1822, the second Sunday of the month, was set as the date for the rebellion. A summer month was chosen because the majority of whites would have traveled out of town, and a Sunday was picked because on that day many blacks could visit Charleston without being suspected of any sinister motive. Before the plan could be executed, a house servant who was the target of recruitment informed his master of the planned insurrection on May 30. Vesey then attempted to move the date of the uprising forward to June 16, but unfortunately, more revelations of the plot had been made by other slaves who were acting as spies. The mayor of Charleston and governor of South Carolina acted swiftly, and the insurrectionists were arrested.

Following a long trial, of the 131 African Americans who had been apprehended, 36 were hanged, 43 were banished from the state, and the charges against 51 were discharged. Peter Poyas; Ned, Rolla, and Batteau Bennett; Jessy Blackwood; and Denmark Vesey were executed on July 2, 1822.

See also: Gullah Jack; Sea Islands; South Carolina.

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VIRGINIA'S SLAVERY DEBATE

A far-reaching debate on slavery occurred in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832. The 1831–1832 legislature convened three months after Nat Turner led a slave uprising in Southampton County on August 22–23 and only a few weeks after Turner's capture, trial, and execution. White Virginians sought security against a recurrence, and many—even some leading slaveowners in eastern Virginia—were prepared to consider an end to the institution Turner had rebelled against. Governor John Floyd hoped that a program might be launched during his administration that would bring an eventual end to slavery in Virginia and, in the meantime, greater control over all black Virginians and the expulsion of free blacks.

The legislature's lower house appointed a select committee to consider the removal of free blacks from the state and a program of gradual abolition. William O. Goode, however, introduced a resolution that it was "not expedient to legislate" on the subject of emancipation. Thomas Jefferson Randolph countered with a resolution calling for gradual emancipation. According to Randolph's measure, all children that slave mothers bore after July 4, 1840, would, if still in Virginia, become the property of the state, women when they reached age eighteen and men at age twenty-one, and would then be hired out until their labor had raised funds sufficient to pay for their transportation out of the United States. Young female slaves would begin obtaining their freedom in 1858, as would their brothers in 1861.

Half a century earlier, the state of Pennsylvania had

taken the first action of any legislature in the New World to undo slavery when it passed a gradual emancipation act in 1780. By the time of Turner's uprising, every northern state had acted to end slavery, while no state south of Pennsylvania had gone any further than when Virginia, in 1782, merely eased a restriction that had previously kept slaveowners from manumitting their slaves.

Only in its broad outlines did Virginia's 1832 gradual emancipation proposal resemble Pennsylvania's. Pennsylvania's original proposal had used the same ages for freeing slaves as the Virginia proposal did, eighteen for women and twenty-one for men; it would have terminated their slavery at birth but required them to work for the mother's master until adulthood. As enacted in 1780, the Pennsylvania law postponed final freedom for slaves yet unborn to the age of twenty-eight. But that law also granted free blacks all the rights that their white neighbors enjoyed, including the right to remain in their home state and the right to vote, and it sought to protect black Pennsylvanians from being sold out of state. Virginia's proposal did nothing to expand the definition of black freedom, and its supporters anticipated that slaveowners, acting to protect their investment, would seek a market in the Deep South.

Two weeks of intense debate took place in the 1832 Virginia legislature's lower house. A western representative, William Ballard Preston, proposed an amendment to easterner Goode's resolution to declare it, instead, "expedient" that the legislature enact an emancipation measure. Proponents of abolition condemned the "evil" of slavery—sometimes because it injured slaves, always because it damaged the prospects of white Virginians. Their opponents attacked as impractical every proposed remedy for slavery, though they did agree on the expulsion of free blacks. Reformers challenged the sanctity of property as it applied to slaves; their opponents insisted on their property rights. No one advocated any proposal to end slavery anytime soon or to permit a significant continued black presence in Virginia after an end to slavery.

Virginia's legislators divided into two main groups, roughly similar in size. One group supported some immediate action toward the eventual abolition of slavery. The other stood opposed. A small but crucial swing group favored eventual emancipation but resisted any specific action at that time. Preston's amendment lost by 73 to 58. The vehemence of proslavery spokesmen had paralyzed a sufficient number of wavering delegates, so that a majority refused to take any action against slavery in 1832.

Two years earlier, in a state constitutional conven-

tion, easterners had rejected calls from western delegates for greater representation and legislative apportionment according to white population. Had the Virginia Constitution of 1830 granted westerners' wish for greater power in the legislature, the 1832 vote on slavery would have been closer, though the reformers might still have lost. The next Virginia constitution, in 1851, offered concessions to western Virginia on voting and apportionment. It also empowered the legislature to remove free blacks. But it curtailed slaveowners' right to free their slaves, and—eliminating any possible repeat of the 1832 debate—it expressly barred the legislature from acting against slavery.

The failed effort in 1832 to inaugurate gradual emancipation would have led Virginia slaves, men and women, to begin obtaining their freedom by 1861. Instead, Virginia seceded and joined the Confederacy that year. The Civil War caused Virginia to experience a transformation in the status of black residents. Slavery was ended suddenly, and without the deportation of free blacks or freed slaves. In 1866 black residents were granted citizenship; in 1867, they even received political rights.

— Peter Wallenstein

See also: Turner, Nat.

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VOLUME OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Although it is impossible to establish a precise figure, many historians have endeavored to estimate the number of Africans involved in the transatlantic slave trade. Equally important, they have sought to determine the effects of that trade on Africa.

Historians have long debated how many African slaves Europeans transported to the Americas. Edward E. Dunbar, who wrote an 1861 essay called “History of the Rise and Decline of Commercial Slavery in America,” produced one of the earliest estimates. Believing

that his figure was conservative, Dunbar wrote that between 1500 and 1850 almost 14 million slaves were imported into the Americas. Although Dunbar's figure was little more than a guess, historians cited it in discussions of the slave trade for over a century. More recent citations mention Robert Rene Kuczynski's work *Population Movements* (1939), which argues for a figure of 15 million. Some writers have even argued that both estimates were too low and that the figure was closer to 20 million.

Philip Curtin provided the first scholarly treatment of this question in *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969), which he based on an examination of various published sources. He reviewed shipping records, census data, accounts of slave merchants and ship captains, government publications, and records of slave-trading companies. From these sources, Curtin concluded that Europeans imported 274,900 slaves into the Americas prior to 1600, 1,341,100 in the seventeenth century, 6,051,700 between 1701 and 1810, and 1,898,400 between 1811 and 1870, for a total of 9,566,100. He further explained that the peak of importation occurred in the third quarter of the eighteenth century when an average of over sixty thousand Africans arrived annually. Yet Curtin emphasized that his numbers were approximations and that his total might be 20 percent too low or 20 percent too high. He intended that his study would prompt other scholars to research the substantial unpublished sources available on both sides of the Atlantic and modify his calculations.

Since Curtin's book was published, many scholars have accepted his challenge, and after examining various archival materials, several have offered revised estimates of the volume of the slave trade. Historians working on slave importations into Spanish America and North America and the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and British slave trades have argued that Curtin's estimate was too low. Joseph Inikori (1982), Curtin's most prominent critic, asserts that Dunbar and Kuczynski were closer to the truth than Curtin and that over 15 million Africans were involved.

Beyond drawing from different source materials, a major reason for the differences between Curtin and the revisionists lies in their different vantage points in observing the slave trade. Curtin largely focused on the number of slaves imported into the Americas, while scholars arguing for a higher figure have tried to determine the number of slaves exported from Africa.

The publication of a CD-ROM in 1999 offered an opportunity to resolve the controversy over the volume of the transatlantic slave trade. A team of scholars working under the auspices of the W. E. B. DuBois

Institute at Harvard University created a massive data set that includes information on over two-thirds of all transatlantic slaving voyages through 1867, a total of 27,233 voyages. Studies based on this database have provided much greater precision in analyzing the character as well as the volume of the slave trade since total numbers can be extrapolated from such a large representative sample.

Europeans shipped just over 11 million Africans across the Atlantic and, confirming Philip Curtin's estimate, 9.6 million reached the Americas. Over 60 percent came from West Central Africa and the Bight of Benin. The Portuguese carried 46 percent of the slaves, mostly to Brazil, and the English transported 28 percent mostly to the West Indies. Only about 4 percent reached North America. Less than a quarter of the slaves were children and nearly half were men. Although the proportion declined over time, 12 percent of slaves died during the passage to the Americas. Notably, shipboard mortality, contrary to the previous arguments of many historians, did not increase substantially when ship captains packed slaves more tightly into vessels. Finally, it is now evident that beyond several dozen shore-based attacks by Africans against slave ships, there was an insurrection on nearly four hundred slave voyages.

The impact of the slave trade on Africa is becoming as important to historians as the number involved in the trade. There is little evidence that profits from the slave trade contributed to economic development in Africa largely because international trade was not a significant factor in the African economy. Indeed, some scholars argue that the slave trade may have retarded economic development in Africa because it took the healthiest and strongest in the population. In some areas, the slave trade had a profound political impact. Along the Gold Coast, a combination of slave trade profits and European firearms contributed to the rise of the powerful kingdom of Dahomey. Most significant was the trade's demographic impact. Although it was not true of all areas, the slave trade contributed to a population decline in West Africa during the eighteenth century. Angola in particular suffered a significant loss of adult males, and by the 1780s, there were twice as many females as males in Angola.

Some scholars caution that, rather than the slave trade, factors like disease, drought, and famine better explain Africa's population decline. Still others contend there was no overall decline. Indeed, a few argue that because of trade with the Americas, new food crops like maize and manioc were introduced into

African agriculture. Moreover, they state, the successful cultivation of those crops offset the losses to the slave trade by providing a more diverse food supply, one that was capable of sustaining larger and healthier populations.

Complicating matters in determining the impact of the large transatlantic slave trade was the substantial trans-Saharan slave trade. Largely organized by Muslims, nearly 5 million slaves were sold in North Africa and the Middle East prior to 1600, a trade that continued through the nineteenth century and may have involved over 15 million slaves.

Several questions about the volume of the slave trade remain unanswered. Notably, historians have been unable to determine the precise impact of this trade on all regions affected. One scholar, David Henige, asserts that there will never be enough data to offer an acceptable global estimate of the slave trade. Nonetheless, substantial agreement has now been reached about the volume of the transatlantic trade. Beginning with the Portuguese trade in the fifteenth century, most scholars have concluded that Europeans exported over 11 million Africans to the Americas and that about 9.6 million of them survived the trip.

— Larry Gragg

See also: Middle Passage.

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WADE–DAVIS BILL

The Wade–Davis bill, passed by both houses of Congress in 1864, expressed the Radical Republicans’ vision for the reconstruction of the Confederate states. Drafted by Congressman Henry Winter Davis of Maryland and Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, two Radicals who chaired the Committee on the Rebellious States in their respective chambers, the bill articulated Radical opposition to President Abraham Lincoln’s own plan of restoration. In December 1863 Lincoln had issued a proclamation declaring that any seceded state could resume its normal position in the Union if one-tenth of its qualified electorate swore an oath of allegiance to the United States and formed a civil government accepting the finality of the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln believed that the largely Union-occupied states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee might be reintegrated into the Union on this basis within a short time. Congressional Radicals, however, deemed the Ten Percent Plan too lenient. They wanted, not simply a restoration of the former slave states, but revolutionary measures that guaranteed civil rights for blacks and that excluded treasonous Confederates from the democratic process. Consequently, the Radical-led Congress passed the Wade–Davis bill as an alternative to Lincoln’s program.

The Wade–Davis provisions were more restrictive and punitive than the president’s proposals. Unlike the Ten Percent Plan, the congressional package disallowed the wartime formation of popular governments in the South and instead obliged the chief executive to appoint provisional governors to administer the states-in-revolt for the duration of the conflict. Only after hostilities ceased could the rebel states move to regain self-government, and only when a majority of a state’s voters swore an “iron-clad” oath affirming their loyalty to the Union throughout the entire war. In addition, the Wade–Davis bill disfranchised former Confederates and prohibited them from holding public office. Finally, the bill required that the southern states adopt new constitutions expressly outlawing slavery.

Congress finalized the Wade–Davis bill on July 2, 1864. Two days later, just hours before the congressional session expired, Radical senators Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan

rushed the bill to the president for a hurried signature. To their chagrin, Lincoln did not endorse the legislation. Though he agreed with several of the bill’s points, he feared its harsh tone would jeopardize the erection of loyal governments in Union-held areas of the South. Moreover, Lincoln objected on constitutional grounds to the provisions mandating the abolition of slavery as a requisite for the readmission of states to the Union. When Chandler remonstrated that the bill’s essential feature was “that one prohibiting slavery in the reconstructed states,” Lincoln retorted, “That is the point on which I doubt the authority of Congress to act” (Oates, 1977). As the president noted, the Republican Party had always conceded the inability of the federal government to interfere with slavery in the states. Of course, Lincoln had done precisely that with the Emancipation Proclamation, but he justified the decree as a military measure within the purview of the war powers vested in the nation’s commander-in-chief. Congress, however, possessed no such constitutional authority and thus could not legislate against slavery in the states. Based on this separation-of-powers argument, Lincoln did not sign the bill before Congress adjourned.

Lincoln’s pocket veto of the Wade–Davis bill provoked a bitter response from the Radical wing of his party. The bill’s two authors, for example, published an incendiary manifesto accusing the president of usurping legislative prerogatives and of disregarding the human rights of blacks. Such polemical saber-rattling did little to change Lincoln’s views on the matter, however. Nevertheless, most of the ideas embodied in the Wade–Davis bill ultimately came to fruition during the Radical-led congressional phase of Reconstruction after 1867. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, for instance, accorded freedmen full citizenship status and guaranteed them equal protection of the laws, while it barred many ex-Confederates from holding state or national office. Likewise, the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 echoed the stern tone of the Wade–Davis bill in dividing the former Confederacy into five military districts to be occupied by Union troops and administered by provisional governors until such time as new governments, based on manhood suffrage and contingent on ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, could be established in the southern states.

— *Eric Tscheschlok*

See also: Lincoln, Abraham.

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WAGE SLAVERY

Antebellum northern workers critical of evolving capitalist social relations often claimed they were treated on a par with the South's slaves. This comparison of the emerging wage labor system with chattel slavery was often summarized as "wage slavery." The term originated in Great Britain in the early nineteenth century, but was refined and elevated to the status of battle cry in the North during the 1830s and 1840s. After the Civil War, the term was widely used by the Knights of Labor and Marxist writers who continued to link wage work and slavery well into the twentieth century.

The powerful image of "wage slaves," however, had special meaning in the antebellum North, where the market was rapidly transforming work and social relations in cities like New York, Philadelphia, and the new mill towns like Lowell, Massachusetts. At the same time, a vocal and highly visible group of abolitionists began to call for an immediate end to slavery, which they claimed was both a sin and the antithesis of freedom. During the 1830s, white Northern workers began (hesitantly at first) to compare themselves to enslaved African Americans.

Striking Lowell Mill workers were among the first explicitly to make this comparison. Likening their bosses and foremen to southern planters, women marched through the streets of Lowell in 1836 singing:

*Oh! Isn't it a pity, such a pretty girl as I—
Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?
Oh! I cannot be a slave,
I will not be a slave,
For I'm so fond of liberty
That I cannot be a slave (Laurie, 1989).*

For male artisans, who built the nation's first labor movement, the rise of the factory system portended an ominous threat to their own independence. The same year as the Lowell strike, supporters of New York's journeymen tailors published a famous handbill

emblazoned with a coffin. The coffin symbolized how the workingman's one-time liberty had been "interred by. . . would-be masters." "Freemen of the North," the handbill warned, "are now on the level with the slaves of the South" (Commons, 1910).

Some historians of antebellum America have pointed to the use of terms like *wage slavery* (and the popular substitute *white slavery*) as evidence that labor reformers cared little about the plight of black slaves. Some have even concluded that the term embodies proslavery leanings among northern whites. But even if some northern workers viewed wage slavery as a more serious problem for the republic than chattel slavery, the very idea contained a condemnation of slavery itself. The core values of the early labor movement—which included democracy, independence, and the labor theory of value—were fundamentally at odds with the institution of slavery.

Take, for example, the labor editor and land reformer George Henry Evans, who helped make wage slavery a household term in antebellum America. As early as 1831, Evans called for an end to all forms of slavery, and wrote editorials favoring full civil rights for free African Americans. He went even further than the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison in support of Nat Turner and his rebellion. By the 1840s Evans had hit upon a plan for universal land reform that, he thought, would end slavery, speculation in land, tenantry, and urban unemployment: free homesteads for actual settlers. For labor leaders and reformers like Evans, slavery of any type was a threat to liberty and progress.

Many of the views of labor radicals like Evans helped constitute the new, free soil ideology, which likewise opposed the expansion of southern slavery and abolitionist "fanaticism." But the concept of wage slavery was diluted in both free soil and, later, Republican politics by the more developed ideology of "free labor," which held that, with hard work and thrift, any wage earner could some day be an employer or landowner. After the Civil War, the broad-based Knights of Labor recycled the concept of wage slavery and railed against it in both print and oratory. In its combination of unionism and social reform, the Knights kept the concept before the American public even as a mature capitalist order made the abolition of work for wages an unattainable and radical dream. After the Civil War, Gilded Age labor radicals recycled the term *wage slavery* to combat the industrial system.

— Jonathan Earle

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DAVID WALKER (1784–1830)

A free black who left the South to settle in Boston, David Walker was an influential voice in the fight against slavery through his writing. Born the son of a slave father and a free black mother in Wilmington, North Carolina, David Walker was a free black according to North Carolina law. As a youth, he was free to travel in the antebellum South, and he observed firsthand both the harsh nature of slavery and the unfair treatment accorded his mother. From an early age, he developed an attitude of disgust toward slavery. As a result of the racial unrest and heightened restrictions placed on free blacks caused by the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in 1822, Walker left the Charleston, South Carolina, area. Exactly where he traveled is uncertain, but by 1825 he had settled in Boston.

Once in Boston, Walker learned to read and write and opened a clothing store. He was generous to a fault. He never was a business success, but he was well-respected in the black community. Tall, slender, with a dark complexion, Walker was also physically intimidating as well. It was during this period that Walker continued his self-education. He read widely on the institution of slavery, especially its history from Egypt to more contemporary slave societies. His emergence as an outspoken critic of slavery was natural considering his life experiences and his pursuit of a deeper understanding of the status of blacks in the United States.

In 1828 Walker addressed the General Colored Association of Massachusetts and made a fiery attack on slaveholders, urging blacks to oppose slavery and southern attempts to recover fugitive slaves. He urged the audience to unify in the pursuit of freedom for blacks, but within the limits of the Constitution. His address was later printed in *Freedom's Journal*, but his next published work had a far greater impact on anti-slavery literature.

In 1829 Walker wrote an ambitious and incendiary tract that attacked slavery and outlined a plan for organized black opposition to the institution—a plan

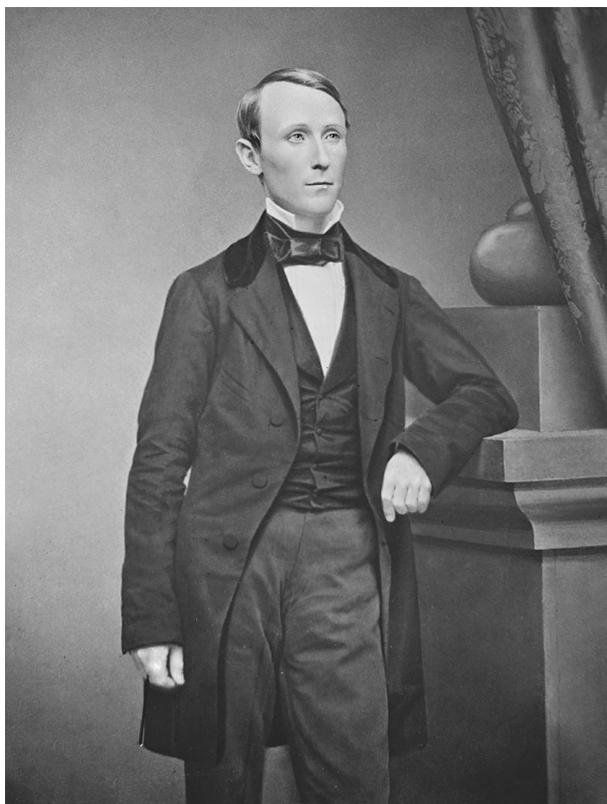
that included violence if necessary. Only a few months before *David Walker's Appeal*, another black, Robert Alexander Young, had published *Ethiopian Manifesto*, a seven-page pamphlet stressing that God had created blacks and whites as equals, but Walker probably knew nothing of its existence.

David Walker's Appeal was published as four “articles” focusing on blacks, their degradation in slavery, and their need to revolt against their white oppressors. His writing is clear and vivid, and propounds a well-reasoned argument against slavery. Portraying whites as the enemy, Walker saw racial harmony as unlikely given white attitudes. He did lay the framework for Christian forgiveness, but only if whites admitted their crimes against blacks. Walker adopted a “kill or be killed” philosophy and saw the necessity for insurrection if blacks were to achieve eventual equality.

Walker incorporated most of the major tenets of black nationalism in the *Appeal*. He stated that blacks must have a nation of their own, they must provide for their own defense, and they must follow black leaders. He repeated the traditional messianic view for blacks. Many historians view Walker as America's earliest black nationalist. He was undoubtedly one of the more significant black ideologists and writers of the antebellum period; given his southern heritage, Walker was a remarkable figure. White southerners and slaveholders naturally held Walker in low esteem, but southern reactions to *David Walker's Appeal* were indicative of their concerns and fears if the book and its ideas were widely circulated in the South.

Walker utilized a series of unofficial agents—black sailors, newspapermen, ministers, and other free blacks—to distribute the *Appeal* in southern port cities. On December 29, 1829, only three months after initial publication, the police in Savannah, Georgia, seized sixty copies of the *Appeal* that Walker had sent to Reverend Henry Cunningham. The next month, Atlanta officials intercepted twenty copies forwarded to newspaperman Elijah Burritt, a transplanted white New Englander. After it was discovered that Burritt had requested a copy (or more) of the tract, Burritt thought it prudent to go back north. Virginia Governor William Giles alerted the state assembly that a black person had circulated copies in Richmond. Copies were discovered in Walker's birthplace of Wilmington, North Carolina, in August 1830. City officials in Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans were alarmed when copies of the *Appeal* reached their cities in March 1830.

Public and legislative reactions were predictable as stricter measures against slave literacy, unsupervised slave religious activity, and the freedom of slaves to interact with free blacks were enforced in some states



William Walker was the self-proclaimed president of Nicaragua from 1856 to 1857. (Library of Congress)

and passed in others. The circulation of *David Walker's Appeal* aroused the three central fears of slaveowners—that slave literacy was a dangerous skill, that black preachers posed a real threat, and that literate blacks could read to groups of illiterate slaves.

Rumors surrounding Walker's death in June 1830 were rampant. One rumor was that he had been poisoned, another was that several Georgia men had offered a reward of \$1,000 for Walker dead or \$10,000 for Walker alive. There is no clear evidence that Walker died from anything more than natural causes, and most likely consumption. Walker's true legacy focused on his *Appeal*, his active opposition to slavery worldwide, and his role in the evolution of black nationalism.

— *Boyd Childress*

See also: Black Nationalism; Vesey, Denmark.

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WILLIAM WALKER (1824–1860)

In an era when many sought to expand slaveholding territory through the practice of “filibustering” (engaging in expansionist activities in foreign countries), the most notorious adventurer of the antebellum era in the United States, William Walker, was born on May 8, 1824, in Nashville, Tennessee. Graduating from the University of Nashville in 1838, he subsequently studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and received his M.D. there in 1843. He pursued medical studies in Europe but then abandoned medicine to enter the legal profession. Admitted to the bar in New Orleans, Walker then turned to journalism and by 1848 was editor and proprietor of the New Orleans *Daily Crescent*.

After emigrating to California in 1850, Walker spent three years as an editor and lawyer. However, his restless spirit led him to embrace “filibustering” as the means to fulfill his longing for fame. In 1853 he sailed from San Francisco to wrest Lower (Baja) California and Sonora from Mexico. With an “army” of only forty-five men, Walker's effort was doomed to failure from the start. By early 1854 “President Walker” of the short lived Republic of Lower California was in full retreat for the U.S. border.

Walker and his chief confederates were tried in San Francisco for violating the neutrality laws. Acquitted by a sympathetic jury, Walker then determined to make Central America his next field of operations, a region that had increasingly become the focus of attention as American and European commercial interests viewed the isthmus as a potential interocean transit route. A prolonged conflict between Nicaragua's liberal and conservative factions offered Walker a second opportunity to fulfill his destiny. Accepting an invitation to organize armed American colonists for the liberal cause, Walker landed near Realejo on June 16, 1855. With his fifty-six “immortals” he helped the liberals win several important victories, and after the death of several liberal leaders through battle and disease, Walker emerged as the faction's foremost military commander.

Walker's capture of the Nicaraguan conservative

stronghold of Granada in late 1855 effectively ended hostilities. The new government, a shaky coalition of both factions with Walker as commander-in-chief, was recognized by the United States in May 1856. The undisputed power in his adopted country, Walker became president through a controlled election in June of the same year.

However, Walker's position was far from secure. Armed and supplied by the British government, which had its own designs in the region, a coalition of Central American states launched a major invasion of Nicaragua in September 1856. Gradually losing the support of the native population, Walker filled his ranks with North Americans who poured into the country to claim land and other concessions from his administration.

Surrounded by hostile forces, Walker, in a decree dated September 22, restored African slavery in Nicaragua. Although previously regarded as a conservative on the slavery issue, Walker hoped to win support for his cause in the U.S. South. Indeed, historians contend that southern expansionists, like Pierre Soule of Louisiana, who visited Nicaragua in August, were instrumental in convincing Walker that his political survival depended on reinstating slavery. Even though he had opposed slavery's expansion in North America earlier, Walker succeeded in convincing southerners that he was fighting for the preservation of the institution.

Despite the success of this gamble, Walker's effort was too late to prevent defeat. His rise to power had been partly owing to an alliance with the Accessory Transit Company, a U.S. corporation operating between New York and San Francisco by way of Nicaragua. However, control of the company was bitterly contested, and Walker soon found himself forced to choose between warring U.S. capitalists. When Walker withdrew his support from Cornelius Vanderbilt, one of most powerful men in the United States, his fate was sealed.

Backed by his millions, Vanderbilt obtained full legal control of the transit company and sent agents to aid the Central American alliance. Led by Vanderbilt's mercenaries, the allies seized Walker's river fleet, thus cutting him off from the coast. At the same time, the British navy began to blockade the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. Completely surrounded and with no hope of outside aid, Walker surrendered to the U.S. Navy on May 1, 1857.

Although totally out of favor with the U.S. government, Walker returned to a hero's welcome in the United States. Undaunted, he immediately organized a second expedition to Nicaragua but was thwarted by

U.S. naval forces after landing on that country's coast in November 1857. Attempting to use Honduras as a base for another invasion of Nicaragua, Walker was captured by the Royal Navy. Turned over to the Honduran authorities, the greatest of the filibusters was executed by firing squad on September 12, 1860.

One historian has written, "Walker's experience . . . offers insight into the relationship between filibustering and slavery" (Brown, 1980). Although regarded by northerners and by many future historians as an agent of proslavery interests in the United States, Walker was not a southern expansionist. Even at the height of his power he did not consider the annexation of Nicaragua by the United States, but rather dreamed of forging the republics of Central America into a "military empire" under his rule. Far from being exploited by the "slave power," Walker apparently sought to exploit the southern proslavery element in the United States in an effort to preserve his rule over Nicaragua.

—James M. Prichard

See also: Filibusters.

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THE WANDERER

The *Wanderer* was the most infamous slave ship of the period before the Civil War. It was built in 1857 as a sporting schooner. Southern entrepreneurs from the United States, led by Charles A. L. Lamar, commissioned the vessel in 1859 to sail to Africa to obtain a clandestine slave cargo in violation of the U.S. prohibition of the international slave trade. Purporting to sail to St. Helena in the South Atlantic, the *Wanderer's* crew succeeded in hiding the ship's destination and their nefarious plan. Once in open water, the ship veered east for West Africa's coast and the Congo River.

Arriving at the Congo, the *Wanderer's* officers ingratiated themselves with officers of the African Squadron patrolling the West Africa coast to enforce the abolition of the slave trade. With the British officers' tacit

approval, the *Wanderer* boarded over four hundred Africans and embarked for Georgia. As the ship dashed for open seas, a U.S. vessel patrolling the coast as part of the antislavery squadron attempted to stop the *Wanderer*. Unfortunately for the slaves on board, the schooner's sleek design and top speed of nearly 20 knots was too much for the U.S. vessel.

After a six-week voyage, the *Wanderer* arrived off Jekyll Island, 60 miles south of Savannah, Georgia. Fewer than half the stolen African slaves had survived the journey. The survivors were quickly and covertly dispersed among plantations along Georgia's coast.

Federal authorities had learned of Lamar's activities, though too late to prevent the dispersion of the ship's slave cargo. However, the authorities seized the *Wanderer* and arrested three crew members for piracy. Lamar manipulated the crew members' arrests into a spectacle bemoaning abolitionist attacks on southern society. Although federal Judge James M. Wayne recommended conviction, local jurors acquitted the crew members of piracy. When Treasury Secretary Howell Cobb, also a Georgian, ordered the *Wanderer* auctioned, Lamar used intimidation, violence, and his substantial personal wealth to regain control of the ship.

Proponents for reopening the African slave trade saw the *Wanderer* case as a victory. The Civil War began before the *Wanderer* could make another slave smuggling voyage, and the U.S. Navy seized the ship and impressed it into service as a Union gunboat during the war. In 1871 the *Wanderer* was lost off Cuba.

— *John Grenier*

See also: African Squadron; Atlantic Slave Trade, Closing of; Illegal Slave Trade.

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WAR OF 1812

The War of 1812 was a North American conflict between the United States and Great Britain and is considered to be an outgrowth of the Napoleonic conflict in Europe. Declared by the U.S. Congress on June 18, 1812, the war concluded with the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814; hostilities continued until mid-March 1815 when both sides ratified the treaty. The war's highlights included failed American invasions of Canada

during the fall of 1813; American naval victories on Lakes Erie (September 1813) and Champlain (September 1814); the British conquest of Washington, D.C. (August 1814), and failed attempt to seize Baltimore (September 1814); and an American victory against Creek Indians (March 1814) at Horseshoe Bend and against British forces at New Orleans (December 1814–January 1815).

The conflict's antecedents can be traced to the French Revolution, which initiated a generation of warfare between Great Britain and France that placed all neutral nations at risk. President James Madison's June 1812 message to Congress offered four reasons why the United States should declare war:

1. British impressment of American seamen;
2. Violation of American neutral rights on the high seas and in U.S. territorial waters;
3. British blockade of U.S. ports; and
4. British refusal to revoke or modify their Orders-in-Council.

Although British maritime depredations may have prompted the war, other important causes included the British encouragement of Native American attacks in the old Northwest; manifest destiny, or the American War Hawks' desire to acquire Canadian and western Native American lands, and/or Spanish East and West Florida; an agricultural depression, which convinced some southern congressmen that war could revive the U.S. economy; and an intense American Anglophobia created by years of humiliation at the hands of Great Britain.

Estimating the number of African Americans who fought in the conflict is impossible, even though some sources suggest that more than five thousand participated. Regardless of the number, both slaves and free blacks participated with the U.S. army and navy, with the British army and navy, with the Spanish military, and alongside Native American during the conflict. While the factors that motivated these combatants to choose sides remain unclear, evidence indicates that some joined certain forces to secure their freedom, while others tried to better their material conditions, and still others fought for causes in which they believed. Black combatants provided notable U.S. service with Oliver Hazard Perry (an estimated 10 to 20 percent of his sailing force) at the battle of Lake Erie. General Samuel Smith received help from slaves and free blacks who served in the army and militia, and who dug fortifications to protect Baltimore from attack. An-



British and American forces clash at the Battle of New Orleans. A well-defended left flank anchored on the Mississippi River and a thick cypress swamp on the right forced the British assault to the center of General Andrew Jackson's defense, where Jackson had placed his thirty-five hundred men in three successive lines of defense. (National Museum of the United States Army)

drew Jackson enlisted slaves and more than two hundred "free men of color" in his defense of New Orleans.

As part of their policy of destroying the U.S. economy and breaking the American will to fight, British forces liberated and carried off slaves during their 1813 and 1814 operations in the Chesapeake Bay, along the Georgia coast, and along the Gulf of Mexico. During the Chesapeake campaign more than two hundred runaways joined British Admiral Alexander Cochrane's Colonial Marines in the late August conquest and burning of Washington, D.C., and the September attack against Baltimore. Other slaves recruited from the Gulf South served alongside black West Indian regiments during the attack on New Orleans; the West Indian forces suffered from the cold weather and ultimately contributed little to the campaign. Nonetheless, the British policy of liberating slaves combined with American fears of a British-sponsored slave insurrection prompted state and local officials to implement repressive measures to retain the *status quo*.

Not siding with British forces, many runaway slaves

and free blacks instead joined renegade mulatto and Indian communities in the Gulf Spanish borderlands. The strongly armed "Negro Fort"—a former British base on the Apalachicola River occupied by runaway slaves and hostile Indians after the conflict—posed a threat to expansive-minded American frontiersmen and southern slaveholders who wanted to expand into Spanish Florida. In July 1816 an American naval force easily destroyed the bastion.

The War of 1812 ultimately strengthened slavery in the old American Southwest. After the war, the opening of farming lands in the Mississippi Territory and western Georgia, the destruction of mulatto communities along the southern frontier, and the ultimate removal of those Native Americans east of the Mississippi River provided an impetus to the growing southern plantation system and continued slavery. In the end, the conflict helped accelerate the American Civil War as it strengthened the foundations for African American slavery in an ever-expanding agricultural South.

— Gene A. Smith

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BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915)

Booker Taliaferro Washington was born a slave in Franklin County, Virginia, on April 5, 1856. The son of a house slave and an unknown white father, Washington grew up to become one of the most influential educators in American history. His reputation, however, extended beyond the field of education. He was a social critic and a reformer of international reputation. His educational philosophy influenced generations of black educators. He devoted his energy and resources to ameliorating the condition of blacks and healing the racial wounds inflicted by the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction. Washington spent nine years in slavery, the last four during the Civil War. Though he did not quite feel the pinch of slavery as painfully as most other blacks, Washington was nonetheless mature enough to understand the institution's destructive character.

As a young man, Washington experienced the poverty, misery and degradation, as well as the denial of education and basic necessities of life that defined the experiences of blacks in America. Despite the restrictive environment, Washington developed strong yearnings for education. After the Civil War, his mother moved him and his sister to Malden, West Virginia, to join her husband who had fled during the Civil War. Washington worked with his stepfather in the coal and salt mines. Young Washington continued to yearn for knowledge, but his early learning was largely self-taught. Fortunately, Malden's black population decided to establish a school for their children, the Kanawha Valley School, where Washington received his early formal education. He soon became a houseboy to General Lewis Rufner and his wife, Viola.



Born a slave in 1856, Booker T. Washington grew up to become one of the most influential educators in American history. (Library of Congress)

This gave him access to their rich library. He often took books home to read. At the Rufners', Washington also learned to appreciate cleanliness and industry.

Washington soon learned of the existence of the Hampton Normal Institute (an advanced school for blacks in Hampton, Virginia) founded by General Samuel Armstrong, a Civil War veteran who believed that practical education would more effectively prepare blacks for participation in the emerging New South. Washington left for Hampton in 1872; he arrived tired, penniless, and hungry but filled with an insatiable thirst for knowledge. He gained admission and performed janitorial and cleaning duties to pay for his board and tuition. Hampton also exposed him to practical education and manual labor. The curriculum emphasized agriculture, vocational skills, and self-reliance, and Washington learned to appreciate the dignity of labor. He graduated in 1875 with a strong faith in practical education as the key to black elevation.

After teaching briefly in Malden and at Wayland Baptist Seminary in Washington, D.C., Washington returned to Hampton as an instructor in 1878 and

taught there until 1881 when General Armstrong recommended him to Alabama officials to help establish a similar school in that state. By 1881 Reconstruction had ended, and blacks were locked into a vicious cycle of poverty. Their rights and privileges had been sacrificed in the Compromise of 1877 (the political compromise in which Rutherford F. Hayes won the presidency and Radical Republicans agreed to pull federal troops from the South and hand complete political control back to southerners), and blacks were constantly menaced by the shadow of slavery.

With a paltry \$2,000 appropriated by the state of Alabama, Washington methodically built Tuskegee Institute, patterning it after Hampton. Tuskegee emphasized practical education and the inculcation of the Christian work ethic and cleanliness. The students built their own living quarters and academic buildings; they cultivated the land and produced and cooked their own food; and they studied subjects that instructed them in practical skills. Washington warned of the dire consequences of neglecting a practical education and implored blacks to acquire vocational skills, precisely those that would enable them to function as productive members of society.

Washington organized periodic fairs to advertise the students' productive efforts, established outreach links with local farmers, and frequently toured the region garnering support for Tuskegee. The fame of the institute spread, and Washington's reputation grew. He endeared himself favorably to whites as someone with vision and prudence, and in 1895, he was invited to address the annual Atlanta Cotton Exposition. That event marked the defining moment of his career.

The speech Washington delivered catapulted him to the status of a national black leader. He addressed his observations to two key audiences—southern whites and blacks. He recommended agriculture to blacks as the key to economic elevation and meaningful freedom. Blacks needed practical skills in order to become elevated and respected members of society, he stated, and he advised them to remain in the South, where opportunities for elevation abounded. Washington deprecated and discouraged the pursuit of political rights. He even favored suffrage restrictions based on property and education if equitably applied to both races.

Washington projected progress as a gradual and cumulative process and rejected calls for social equality; he deemed social equality to be of secondary importance. The two races could remain socially separate and yet cooperate on issues pertinent to mutual progress. As he put it, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the

hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This statement became the centerpiece of his entire speech, the one that most people remembered and quoted.

Washington seemingly endorsed segregation. To whites, he gave assurance that their social and political dominance would not be challenged and that blacks were interested in neither social equality nor political rights, nor were they ready for the exercise of such rights. He stressed the importance of economic cooperation between the races and appealed to the moral and economic sensibilities of whites. The speech drew deafening applause from whites who immediately catapulted Washington to the status of a national black leader.

But Washington's philosophy was much more complex. Although he publicly counseled compromise and accommodation, clandestinely he sponsored antidiscriminatory activities. He never intended second-class citizenship for blacks. His compromises were meant to heal interracial animosities and eventually facilitate full integration of blacks. His tone of compromise and reconciliation, however, was most reassuring to whites and most discomforting to blacks. His reputation among blacks suffered, even as whites elevated him to stardom. American industrialists and philanthropists responded generously and poured funds into Tuskegee. In 1901 President Theodore Roosevelt invited Washington to dine with him at the White House. He became the authority on black affairs and the person whose opinions presidents and philanthropists sought.

Washington used his position to silence blacks who disagreed with him. He envisioned a proliferation of economically self-made blacks, and toward that end, he founded the National Negro Business League in 1900. In 1905 William Monroe Trotter and William E. B. DuBois spearheaded a movement to counter "the Tuskegee machine." This was the birth of the Niagara Movement, which unequivocally rejected compromise and accommodation. In 1909 the Niagara Movement became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Neither organization succeeded in effectively undermining Washington's position and power, and he continued to control and dominate the black American struggle until his death in 1915.

— *Tunde Adeleke*

See also: DuBois, W. E. B.

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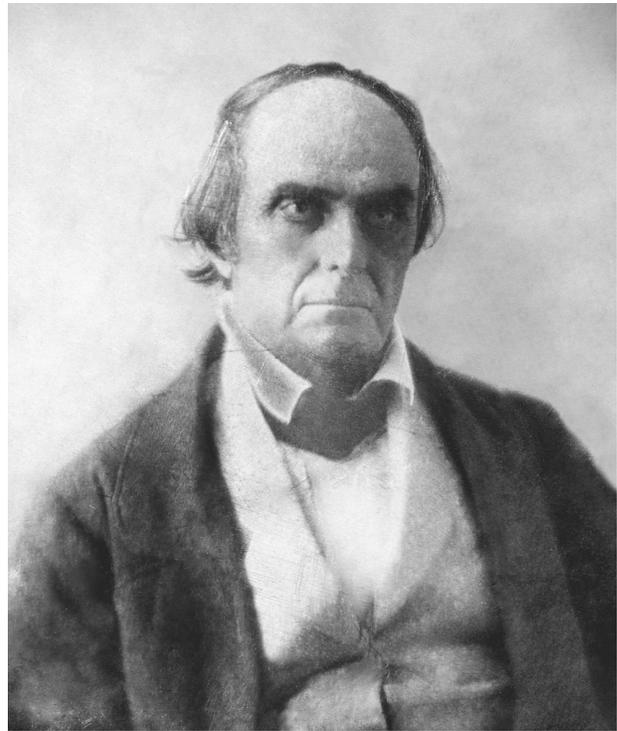
DANIEL WEBSTER (1782–1852)

Daniel Webster was a leading orator, statesman, and lawyer in the early nineteenth century. In the area of slavery, he negotiated the Webster–Ashburton Treaty, which removed the issue of the *Creole* that had been troubling U.S.-British relations; he was the best spokesman for unity during the nullification crisis of the 1830s; and he tried unsuccessfully to serve as a voice for union during the period surrounding the Compromise of 1850.

Webster was born in Salisbury, New Hampshire, to a family that had immigrated to America in the 1630s. He was the second youngest of ten children, and he attended Dartmouth College in 1797 starting at the age of fifteen. He soon excelled in debating and was asked to deliver a Fourth of July address at age eighteen.

After graduation, he studied law and taught, moving to Boston as a clerk for Christopher Gore. He was admitted to the Boston bar in 1805. Webster returned to New Hampshire for eleven years, marrying Grace Fletcher in 1808, keeping an office in Portsmouth for most of that time and following the superior court as it traveled on its circuit. Toward the end of this period, he became more involved with politics, becoming a vocal member of the Federalist Party and opposing the War of 1812. He also made several well-received speeches across New Hampshire. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1812 and strongly opposed the war and the embargo, but he distanced himself from talk of disunion and the Hartford Convention.

Webster was reelected in 1814. He promoted the Second Bank of the United States and opposed high tariffs on shipbuilding materials. In 1816 he moved his law office from New Hampshire to Boston and became more involved in legal work. He appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) and soon became noted as one of the nation's leading lawyers. In the Dartmouth College case, Webster, a Dartmouth graduate himself, was reported to have moved John Marshall to tears by saying, "It is, sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it." A short time later, he reappeared in front of the court to argue successfully



Although he was an ardent opponent of slavery, Daniel Webster's reputation suffered when he voted in favor of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 as part of a political compromise. (Library of Congress)

for the Second Bank of the United States in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819). He focused on his successful law practice, which earned up to \$15,000 a year, and participated in three more constitutionally significant cases: *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), *Osborn v. Bank of the United States* (1824), and *Ogden v. Saunders* (1827). At the height of his legal and oratorical powers, Daniel Webster was believed by some to be able to convince anyone of anything, a belief later noted in Stephen Vincent Benet's short story, "The Devil and Daniel Webster," (also later made into a movie), where Webster is retained to defend a man who has sold his soul to the devil but does not want to relinquish it.

While still involved in his law practice in 1827, Webster was elected to the U.S. Senate. Reversing his previous position, he became an active champion of tariffs because by this time, they supported the New England mills. His personal life was somewhat traumatic; both his wife Grace and his brother Ezekiel died, but he remarried Caroline Le Roy in 1829.

Webster became involved in the battle over nullification, and in 1830 he delivered his famous reply to South Carolina senator Robert Hayne, declaring that he favored "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one

and inseparable” (Baxter, 1984). This battle was symptomatic of the larger early nineteenth-century conflict over America’s form—whether America was going to be one country, ruled by a federal government, or a loosely disconnected union of relatively independent states (and this second form was favored by those who argued for “states’ rights”). Part and parcel of this battle was the whole issue of slavery, which of course the South wanted and an increasing number (but not a majority) of northern states opposed. The South favored the states’ rights theory of government when it favored slavery and its interests, as it did in the 1830s, but opposed it when it did not favor slavery, which is what occurred in the late 1850s, when the South favored a strong federal Fugitive Slave Law and the North (or at least some of it) argued for states’ rights and the rights of the states to block that law.

Webster was reelected in 1833, supported the high tariffs of the period in the battle over the “compromise tariff” of 1833, and opposed President Andrew Jackson’s attempts to withdraw all U.S. funds from the Bank of the United States. Throughout his career, Webster was a heavy overspender, and he was dependent on loans from friends, associates, and creditors, including the Bank of the United States, making him both a congressional and legal advocate of the Bank while also being in debt to it. Webster appeared, unsuccessfully, before the Supreme Court in 1836 in the famous *Charles River Bridge* case. He also began to overindulge increasingly in alcohol, resulting in weight gain and occasional drunkenness.

Webster was nominated by Massachusetts for president in 1836, but only received the electoral votes of that state in the contest. He was reelected to the Senate in 1839, campaigned for William Henry Harrison in the election of 1840, and was named secretary of state after Harrison’s victory. Upon the accession of John Tyler, Webster remained in that office and conducted difficult negotiations regarding the Maine border and a number of other issues that were solved in the Webster–Ashburton Treaty (1842). The issues raised in the *Creole* case were addressed, as the British promised that colonial governors would avoid “officious interference” when U.S. vessels forced by violence or storm entered their ports. Webster also was successful in diplomatic ventures with China, Mexico, and Portugal.

Webster resigned in 1843 under heavy pressure from his party due to its dissatisfaction with the Tyler administration and returned to a legal career, even though he had desired a diplomatic appointment to Great Britain. He returned to the Senate in 1845, with financial assistance from his creditors, and opposed the acquisition of Texas and the later Mexican War.

Webster’s second son, Edward, died in the Mexican War (1846–1848), and a daughter, Julia, died not long afterward.

After the election of 1848, a new sectional crisis loomed, and Webster tried to preserve the nation. In his famous 1850 “Seventh of March” speech, he claimed that keeping the nation together was more important than the issue of slavery. He was widely praised by the South, but condemned by his own party and northern abolitionists. Nevertheless, he became secretary of state again in 1850 and performed his duties capably. He was interested in the nomination for president in 1852 but could not carry the Whig Party. Webster began to decline physically in the summer of 1852 and died on October 24, 1852, well before the Civil War that he had tried so hard to avoid.

—Scott A. Merriman

See also: Adams, John Quincy; Calhoun, John C.; Compromise of 1850; Nullification Doctrine; Hayne–Webster Debate; Webster–Ashburton Treaty.

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WEBSTER–ASHBURTON TREATY (1842)

The Webster–Ashburton Treaty (1842) settled several outstanding issues between the United States and Great Britain, including both the appropriate handling of U.S. ships carrying slaves forced into British ports and joint U.S.-British efforts to limit the African slave trade. The treaty is named for the two principal negotiators of the pact, Daniel Webster of the United States and Lord Ashburton (Alexander Baring) of Great Britain.

The main issues covered related to slavery and the

northeastern boundary of the United States, the latter having nearly brought the two nations to blows in the 1839 Aroostook War. An extradition agreement was one large part of the treaty. This grew out of the 1841 *Creole* incident, in which a slave ship of that name engaged in interstate U.S. trade and was taken over by mutinous slaves who then sailed it into Nassau in the British-controlled Bahamas, where those slaves who had not participated in the mutiny were allowed to go free. After heated debate, the British finally decided to let the mutineers go free as well. This whole incident did not please the South, and an extradition agreement covering nonpolitical crimes was inserted in the Webster–Ashburton Treaty to cover a future *Creole*-type case, as the mutinous slaves would now, at least theoretically, be returned.

In addition, there also was a provision for a joint-cruising squadron of ships off the African coast to prevent the British from having to interfere with U.S. ships, as the American squadron would do so when needed. This provision was also supposed to prevent slavers trading with Africa from illegally hiding behind the United States flag. The United States had banned the trade, but without U.S. ships patrolling off the African coast, ships flying an American flag could not be searched. The treaty was supposed to correct this problem.

The treaty also dealt with problems connected with the northeastern boundary. Although the issue may have seemed to have been solved in the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended the American Revolution, that agreement merely established a commission, which never reached a conclusion, and later attempts to arbitrate the boundary were equally unsuccessful. Another border area that was decided by the Webster–Ashburton Treaty was the one involving the area around Lake Superior, which was settled favorably to the United States, including granting to that country the Vermilion Range in northeastern Minnesota, which—unknown then—was very rich in mineral deposits. The United States was also granted free navigation of the Saint John River in northeastern Maine and southeastern Canada.

Besides the treaty, several important notes were exchanged at the same time. One recorded the United States' disagreement with the former British practice of impressment. This practice forced British citizens into the navy, from which many deserted. The British would then stop American vessels, search them, and then "impress" all (and theoretically only) those who could not prove American citizenship into the navy. In reality, the British would often seize anyone they could lay their hands on, infuriating America. The second

note allowed for the protection of ships by the flag they flew, which theoretically covered incidents like the one in the 1830s in which the U.S. ship *Caroline* ferrying supplies to Canadian rebels was attacked and sunk by Canadians (which angered many citizens of the United States). A third note gave assurance that United States ships driven into foreign ports would be allowed to continue without interference—this note also dealt with the *Creole* incident.

— Scott A. Merriman

See also: Webster, Daniel.

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THEODORE DWIGHT WELD (1803–1895)

Theodore Dwight Weld was a social reformer and one of the most important figures in the antislavery movement. Through his work at Lane Theological Seminary and later at Oberlin College, he influenced many who became active in the national crusade against slavery. Weld was a tireless worker for the antislavery cause, but his work was virtually forgotten and unknown until the publication of Gilbert H. Barnes's *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830–1844* (1933). Barnes was the first historian to recognize Weld's huge contribution at the beginning of the antislavery movement. The *Dictionary of American Biography* says of him, "measured by his influence, Theodore Weld was not only the greatest of the abolitionists, he was also one of the greatest figures of his time."

Weld was born in Connecticut but raised in western New York in what became known as the "Burned over District." His father was a conservative, small-town pastor. Weld had little formal education, but his "learning [was] prodigious, his powers of reasoning superb." He has been described as "the nerve center of the antislavery movement until the schism of 1840" (Barnes, 1933).

Weld's early career was inextricably connected to

the work of Charles Grandison Finney. The two made antislavery a religious and moral issue, separate from politics and economics. Weld had been an early associate of Charles Stuart who interested him in the slavery question. Both Stuart and Weld fell under Finney's influence and were active members of his band of religious revivalists. Finney has long been regarded as the foremost figure of the Second Great Awakening during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It was through Finney's teachings and Stuart's interest in reform that Finney's followers became interested and, later, heavily involved in the antislavery crusade.

Weld was interested in the slavery issue as early as 1830. He began to travel, particularly to colleges and universities in Ohio's Western Reserve, to "indoctrinate" faculties in opposition to slavery. His association with others in the movement won him respect for his leadership and his oratory. He was a close friend of James Gillespie Birney and the Grimké sisters (he later married Angelina). Birney's personal knowledge of slavery's sordid aspects developed in Weld an intense, personal patriotism that came to view the "peculiar institution" as a "cancerous growth within the body politic." Weld and Birney became active members of the American Colonization Society, and in 1832 Weld became the society's general agent for states lying southwest of the Ohio River.

Weld and his associates gradually moved away from the ideas espoused by the Colonization Society toward general emancipation. The American Anti-Slavery Society was established as the result of this change in the movement's direction. Its program was defined as, "immediate preparation for future emancipation." This group followed the lead set by Birney and others involved in, what was then, the revolutionary Kentucky Society for the Gradual Relief of the State from Slavery whose charter proclaimed, "first, that slavery shall cease to exist—absolutely, unconditionally, and irrevocably."

One of Weld's greatest contributions to the antislavery crusade came through his work at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. That city held about twenty-five hundred African Americans, more than one-third of all blacks in Ohio. Many of these were emancipated slaves who had purchased their freedom or who were still paying for themselves or for friends and relatives still in bondage. It was here that emancipated slaves were given the opportunities to test their abilities to make economic, cultural, and social advances not otherwise available to them. They threw themselves into the task with education as their chief goal. They formed Sabbath schools, day and evening schools, a lyceum where lectures were held four

evenings a week with local and guest speakers on grammar, geography, arithmetic, philosophy, religion, and politics. In this environment Weld enjoyed his greatest successes as the leader of the theological classes.

The students shared their stories of slavery and how they managed to escape to Ohio. "They had pooled their intimate knowledge of slavery gained by long residence in the slave states, had reasoned and rationalized as became gentlemen [and ladies] trained in the school of the Great Revival, and had concluded that slavery was a sin great enough to justify their undivided attention" (Thomas, 1950). Most of the students and Weld moved to Oberlin College where their ideas about slavery were better received and where Finney had come to head the Theology Department.

It was at Oberlin, after Weld's marriage to Angelina Grimké, that he wrote and published the first widely distributed book in the United States advocating complete emancipation. *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839), a devastating indictment of the institution, was his *magnum opus*. Nearly all of the episodes mentioned in the book came from the Lane-Oberlin students. It portrayed the slavery system at its worst by documenting case after case of extreme cruelty. The work was lauded by antislavery and abolitionist groups and was soundly criticized in the South. Few could read it without emotion and without hating slavery. It quickly became the abolitionists' ammunition since its impact in the North was tremendous. It was widely distributed and sold for only 37.5 cents a copy or 25 dollars per hundred. It was the preeminent book of antislavery literature until 1852 when Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Stowe had been one of Weld's Oberlin students, much to the chagrin of her father, Lyman Beecher). *Slavery As It Is* served as one of Charles Dickens's sources for *American Notes* (1842), though he gave Weld no credit. Weld's book became an instrument for British interest in ending slavery in their territories.

Weld also wrote a companion volume arguing that God was against slavery. *The Bible Against Slavery* (1839) dealt only with the Old Testament. That led to the publication of still another book, written together with Beriah Green and Elizur Wright, Jr., both eminent theologians; they brought the antislavery argument into the New Testament in *The Chattel Principle, The Abhorrence of Jesus Christ and the Apostles: or No Refuge for American Slavery in the New Testament* (1839).

Weld's books became instant best-sellers. A book of statistics designed to accompany *Slavery As It Is* was published in London under the title *Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States* (1841).

Weld's influence peaked in the early 1840s. The antislavery crusade continued on the roller coaster that led, inevitably, to the Civil War. Weld spent his last years in near seclusion in Massachusetts, occasionally lecturing on literature and religion. He was surrounded by the intellectuals of his day, particularly by the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, who wrote of Weld in 1884 that he had lived "a life of brave unselfishness, . . . for Freedom's need" (Thomas, 1950). Weld died on February 3, 1895, at the age of ninety-one years and two months. His life nearly spanned the entire nineteenth century, and he participated in almost every major reform movement of the age.

— Henry H. Goldman

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; American Colonization Society; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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PHILLIS WHEATLEY (C. 1753–1784)

As the first published black poetess in the American colonies, Phillis Wheatley, through her life and work, contributed to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debate about the intellectual capabilities of African Americans. Details about her early life in West Africa remain obscure. She arrived in Boston in July 1761 aboard the slaver *Phillis* and was sold to John Wheatley, a prominent local merchant.

Although the Wheatley family owned several slaves, Phillis Wheatley appears to have held a privileged position within the household. Initially, she received religious instruction and learned to speak, read, and write in English. Later, her education expanded to include literature, history, Latin, and geography. Wheatley was a bright pupil, and within four years of her arrival, she had begun to write her own poetry, an activity her owner's family encouraged. Wheatley's poems, written in the style of neoclassical verse, centered around religious themes (particularly death) and the growing ten-

sion between Great Britain and the North American colonies.

As her talent for writing matured, the Wheatley family became more involved in promoting her work to a wide audience and began a campaign to publish her poems. In December 1767, Wheatley's first poem, "On Messrs Hussey and Coffin," was published in Newport, Rhode Island. In 1770 her poem on the death of Methodist minister George Whitefield brought her considerable attention throughout New England. In 1772 the Wheatley family attempted to raise a subscription to publish a collection of Wheatley's poems but was unable to generate enough interest in the project. Instead, Wheatley and her mistress, Susanna Wheatley, traveled to London in the summer of 1773 in the hopes of finding a more enthusiastic audience for her work. Through the patronage of Selina Hastings, countess of Huntingdon, the pair engendered a great deal of interest among London society.

Subsequently, Wheatley's first and only book, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773), was published in London. To erase doubts that a black slave, particularly a woman, could write poetry, a letter appeared in the front of the book signed by eighteen of Boston's most prestigious citizens, including Governor Thomas Hutchinson and John Hancock, testifying that a close examination of Wheatley and her work had convinced them that she had indeed written the poetry herself. The volume received good reviews and sold well in both Britain and America.

Although the success of her book boded well for Wheatley, upheaval in her personal life during and after the American Revolution put an end to her career as a poet. By 1779 most of the Wheatley family had died, and Phillis Wheatley herself had married a free black named John Peters. She bore him three children over the next five years, but all of them died young. Financial difficulties plagued the family, and Wheatley's attempts to publish additional volumes of poetry were unsuccessful. Wasted by poverty and disease, she died on December 5, 1784.

Both during her lifetime and after her death, Wheatley's work received attention primarily because she was a woman and a black slave. Serious literary evaluations of her poetry have been overshadowed by efforts to use her as an example in the debate over African American intellectual ability, or lack thereof. Thomas Jefferson, in particular, brought attention to her work when he cited her poetry in his *Notes on Virginia* (1785) as "below the dignity of criticism," a comment that vaulted her to the very center of the controversy about the capacity of African Americans to

engage in intellectual pursuits and continues to influence her reputation.

In the late twentieth century, discussions concerning Wheatley have centered around her role in the demise of moral and intellectual justifications for slavery, particularly in New England. Critics condemn her for focusing her poems on the subjects of death, religion, and patriotism rather than on the plight of her fellow Africans in slavery. Supporters counter that Wheatley's concerns about slavery are implicit throughout her work and that more explicit references to slavery would not have survived the censorship of her white benefactors. This debate has led to a reevaluation of her work and additional study of her life.

— Elizabeth Dubrulle

See also: Whitefield, George.

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WHIG PARTY

By the 1850s the issue of slavery, particularly the expansion of slavery into new territories, had come to dominate the American political scene. As the nation moved toward disunion and civil war, the dividing line was clearly drawn between those groups and people who would preserve the institution and those who would eradicate it. This division affected most institutions in American life, as political parties, religious denominations, and even families split between pro- and antislavery factions. For the Whig Party, internal divisions over slavery proved fatal.

The Whig Party originated as a political coalition against Jacksonian Democrats in 1834. Led by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and William Henry Harrison, the emergence of the Whigs inaugurated the second-party system in the United States. The Whigs adopted a broad construction of the U.S. Constitution, believing that the federal government should



An 1848 campaign banner for Whig Party presidential candidate Zachary Taylor (left) and his running mate Millard Fillmore (right). Taylor won the election but died after two years in office; he was succeeded by Fillmore. (Library of Congress)

take an active role in the nation's economic life. Initially, the party was made up of a loose coalition of disaffected Democrats and others united by a hatred of Jackson and their support of a national bank, a high protective tariff, and federal aid to internal improvements. Though united on these economic issues, the Whigs were divided on other policy matters, particularly slavery. This division led to the formation of two internal factions during the debates over the Wilmot Proviso in 1846.

One faction, called the Conscience Whigs, opposed the expansion of slavery into the territories. Led by Turlow Weed and William H. Seward, Conscience Whigs believed that slavery was a moral blight on the nation and should not be expanded. More radical members of this group called for immediate and uncompensated abolition. Abraham Lincoln, elected to Congress in 1846, can be described as a Conscience Whig. Although strongest in New England and in New York, this faction was present in most northern

and midwestern states. In 1848 many of these Whigs left the party altogether and merged with antislavery Democrats and remnants of the Liberty Party to form the Free Soil Party. Conscience Whigs who remained in the Whig ranks continued to push for antislavery legislation and the adoption of antislavery planks in the national party platform.

Though originally used to describe proslavery Whigs in Massachusetts, the term *Cotton Whigs* can be used to describe another faction of the party. Made up of southern Whigs and northerners from states with a vested interest in the continued vitality of southern agriculture, Cotton Whigs supported the institution of slavery on social, economic, and constitutional grounds. Prominent Cotton Whigs included Alexander H. Stephens, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. Though labeled by Charles Sumner as a partnership between “the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom,” members of the faction varied considerably in their ideology concerning slavery (Brauer, 1967). Although southerners like Stephens defended the legality of slavery under the Constitution and emphasized the racial inferiority of blacks, Webster argued that slavery should not be expanded into the territories and would die a natural death without legislative intervention. Despite these differences, Cotton Whigs agreed that the moral tone injected into the slavery debate by the 1840s heightened tension over what to them was essentially a political issue.

The internal division over slavery was the death knell of the Whig Party. By 1856 the party had imploded, with Cotton Whigs gravitating to the Democratic or American (Know-Nothing) parties, both of which refused to take a definitive stand on slavery. Many Conscience Whigs joined the Republicans, who staunchly opposed slavery. In many ways the dissolution of the Whig Party mirrored the deepening sectional tension in the nation as a whole during the 1840s and 1850s. By failing to resolve party differences over slavery, the Whigs could no longer wield meaningful political power. The split, largely along sectional lines, was an important precursor to the bloody national epoch that began in 1861.

— Richard D. Starnes

See also: Free Soil Party; Wilmot Proviso.

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GEORGE WHITEFIELD (1714–1770)

Reverend George Whitefield was a pioneering figure in Christian evangelism in the eighteenth-century Anglo-American world and so helped lay the foundations of the abolition movement, but he had mixed thoughts on the evils of slavery. Whitefield, ordained an Anglican minister in 1736, was a brilliant preacher whose innovative open-air preaching and emotional style won him an immense popular following and was part of the British revival that created Methodism. Visiting the colonial South in 1739 Whitefield observed the cruelty of plantation society, noting with displeasure the lack of religious provision for slaves, and unconventionally decided to address mixed-race meetings. In 1740 Whitefield went on his first major preaching tour in the northern colonies that helped trigger the revivals known as the Great Awakening. Following this he printed a letter entitled “To the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina concerning their Negroes.” Whitefield’s letter, which exposed the harsh and un-Christian conditions slaves endured, was reprinted in newspapers across the country and aroused intense controversy that included blaming Whitefield for the Stono Uprising (1739). Whitefield’s humanitarian concerns are further demonstrated by his attempts to set up a college to educate freed slaves in Delaware. All this shows why Phillis Wheatley wrote an elegy to Whitefield as a friend to those in bondage.

Despite Whitefield’s concern for the physical well-being of slaves and their spiritual salvation, he never condemned the institution of slavery outright. Whitefield thought slavery was justified by scripture and that agriculture in hot climates was dependent on African labor. While he did not approve of the slave trade, he thought it could not be controlled. Slavery could also bring spiritual benefits because it exposed Africans to the Christian message. Whitefield was using exactly the type of justifications that southern evangelical churches would continue to use to defend the continuation of a properly regulated form of slavery. Whitefield’s ideas were influenced by his connections with



One of colonial America's most popular preachers, George Whitefield was among the first to perform mass revivals. Sometimes preaching 40 to 50 hours a week, he was instrumental in spreading the evangelical Protestant movement known as the Great Awakening. (Library of Congress)

the struggling slave-free colony of Georgia where he had founded an orphan house. In 1747 he accepted a donation of a small slave plantation in South Carolina to support the orphanage. The profitable plantation, run on Whitefield's strict welfare guidelines, supported his long-standing belief, voiced in a letter to the Georgia trustees in 1748, that the legalization of slavery was necessary for the success of Georgia, an event that occurred two years later.

Even though Whitefield held such proslavery ideas himself, the active evangelical Christianity he promoted became a seedbed for abolitionism. This is obvious from examining the abolitionist tendencies of the movements Whitefield helped pave the way for the Methodism of his close friend John Wesley, as well as for the Anglican Evangelical movement that produced William Wilberforce and the varied fruits of the Great Awakening. One of those awakened to an intense piety by Whitefield's preaching was Quaker Anthony Benezet, who later became committed to abolition and condemned Whitefield's views on slavery. Whitefield's

emphasis on the need to convert slaves and the spiritual equality between black and white also helped encourage the formation of the Afro-American churches that had such important effects on the nature of slavery and abolition. Whitefield's unintended legacy then was the evangelical and populist ideals that were to inspire the transatlantic abolitionist crusade.

— *Gwilym Games*

See also: Abolitionism in the United States; Georgia; Stono Rebellion; Wheatley, Phillis.

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ELI WHITNEY (1765–1825)

Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin and developed the assembly line for mass production of interchangeable parts. Whitney's cotton gin profoundly affected the American economy, revolutionized the cotton industry, and further entrenched slavery in the antebellum South. During his childhood in Westboro, Massachusetts, Whitney demonstrated an exceptional mechanical ingenuity. When he was sixteen years old, he established a successful nail-forging business to address the shortage of nails during the American Revolution. He entered Yale College in 1789 despite a friend's remark that "it was a pity that such a fine mechanical genius as his should be wasted" (Olmsted, 1846).

After graduating from Yale in 1792, Whitney went to Savannah, Georgia, to study law and tutor the children of the late General Nathanael Greene. Greene's widow and her friends continually discussed the profitability of growing cotton in the area to satisfy England's heightened demand for the fiber. The growing use of steam power to spin and weave fabric led to England's increased demand for the fiber. Georgia's inland region was favorable for growing green-seed, short-staple cotton. However, the method of separating the cotton from its seed was so tedious that it was impractical, since one worker yielded only about one pound of clean green-seed cotton per day.



Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793. (Library of Congress)

Whitney devised a machine that would address this problem. During winter 1792, he created a model cotton gin (an abbreviation for “engine”) that expedited the cotton separation operation. The gin consisted of a roller with comb-like teeth that removed the seeds from the fiber and a spinning brush that removed the excess lint from the roller. After perfecting his gin by April 1793, Whitney’s machine enabled one worker to process 50 pounds of cotton a day.

Soon other inventors imitated Whitney’s gin, and he depleted his earnings defending his patent rights in court. Heavily in debt in 1798, he contracted with the U.S. government to make 10,000 muskets. Whitney designed a machine that produced a firearm with interchangeable parts. He created a division of labor whereby each person specialized in making one part of the musket.

The cotton gin transformed the American economy and increased the demand for slave labor. In the South, cotton became the chief crop and the basis of the region’s economy. Cotton production in the South increased from about three thousand bales in 1793 to approximately one hundred seventy-eight thousand bales by 1800. Cotton was “king” and the greatest export of

the country. In 1825 cotton represented \$36 billion of an estimated total of \$66 billion total domestic exports from the United States. By 1860 cotton production exploded to 4 million bales per year.

This profound increase in cotton production affected the northern economy as well. The bountiful cotton crop encouraged New England entrepreneurs to create a native textile industry. The manufacturing of cotton cloth enabled the North to evolve into an industrialized region.

Coupled with the increased demand for cotton was the need for more slave labor. By the late eighteenth century, slavery appeared to be in decline. The northern states took steps to abolish forced servitude, since it was never vital to their economy, and during the same period, the tobacco market collapsed in the South, and there was a decreased demand for rice and indigo, which used many slaves. By 1800 slavery appeared to be on its way to extinction in the United States.

The invention of the cotton gin revived the institution of slavery. Cotton production required an abundance of unskilled labor—plowing, planting, ditch digging, weeding, picking, ginning, baling, and shipping. Because of their role in the cotton production process, slaves became more valuable. Slave prices doubled between 1795 and 1804 in conjunction with the great demand for cotton production and expected closing of the African slave trade. Slaves who had become financial liabilities for their owners in nonproducing cotton states were sold for profit in the Deep South where cotton thrived.

Always seeking more fertile soil, cotton growers migrated west with their slaves from North Carolina and Georgia through the lower South to Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and finally to Texas by the 1840s. Between 1790 and 1860, about 1 million slaves were forced to move westward, and most found the experience extremely traumatic. This was the first large-scale dislocation of slaves since their forced immigration to colonial America. Separated from friends and families and far from their homes, slaves experienced heart-wrenching separation ordeals. By 1860 most of the 4.5 million slaves lived in the cotton-producing belt of the South.

As the North became more industrialized and the South remained agrarian, slavery became one of the dividing issues between the two regions. Whitney’s invention of the cotton gin, inadvertently contributed to the coming of the Civil War and his idea of interchangeable parts for firearms ensured a Union victory. Whitney died in New Haven, Connecticut, on January 8, 1825.

—*Julianne Phillips*

See also: Cotton Gin.

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WILMOT PROVISIO

The Wilmot Proviso was perhaps the most significant piece of legislation never enacted in U.S. history. Originally proposed as an amendment to the 1846 army appropriations bill, the proviso attempted to prohibit slavery from territories acquired as a result of the Mexican War (1846–1848). A bitterly divided House of Representatives passed the measure, but it was defeated in the southern-dominated Senate. By focusing the antislavery debate on the institution's potential expansion into new western territories, the proviso set the terms of the national debate over slavery for the fifteen years preceding the Civil War.

The measure's introduction began a new era of sectional politics in the United States: nearly all northern Democrats and all northern Whigs voted in favor of the proviso, while practically every representative from districts south of the Mason–Dixon line and the Ohio River opposed it. In other words, the expansion of slavery was an issue that split both major political parties into distinct northern and southern wings. The initial vote on the Wilmot Proviso (and the dozens that followed it) were an ominous sign that the politics of the second party system (Democratic and Whig) would be unable to contain the explosive issue of slavery's expansion.

Democratic representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced the proviso on August 8, 1846, just a few months after the Mexican War began. President James K. Polk, a Democrat and a Tennessee slaveholder, had sent Congress an appropriations bill asking for \$2 million to negotiate a treaty with Mexico. Wilmot, a first-term lawmaker, offered an amendment to the bill “that, as an express and fundamental condition of the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico . . . neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory.”

Both the language and strategy behind the proviso were unremarkable. Its wording, for example, was lifted straight from Thomas Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance (1787), which prohibited slavery in the Old



Pennsylvania Congressman David Wilmot drafted the Wilmot Proviso in 1846; it stated that all territory gained from Mexico should be free from slavery.

Northwest, lands north and west of the Ohio River. The same legislative device had been used just two days earlier (and with little southern opposition), when the House voted to provide a territorial government for Oregon.

Several factors marked the proviso as a watershed in antebellum U.S. history. First, it was a turning point between two distinct antislavery eras. Before the measure's introduction, antislavery battles were waged over a range of issues, from the gag rule on abolitionist petitions to the U.S. Constitution's three-fifths clause, which granted southern states more representation than they would otherwise have had. Afterward, slavery's expansion into the territories absorbed every related issue. The issue of slavery's expansion initially split the major parties into sectional antagonists.

Second, the proviso represented a major shift in the antislavery movement's constituency. The group of congressmen who hatched the idea for the measure was made up of northern Democrats, most of whom represented remote, agricultural districts. Democrats like David Wilmot were not usually associated with antislavery politics, which tended to be commercially

oriented, evangelical, and aristocratic. But many northern Jacksonian Democrats reached the breaking point with Polk's administration in 1846, believing it to be pro-southern and proslavery.

Some resented Polk's having received the Democratic Party's nomination for president at the expense of New Yorker Martin Van Buren in 1844. Others believed the president's acceptance of Oregon's boundary at 49° north latitude was an insult to northern sentiment and confirmed the administration's southern bias. Democrats from the Old Northwest were angered by Polk's veto of a popular rivers and harbors bill. A growing number of northerners had come to believe that a southern "conspiracy" existed to control the federal government and open the west to slavery. They believed this "Slave Power" threatened the freedom and future of white northerners because it advocated replicating the plantation system in the new territories. Taken together, these disgruntled Democrats provided the antislavery movement with the mass political appeal it needed to expand its constituency.

"The time has come," said one northern Democratic congressman in 1846, "when the Northern Democracy should make a stand. . . . We must satisfy the Northern people . . . that we are not to extend the institution of slavery as a result of this war" (Morrison, 1967). It was precisely this sentiment that turned administration loyalists like David Wilmot against Polk's administration, against southern members of their own party, and ultimately, against the expansion of slavery.

—Jonathan Earle

See also: Democratic Party; Free Soil Party.

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WOMEN AND THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT (1832–1870)

Women were active in the antislavery movement, and until 1837, their contributions far outweighed their

numbers. Initially in auxiliaries to men's societies and then as members of independent female antislavery societies, women circulated petitions, raised funds, distributed tracts, and organized and attended lectures on slavery and its abolition. A full appreciation of what these women did must be based on an understanding of the beliefs that influenced their actions and lives. The ideology of the "woman's sphere," the Second Great Awakening (1790s–c. 1830), various religious beliefs, and the effects of a pastoral letter are important elements in an understanding of the women's participation in and their withdrawal from the antislavery movement, as well as learning how the women's rights movement grew out of antislavery.

Women's roles centered around their homes and families as the United States moved toward having a capitalist economy. Women were not only the keepers of the home but also the guardians of religion and morality. The ideology of the "woman's sphere" gave women moral superiority over men and made them responsible for correcting any ethical wrongs they might see. Women found society corrupt and began exerting their influence in a wider circle, becoming housekeepers of social virtue.

The Second Great Awakening encouraged women to participate in the moral reform of U.S. society. Charles Grandison Finney and his troop of ministers encouraged women to participate publicly in his revivals. Finney also suggested that women might use their piety and moral superiority to reform society. The antislavery movement developed during this reforming surge, and women were drawn to the movement by both their religious beliefs and their ministers' encouragement. Slavery was perceived as a moral and domestic evil affecting women, and antislavery women were determined to end this evil through moral persuasion. Once they began, women were tireless in their efforts, collecting more petition signatures and raising more money than men. Society's housekeepers were hard at work exerting their moral influence on the people of the United States to reform the nature of slavery.

Women joined the antislavery movement with differing religious beliefs, which reflected their membership in many denominations. Initially, these divergent beliefs did not impede the women's activity, but eventually, the differing beliefs caused trouble. The religious affiliations of the women fell into two basic groups: evangelicals—those belonging to Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist churches—and liberals—primarily Quakers and Unitarians. It is important to remember that both groups were motivated by their religious beliefs. The factions differed in that

the evangelical abolitionists placed more authority in their ministers while the liberal abolitionists placed little or no authority in theirs.

On July 28, 1837, the Massachusetts General Association of Congregational Ministers issued a pastoral letter that was partly an attempt to discredit the Grimké sisters. It was also a call for men and women to limit their antislavery activity on the advice of their ministers. The conservative Congregational clergy had been under attack for several years for their weak antislavery position, and the letter was meant to reassert the clergy's authority over their congregations. The letter included a veiled threat that ministers would withdraw their guidance and support from those female parishioners who continued their antislavery activities. Evangelical women constituted most of the female antislavery group, and they responded to the pastoral letter dramatically. After 1840 the New York women discontinued their antislavery work completely, and the Boston women's society split, its effectiveness now diminished.

The women's rights movement originated in the antislavery movement. As women spoke out for the rights of slaves, they found themselves also defending their own right to speak publicly. As women's antislavery work came under attack, many antislavery women began seeing their own plight reflected in that of the slaves. Many of the most active antislavery women led the movement for women's rights, including Lucretia Mott, Angelina Grimké, Sarah Grimké, and Abby Kelley. Other leaders of the women's rights movement got their start in the antislavery movement, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Women provided the backbone for the antislavery movement. They collected twice as many signatures as men when they circulated petitions, their fund-raising efforts kept the national organization and many of its agents functioning, and their lectures raised the conscience of northerners to the plight of slaves. Angelina and Sarah Grimké fought for the right of women to do antislavery work, Lydia Maria Child edited the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (an abolitionist newspaper), and Abby Kelley worked tirelessly as a lecturer and fund raiser. Equally important in the antislavery movement as the individual contributions of specific women was the entire membership's continuing support and involvement.

— Sydney J. Caddel-Liles

See also: *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*; Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society; Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society; Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

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JOHN WOOLMAN (1720–1772)

John Woolman, Quaker leader and early champion of the abolition of slavery was born on October 19, 1720, at Ancocas (later Rancocas) in New Jersey and died on October 17, 1772 of smallpox while on a visit to York, England. Woolman's integrity and purity of spirit are visible in his writing on slavery and other issues. His true piety was recognized by people of many faiths, but Woolman's beliefs were rooted in the moral and spiritual values of the Quaker religion.

Woolman was one of thirteen children born to Samuel and Elizabeth (Burr) Woolman. The family had some standing in the Northampton section of the Quaker village now called Rancocas. His grandfather had emigrated to Burlington in West Jersey from Gloucestershire, England, in 1638 and served as a proprietor of West Jersey, and Woolman's father was a candidate for the provincial assembly of that region. John received a modest formal education at the village Quaker school and continued to educate himself through extensive reading.

John Woolman later started a business as tailor and retailer in Mount Holly, New Jersey, after serving his apprenticeship, and married Sarah Ellis of Chesterfield on October 18, 1749. He was so successful in business that Woolman worried that prosperity would distract him from spiritual concerns. At one point he sent prospective customers to his competitors. These fears did not keep Woolman from working at a variety of jobs, including surveying, conveyancing, executing bills of sale, and drawing up wills. He occasionally

taught school and published a primer that was reprinted several times. At his death, Woolman left an estate of several hundred acres.

John Woolman's beliefs concerning slavery and other Quaker issues, including Indian conversion and opposition to conscription and taxation for military supplies, are clearly stated in his autobiographic *Journal* and other writings. Better known in England than in the United States, he is remembered for his opposition to slavery, which was the main focus of his adult life. Woolman's *Journal* has gone through more than forty editions, prized for its content and the elegant simplicity of its writing.

Woolman's Quaker beliefs were the center of his life from early childhood. At twenty-three, he felt a calling to the Quaker ministry, and for the next thirty years he would travel as a minister from Carolina to New Hampshire and Pennsylvania and finally to Yorkshire, England. There he caught smallpox while working among the poor and died.

Woolman realized as a young man that slavery was counter to the spiritual equality of Quaker society. He was one of the first to preach against and publish tracts about the evils of slavery at a time when few thought that slavery was un-Christian even among his Quaker brethren. He witnessed the evils of slavery at first hand as many residents of New Jersey owned slaves if they could afford them, even Quakers. Slaves imported from Africa were held at Perth Amboy until they were sold. In 1734 these slaves revolted in an attempt to escape by killing their masters. Although this made Woolman's crusade against slavery unpopular, he would continue to preach against it for the rest of his life.

His opposition to slavery was triggered by an event that happened shortly after a series of spiritual "openings" had led him to the ministry. As Woolman later wrote in his *Journal*, his employer asked him as a conveyancer, to write a bill of sale for a Negro woman he had sold to another member of the Society of Friends. He wrote the bill of sale but was so troubled by the event that he told his employer he believed slavery was inconsistent with the Christian religion.

Shortly afterward, he traveled to North Carolina where he witnessed the cruelty of plantation slavery. Woolman was horrified when he realized that he himself would enjoy the benefits of a system he believed was corrupt as long as he resided in plantation country. He wrote in his *Journal*, "I saw in these Southern Provinces so many Vices and Corruptions increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess, hanging over the Land, and in the future the Consequence will be grievous to posterity."

When he returned to New Jersey after visiting the

South, Woolman finished a book titled *Some Considerations of the Keeping of Negroes Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Description*. Seven years later in 1753, Part 1 was officially sanctioned and printed by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; Part 2 was printed in 1762. Woolman based his argument against slavery on his belief in the brotherhood of all men, stating also that the black people did not voluntarily come to dwell among them. Although Woolman had little success in advancing abolition during his lifetime, his writing had a great influence in England and the United States and brought many to realize that slavery was morally wrong.

— Elsa A. Nystrom

See also: Quakers.

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WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION INTERVIEWS

Slavery provides virtually the prototype of the historical episode involving the inarticulate. Histories of the peculiar institution must of necessity focus primarily on sources produced by white observers. Thus the Slave Narrative Collection assembled by largely white interviewers of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) long after the fact triggered a seemingly endless cycle of debate concerning its credibility and reliability even as it offered one of the rare glimpses into slavery from the viewpoint of the slaves themselves.

As a whole, the program compiled more than two thousand interviews of people, between 1937 and 1939, who were mostly children during the time of slavery. More than two-thirds were under the age of sixteen when the Civil War ended. The litany of reasons why the narratives are to be viewed skeptically as a mirror of history is a long one. The interviewers and their subjects were not chosen for their expertise but for their need (in the case of the interviewers who were on relief) or for their availability (in the case of those interviewed). The aging ex-slaves—many of whom were

also facing serious privation—had good reason to tell interviewers what they imagined they wanted to hear. Ironically, the ultimate director of the project, John A. Lomax, a folklore specialist (and a southerner), was responsible for both a heightened professionalism in the subjects asked and a regrettable tendency to send more whites than blacks to interview the ex-slaves.

Historians almost universally agree that the slave narratives, despite their deficiencies, benefited from a cultural, intellectual, and professional context that prefigured a treatment of the slave of unprecedented sympathy. The American fascination with cultural pluralism in the 1920s and 1930s, the desire of black scholars to refute the racist portrait of slavery and Reconstruction in a half-century of historiography, and the humanitarianism and political calculus of the New Deal all coincided to set the stage for the narratives to be collected. A basic degree of professionalism was guaranteed by the fact that the New Deal built on earlier academic ventures. John B. Cade and Charles S. Johnson began unrelated slave narrative projects in 1929 at Southern University and at Fisk University. In 1934 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), under the aegis of Lawrence Reddick (a protégé of Johnson's), began gathering 250 interviews in Indiana and Kentucky. Still, the FERA interviews, conducted by individuals selected unscientifically out of the relief population, were poor in quality.

The former slaves were interviewed in all southern states, the border states, New York, and Rhode Island during the two years of the program. During the first half of the program, interviewers often took notes from the interrogation and wrote accounts at a later date of what they recalled hearing, producing a chronicle of slavery twice removed by memory from the actual event. Lomax introduced greater quality control in terms of the questions asked and procedures used. Perhaps because he did not trust the memory of the interviewers, he required those in the later phase of the project to record the interviews on primitive aluminum disks. These were never intended to see the light of day but only to enhance the professionalism of the interview process; after the program was discontinued they were interred in the archives of the Library of Congress until discovered in the 1990s by a team of researchers led by historian Ira Berlin. Transcripts of these recordings have subsequently been published, and the recordings—themselves enhanced by modern restorative technology—have also been released. Therefore at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the voices of slavery could be heard again.

In 1945 B. A. Botkin wrote the first chronicle of the collection, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of*

Slavery. Thereafter interest waned until the 1960s spurred an interest in black history and a skepticism of the authorities that lay behind the slave interviews. Although many scholars dismissed them as unreliable curiosities, their status as a unique “Rosetta Stone” of slavery in the language of the slave himself overrode these concerns. In 1972 George P. Rawick compiled a complete published edition entitled *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (1972).

The WPA Slave Narrative Program shows no sign of releasing its claim on the attention of Americans. During the 1990s continuing problems of race relations, a renewed fascination with the Civil War, and advances in technology led some scholars to set aside the credibility issue of the sources altogether in a quest to focus on the power of the recordings. A scholarly publication was released in 1998, including cassette tapes combining actual recordings with staged recreations of the interviews (with James Earl Jones, Debbie Allen, and others providing the narration). Historical verisimilitude may have suffered, but the slave narratives live on as a unique episode in the history of both slavery and the twentieth century.

— Richard A. Reiman

See also: Autobiographies; Literature; Narratives.

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ELIZUR WRIGHT (1804–1885)

Elizur Wright played a prominent role in establishing the American Anti-Slavery Society and promoting the abolitionist Liberty Party. Born in Connecticut, at age six he moved with his family to a farm in Ohio. His father taught Wright that slavery was evil, and he backed up his words by harboring runaway slaves in the family farmstead. Educated at Yale University, Wright returned to Ohio to teach at Western Reserve College.

Wright became a vocal advocate of immediate abolition in 1832 after reading William Lloyd Garrison's

Thoughts on African Colonization (1832), which ridiculed the efforts of the American Colonization Society to end slavery by buying slaves, freeing them, and then transporting them to Africa. The following year Wright became recording secretary of the New York Anti-Slavery Society as well as national secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, both of which espoused immediate abolition. For the next six years he spent most of his time supervising the American Anti-Slavery Society's field agents, keeping in touch with hundreds of state and local chapters, mailing out anti-slavery literature, and raising money to fund the society's many programs. From 1833 to 1837 he also edited the society's publications, which included *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, *Anti-Slavery Record*, *Human Rights*, and *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, and wrote articles for the society's newspaper, the *Emancipator*. During his tenure as secretary, the American Anti-Slavery Society grew to become the nation's largest organization devoted to immediate abolition.

By 1839 Wright had thoroughly alienated the society's board of directors, who were much more conservative than he. Specifically, the board was put off by his blunt personality, his insistence that abolitionists should refuse to comply with the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, and his anticlericalism. He once declared that Christian ministers presented the most formidable roadblock to abolition. Unlike Wright, the board, composed largely of Christian ministers, insisted on achieving abolition by obeying the law and working through the churches. After six years, Wright resigned as the society's national secretary and became editor of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*. This journal supported immediate abolition but rejected the radicalism of Garrison, the editor of the rival *Liberator*. Garrison had called on abolitionists to refuse to vote in federal elections because to do so supported the very government that supported slavery.

As editor of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, Wright repudiated Garrison's political views and called instead for the creation of a third national political party that was committed to immediate abolition. To this end, Wright endorsed the formation of the Abolitionist Party, later known as the Liberty Party, in 1839. He attended the party's convention that same year and enthusiastically supported its candidate for president, James G. Birney, in his editorials. Many abolitionists, however, were not ready to support an abolitionist party. They preferred to work within the Whig Party, which at the time was one of the nation's two major parties, as a means of achieving their political goals. In addition, they wanted Wright to endorse William

Henry Harrison, the Whig candidate for president in the Election of 1840. As a result, about half of his subscribers canceled in protest when the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* endorsed Birney. The cancellations put the paper in a financial crisis, and shortly thereafter Wright was forced to step down as editor.

Wright concerned himself with other reforms until 1846, when he became editor of the *Chronotype* (later known as the *Commonwealth*), a Boston daily newspaper that espoused immediate abolition, among other reforms. He resigned as editor two years later but remained on the editorial staff until 1852, when he was forced to resign after being falsely accused of breaking the law by harboring a runaway slave. Shortly thereafter he faded from the abolitionist scene to concentrate on other reforms.

— Charles W. Carey

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; Birney, James G.; Garrison, William Lloyd.

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FRANCES WRIGHT (1795–1852)

In 1825 Frances (Fanny) Wright became the first woman in the United States to act publicly in opposition to slavery. Her plan gradually emancipated slaves by establishing Nashoba plantation to educate African Americans and to teach them a trade before releasing them and transporting them to another nation.

Born in Dundee, Scotland, to James Wright, a linen merchant, and Camilla Campbell, she was orphaned at the age of two. Sent to live with her socialite maternal grandfather in England, Wright never accepted the popular upper class belief that the many London beggars were too lazy to work. Sympathy for the poor and downtrodden would mark her for the rest of her life.

Left with a sizable inheritance by the death of an uncle, Wright traveled to the United States with her sister Camilla in 1818. Returning to Europe, she described her impressions of the visit in *Views of Society and Manners*



Frances Wright was an early nineteenth-century freethinker whose ideas were too radical for most of her contemporaries. Still, her thinking had a profound influence on later generations of American reformers. (Library of Congress)

in America (1821). Through this book, Wright developed a friendship with the marquis de Lafayette and learned of his attempt, aborted by the French Revolution, to help the less fortunate by gradually emancipating slaves on his New Guinea plantation.

Perhaps because of ties to Lafayette and her upbringing as a member of the British upper class, Wright never wholeheartedly condemned oppressors. Sympathetic to the feelings of slaveholders, she wrote in an 1826 statement to the utopian socialist *New Harmony Gazette*, “We should consider, that what we view, at first sight, as a peculiar vice and injustice, is not more so, in fact, than any other vice and injustice stamped by education on the minds and hearts of other men.” Wright also decided to imitate Lafayette by supporting the gradual emancipation of slaves rather than abruptly turning African Americans loose to fend for themselves, the method that abolitionists favored.

Initially planned as a black emancipation experiment, Nashoba plantation eventually developed into

an exercise in communism, racial integration, and sexual equality. It also turned into a disaster, and Wright lost half her fortune in the venture. Weakened by fever, she left for Europe in 1829, where she later began a family with William Phiquepal D’Arusmont. Except for a brief sojourn to the United States to escort Nashoba’s slaves to Haiti in 1830, she remained abroad until 1836. Reports of libertine behavior on the Nashoba plantation, acts that took place while Wright was abroad, effectively destroyed her reputation on both sides of the Atlantic.

By the 1830s charges of “Fanny Wrightism” had become a popular way to discredit liberal causes. Never fazed by the scorn directed at her, Wright espoused ever more controversial issues until the end of her life. She often lectured publicly, a shocking act for an early nineteenth-century woman in the United States. Newspapers questioned her virtue and that of any woman so brazen as to attend her talks.

Wright spoke not only against slavery but also about the repressive nature of marriage and religion. Many antebellum women, particularly the Quakers, were inspired by their religious beliefs to act against slavery. Wright’s theories deeply offended them and certainly did not add to her popularity in antislavery circles. Reformers distanced themselves from her in an effort to appear more respectable, but Wright’s call for better working conditions for laborers made her influential among working-class women. In 1852 she died in Cincinnati, Ohio, following a fall.

An energetic and fiercely determined woman, Frances Wright was easily the most controversial woman in the United States in the antebellum period. Her willingness to experiment boldly to better the lives of downtrodden African Americans made her a household word.

— Caryn E. Neumann

See also: Nashoba Plantation.

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WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY (1814–1863)

Viewed by many people as a southern rights fanatic, William Lowndes Yancey not only was an advocate for southern secession and a white supremacist, but also was known throughout the South as a fiery and brilliant orator, often called the greatest southern public speaker since Patrick Henry or John Randolph. Yancey was also noted for his virulent temper and has been compared in that regard to Adolf Hitler. In 1838 his quick temper caused him to commit manslaughter, and he was sentenced to a year in jail and fined \$1,500. He served only three months, however, and \$1,000 of his fine was returned.

Yancey, born August 10, 1814, in Warren County, Georgia, moved in 1821 with his mother, Caroline and stepfather, the Reverend Nathan Beman, a Presbyterian minister and abolitionist, to Troy, New York, where he attended the best New York academies and in 1830 enrolled at Williams College in Massachusetts. As a young man Yancey was of medium height, 5 feet 10 inches, and slightly built. He had fair skin, dark blue eyes, and light brown hair. In 1833 he dropped out of college without obtaining a degree and moved to South Carolina, the home of his father, to study law under the tutelage of Benjamin Perry. In 1835 Yancey married Sarah Caroline Earle, a woman with thirty-five slaves and was thus catapulted into the planter class. He then stopped his study of law and moved his wife and slaves to Dallas County, Alabama, in order to make agriculture his occupation. Yancey's uncle, his mother's brother, William E. Bird, was the county judge. They lived on his Oakland Estate, near the Alabama River. This uncle, a prominent states' rights advocate, influenced Yancey's politics. When Yancey lost his fortune in agriculture he turned to politics.

In 1840 Yancey and his brother established a weekly newspaper called *Southern Crisis* in Wetumpka, Alabama, in which Yancey tried to persuade Alabama voters to reelect Martin Van Buren president of the United States. His campaign against William Henry Harrison impressed his fellow Democrats, and he was elected to serve in the Alabama General Assembly. Following his election he passed the bar exam, sold his newspaper and became a full-time politician. In 1844



William L. Yancey of Alabama was a white supremacist and advocate for southern secession. (Library of Congress)

he moved from state to national politics when he was elected to fill a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Yancey's congressional experience contributed to his disenchantment with the federal government and led to his increased support for states' rights.

Yancey returned to Alabama in 1847 and settled in Montgomery where he established a law firm, Yancey and Elmore. During this time he coauthored several resolutions, known as the Alabama Platform, which forbade Congress from obstructing slavery in the territories. Although accepted by the Alabama legislature, the Alabama Platform was rejected by the 1848 Democratic Convention in Baltimore by a vote of 216 to 36. Soundly defeated and viewed by many southern Democrats as extremist, Yancey stormed out of the convention. After the Compromise of 1850, he added secession to his creed, and for the next ten years he tried to arouse white southerners to secede from the Union. Prior to the Compromise, Yancey was a strong unionist who opposed John C. Calhoun during the nullification crisis in South Carolina. In 1858 he organized southern-rights associations and helped to create the League of United Southerners. He made fiery speeches throughout the South trying to convince men of all

parties to back his uncompromising proslavery states' rights position.

As a result of Yancey's unrelenting campaign, by 1860 the Alabama Platform had won support throughout the South. At the Democratic National Convention in Charleston, South Carolina, a revised version did not win an unqualified acceptance. Thus the southern delegates withdrew and nominated a rival ticket. John C. Breckinridge, a nominee of the southern wing, the Constitutional Democrats, received Yancey's support. After Lincoln became president, Yancey drafted Alabama's secession ordinance. In 1861 he spent a year in France and Great Britain where he tried to gain recognition for the Confederate government, but he was unsuccessful. He returned to Alabama in 1862 to become a member of the Confederate Senate.

Yancey claimed that "African slavery, as it exists in the Southern States of this Union, is both politically and morally right, and that the history of the world furnishes no proof that slavery is either evil or sinful" (Venable, 1945). This statement became part of a successful resolution and appeal for Alabama to secede from the Union, in which Yancey played a leading

role, earning the name "The Silver-Tongued Orator of Secession" (DuBose, 1942). Yancey died on July 27, 1863, blaming Jefferson Davis for the southern military defeats at the hands of the Yankees. A great agitator for change, Yancey never was able to master the art of cooperation, and his time in the Confederate Senate led to a bitter argument with Davis, one that never was resolved.

— *Nagueyalti Warren*

See also: Alabama Platform; Compromise of 1850; Nashville Convention; Proslavery Argument.

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JOHN LOCKE PREPARES A CONSTITUTION FOR CAROLINA (1669)

The following articles pertained to the status of slave laborers in the Carolina colony:

One hundred and seven. Since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves, and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and, therefore, be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master hath over him, but be in all things in the same state and condition he was in before.

One hundred and eight. Assemblies, upon what presence soever of religion, not observing and performing the above said rules, shall not be esteemed as churches, but unlawful meetings, and be punished as other riots.

One hundred and nine. No person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship.

One hundred and ten. Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.

THE GERMANTOWN PROTEST (1688)

*This is to the monthly meeting
held at Richard Worrell's:*

These are the reasons why we are against the traffic of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner" viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful and faint-hearted are many at sea, when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken, and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now, what is this better done, than Turks do? Yea, rather it is worse for them, which say they are Christians; for we hear that the most part of such negers are brought hither against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now, though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we should do to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent, or colour they are. And those who steal or rob men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of conscience, which is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of the body, except of evil-doers, which is another

case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience-sake; and here there are those oppressed which are of a black colour. And we who know that men must not commit adultery—some do commit adultery in others, separating wives from their husbands, and giving them to others: and some sell the children of these poor creatures to other men. Ah! do consider well this thing, you who do it, if you would be done at this manner—and if it is done according to Christianity! You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This makes an ill report in all those countries of Europe, where they hear of [it], that the Quakers do here handel men as they handel there the cattle. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintain this your cause, or plead for it? Truly, we cannot do so, except you shall inform us better hereof, viz.: that Christians have liberty to practice these things. Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we would be done at; therefore, we contradict, and are against this traffic of men-body. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing, if possible. And such men ought to be delivered out of the hands of the robbers, and set free as in Europe. Then is Pennsylvania to have a good report, instead, it hath now a bad one, for this sake, in other countries; Especially whereas the Europeans are desirous to know in what manner the Quakers do rule in their province; and most of them do look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil?

If once these slaves (which they say are so wicked and stubborn men,) should join themselves—fight for their freedom, and handel their masters and mistresses, as they did handel them before; will these masters and mistresses take the sword at hand and war against these poor slaves, like, as we are able to believe, some will not refuse to do? Or, have these poor negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad. And in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks in that manner, we desire and require you hereby lovingly, that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. To the end we shall be satisfied on this point, and satisfy likewise our good friends and

acquaintances in our native country, to whom it is a terror, or fearful thing, that men should be handelled so in Pennsylvania.

This is from our meeting at Germantown held ye 18th of the 2d month, 1688, to be delivered to the monthly meeting at Richard Worrell's.

Garret Henderich,
Derick op de Graeff,
Francis Daniel Pastorius,
Abram op de Graeff.

Pastorius, Daniel Franz. 1963. "The Germantown Protest, 1688." In *Documents of American History*, ed. Henry Steele Commager. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

PURITANS BEGIN TO CRITICIZE SLAVERY (1700)

The Selling of Joseph

"Forasmuch as Liberty is in real value next unto Life: None ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature Consideration". The numerousness of slaves at this day in the province, and the uneasiness of them under their slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the foundation of it be firmly and well laid; so as to sustain the vast weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal right unto liberty, and all other outward comforts of life.

GOD hath given the Earth [with all its Commodities] unto the Sons of Adam, Psal 115. 16. And hath made of One Blood, all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the face of the Earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: That they should seek the Lord. Forasmuch then as we are the Offspring of GOD &c. Act 17. 26, 27, 29.

Now although the Title given by the last ADAM, doth infinitely better men's estates, respecting GOD and themselves; and grants them a most beneficial and inviolable lease under the broad seal of Heaven, who were before only tenants at will: Yet through the indulgence of GOD to our First Parents after the Fall, the outward estate of all and every of their children, remains the same, as to one another. So that originally, and naturally, there is no such thing as slavery.

Joseph was rightfully no more a slave to his brethren, than they were to him: and they had no more authority to *sell* him, than they had to *slay* him. And if *they* had nothing to do to sell him; the Ishmaelites bargaining with them, and paying down twenty pieces of sil-

ver, could not make a title. Neither could *Potiphar* have any better interest in him than the *Ishmaelites* had. Gen. 37. 20, 27, 28. For he that shall in this case plead Alteration of Property, seems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to humanity. There is no proportion between twenty pieces of silver, and LIBERTY. The commodity it self is the claimer. If *Arabian* gold be imported in any quantities, most are afraid to meddle with it, though they might have it at easy rates; lest if it should have been wrongfully taken from the owners, it should kindle a fire to the consumption of their whole estate.

'Tis pity there should be more caution used in buying a horse, or a little lifeless dust; than there is in purchasing men and women: Whenas they are the offspring of GOD, and their Liberty is, ". . . Auro pretiosior Omni" [Isaiah 13:12]. And seeing GOD hath said, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Exod. 21. 16. This law being of everlasting equity, wherein man stealing is ranked amongst the most atrocious of capital crimes: What louder cry can there be made of that celebrated warning, Caveat Emptor!

And all things considered, it would conduce more to the welfare of the province, to have white servants for a term of years, than to have slaves for life. Few can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden liberty, renders them unwilling servants.

And there is such a disparity in their conditions, colour & hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up into orderly families, to the peopling of the land: but still remain in our body politick as a kind of extravasat blood [involuntary resident].

As many Negro men as there are among us, so many empty places there are in our Train Bands, and the places taken up of men that might make husbands for our daughters. And the sons and daughters of *New England* would become more like *Jacob*, and *Rachel*, if this slavery were thrust quite out of doors.

Moreover it is too well known what temptations masters are under, to connive at the fornication of their slaves; lest they should be obliged to find them wives, or pay their fines. It seems to be practically pleaded that they might be lawless; 'tis thought much of, that the law should have satisfaction for their thefts, and other immoralities; by which means, *Holiness to the Lord*, is more rarely engraven upon this sort of servitude.

It is likewise most lamentable to think, how in taking Negros out of *Africa*, and selling of them here, That

which GOD has joined together men do boldly rend asunder [Matt. 19:6]; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their Children.

How horrible is the uncleanness, mortality, if not murder, that the ships are guilty of that bring great crowds of these miserable men, and women. Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous usage of our friends and kinsfolk in *Africa*: it might not be unseasonable to enquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the *Africans* to become slaves amongst our selves. And it may be a question whether all the benefit received by Negro slaves, will balance the accompt of cash laid out upon them; and for the redemption of our own enslaved friends out of *Africa*. Besides all the persons and estates that have perished there.

Obj. 1. These Blackmores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the curse of slavery. Gen. 9. 25, 26, 27. *Ans.* Of all offices, one would not beg this; *viz.* Uncalled for, to be an executioner of the vindictive wrath of God; the extent and duration of which is to us uncertain. If this ever was a commission; how do we know but that it is long since out of date? Many have found it to their cost, that a prophetic denunciation of judgment against a person or people, would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, *Hazael* might justify himself in all he did against his Master, and the *Israelites*, from 2 *Kings* 8. 10, 12 [killing the king, and women].

But it is possible that by cursory reading, this text may have been mistaken. For *Canaan* is the person cursed three times over, without the mentioning of *Cham*. Good Expositors suppose the curse entailed on him, and that this prophecy was accomplished in the extirpation of the *Canaanites*, and in the servitude of the *Gibeonites*. *Vide Pareum*

Whereas the Blackmores are not descended of *Canaan*, but of *Cush*. *Psal.* 68. 31. "Princes shall come out of Egypt [Mizim] Ethiopia [Cush] shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Under which names, all *Africa* may be comprehended; and their Promised Conversion ought to be prayed for. *Jer.* 13. 23. Can the Ethiopian change his skin? This shows that black men are the posterity of *Cush*: Who time out of mind have been distinguished by their colour. And for want of the true, Ovid assigns a fabulous cause of it: "Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa vocato Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colorem." *Metamorph.* lib. 2.

Obj. 2. The Nigers are brought out of a pagan country, into places where the Gospel is preached. *Ans.* Evil must not be done, that good may come of it. The extraordinary and comprehensive benefit accruing to the

Church of God, and to Joseph personally, did not rectify his brethren's sale of him.

Obj. 3. The Africans have Wars one with another: Our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.

Ans. For ought is known, their wars are much such as were between *Jacob's* sons and their brother *Joseph*. If they be between town and town; provincial, or national: Every war is upon one side unjust. An unlawful war can't make lawful captives. And by receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their barbarous cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the *Brewsters* to take the air, and fish: And a stronger party from *Hull* should surprise them, and sell them for slaves to a ship outward bound: they would think themselves unjustly dealt with; both by sellers and buyers.

And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of title to our Nigers. "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets." *Matt.* 7. 12.

Obj. 4. Abraham had servants bought with his money, and born in his house.

Ans. Until the circumstances of Abraham's purchase be recorded, no argument can be drawn from it. In the mean time, Charity obliges us to conclude, that he knew it was lawful and good.

It is observable that the *Israelites* were strictly forbidden the buying, or selling one another for slaves. *Levit.* 25. 39, 46. *Jer.* 34. 8 . . . 22. And GOD gaged His Blessing in lieu of any loss they might conceit they suffered thereby. *Deut.* 15. 18.

And since the partition wall is broken down, inordinate self love should likewise be demolished. GOD expects that Christians should be of a more ingenuous and benign frame of spirit. Christians should carry it to all the world, as the *Israelites* were to carry it one towards another. And for men obstinately to persist in holding their neighbours and brethren under the rigor of perpetual bondage, seems to be no proper way of gaining assurance that God has given them spiritual freedom. Our blessed Saviour has altered the measures of the ancient love-song, and set it to a most excellent new tune, which all ought to be ambitious of Learning. *Matt.* 5. 43, 44. *John* 13. 34. These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are; seeing they are the sons and daughters of the First *Adam*, the brethren and sisters of the Last *ADAM*, and the Offspring of GOD; they ought to be treated with a respect agreeable.

"*Servitus perfecta voluntaria, inter Christianum & Christianum, ex parte servi patientis sæpe est licita quia est necessaria: sed ex parte domini agentis, & procu-*

rando & exercendo, vix potest esse licita: quia non convenit regulæ illi generali: Quæcunque volueritis ut faciant vobis homines, ita & vos facite eis." Matt. 7. 12.

"Perfecta servitus pænæ, non potest jure locum habere, nisi ex delicto gravi quod ultimum supplicium aliquo modo meretur: quia libertas ex naturali æstimatione proximo accedit ad vitam ipsam, & eidem a multis præferri solet."

Cap. 23. Thes. 2, 3.

Sewall, Samuel. 1700. *The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial*. Boston: Green and Allen.

COLONIAL VIRGINIA SLAVERY STATUTE (1705)

An act concerning Servants and Slaves.

I. *Be it enacted, by the governor, council, and burgesses, of this present general assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same,* That all servants brought into this country without indenture, if the said servants be christians, and of christian parentage, and above nineteen years of age, shall serve but five years; and if under nineteen years of age, 'till they shall become twenty-four years of age, and no longer.

II. *Provided always,* That every such servant be carried to the country court, within six months after his or her arrival into this colony, to have his or her age adjudged by the court, otherwise shall be a servant no longer than the accustomed five years, although much under the age of nineteen years; and the age of such servant being adjudged by the court, within the limitation aforesaid, shall be entered upon the records of the said court, and be accounted, deemed, and taken, for the true age of the said servant, in relation to the time of service aforesaid.

III. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That when any servant sold for the custom, shall pretend to have indentures, the master or owner of such servant, for discovery of the truth thereof, may bring the said servant before a justice of the peace; and if the said servant cannot produce the indenture then, but shall still pretend to have one, the said justice shall assign two months time for the doing thereof; in which time, if the said servant shall not produce his or her indenture, it shall be taken for granted that there never was one, and shall be a bar to his or her claim of making use of one afterwards, or taking any advantage by one.

IV. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and*

it is hereby enacted, That all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not christians in their native country, (except Turks and Moors in amity with her majesty, and others that can make due proof of their being free in England, or any other christian country, before they were shipped, in order to transportation hither) shall be accounted and be slaves, and as such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to christianity afterwards.

V. *And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That if any person or persons shall hereafter import into this colony, and here sell as a slave, any person or persons that shall have been a freeman in any christian country, island, or plantation, such importer and seller as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay, to the party from whom the said freeman shall recover his freedom, double the sum for which the said freeman was sold. To be recovered, in any court of record within this colony, according to the course of the common law, wherein the defendant shall not be admitted to plead in bar, any act or statute for limitation of actions.

VI. *Provided always,* That a slave's being in England, shall not be sufficient to discharge him of his slavery, without other proof of his being manumitted there.

VII. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That all masters and owners of servants, shall find and provide for their servants, wholesome and competent diet, clothing, and lodging, by the discretion of the county court; and shall not, at any time, give immoderate correction; neither shall, at any time, whip a christian white servant naked, without an order from a justice of the peace: And if any, notwithstanding this act, shall presume to whip a christian white servant naked, without such order, the person so offending, shall forfeit and pay for the same, forty shillings sterling, to the party injured: To be recovered, with costs, upon petition, without the formal process of an action, as in and by this act is provided for servants complaints to be heard; provided complaint be made within six months after such whipping.

VIII. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That all servants, (not being slaves,) whether imported, or become servants of their own accord here, or bound by any court or churchwardens, shall have their complaints received by a justice of the peace, who, if he find cause, shall bind the master over to answer the complaint at court; and it

shall be there determined: And all complaints of servants, shall and may, by virtue hereof, be received at any time, upon petition, in the court of the county wherein they reside, without the formal process of an action; and also full power and authority is hereby given to the said court, by their discretion, (having first summoned the masters or owners to justify themselves, if they think fit,) to adjudge, order, and appoint what shall be necessary, as to diet, lodging, clothing, and correction: And if any master or owner shall not thereupon comply with the said court's order, the said court is hereby authorised and empowered, upon a second just complaint, to order such servant to be immediately sold at an outcry, by the sheriff, and after charges deducted, the remainder of what the said servant shall be sold for, to be paid and satisfied to such owner.

IX. *Provided always, and be it enacted,* That if such servant be so sick or lame, or otherwise rendered so incapable, that he or she cannot be sold for such a value, at least, as shall satisfy the fees, and other incident charges accrued, the said court shall then order the church-wardens of the parish to take care of and provide for the said servant, until such servant's time, due by law to the said master, or owner, shall be expired, or until such servant, shall be so recovered, as to be sold for defraying the said fees and charges: And further, the said court, from time to time, shall order the charges of keeping the said servant, to be levied upon the goods and chattels of the master or owner of the said servant, by distress.

X. *And be it also enacted,* That all servants, whether, by importation, indenture, or hire here, as well some coverts, as others, shall, in like manner, as is provided, upon complaints of misuse, have their petitions received in court, for their wages and freedom, without the formal process of an action; and proceedings, and judgment, shall, in like manner, also, be had thereupon.

XI. And for a further christian care and usage of all christian servants, *Be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That no negroes, mulattos, or Indians, although christians, or Jews, Moors, Mahometans, or other infidels, shall, at any time, purchase any christian servant, nor any other, except of their own complexion, or such as are declared slaves by this act: And if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel, or such as are declared slaves by this act, shall, notwithstanding, purchase any christian white servant, the said servant shall, *ipso facto,* become free and acquit from any ser-

vice then due, and shall be so held, deemed, and taken: And if any person, having such christian servant, shall intermarry with any such negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel, every christian white servant of every such person so intermarrying, shall, *ipso facto,* become free and acquit from any service then due to such master or mistress so intermarrying, as aforesaid.

XII. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That no master or owner of any servant shall during the time of such servant's servitude, make any bargain with his or her said servant for further service, or other matter or thing relating to liberty, or personal profit, unless the same be made in the presence, and with the approbation, of the court of that county where the master or owner resides: And if any servants shall, at any time bring in goods or money, or during the time of their service, by gift, or any other lawful ways or means, come to have any goods or money, they shall enjoy the propriety thereof, and have the sole use and benefit thereof to themselves. And if any servant shall happen to fall sick or lame, during the time of service, so that he or she becomes of little or no use to his or her master or owner, but rather a charge, the said master or owner shall not put away the said servant, but shall maintain him or her, during the whole time he or she was before obliged to serve, by indenture, custom, or order of court: And if any master or owner, shall put away any such sick or lame servant, upon pretence of freedom, and that servant shall become chargeable to the parish, the said master or owner shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money of Virginia, to the church-wardens of the parish where such offence shall be committed, for the use of the said parish: To be recovered by action of debt, in any court of record in this her majesty's colony and dominion, in which no essoin [a justification for an absence from court], protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed.

XIII. And whereas there has been a good and laudable custom of allowing servants corn and cloaths for their present support, upon their freedom; but nothing in that nature ever made certain, *Be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That there shall be paid and allowed to every imported servant, not having yearly wages, at the time of service ended, by the master or owner of such servant, viz: To every male servant, ten bushels of indian corn, thirty shillings in money, or the value thereof, in goods, and one well fixed musket or fuzee, of the value of twenty shillings, at least: and to every woman servant, fifteen

bushels of indian corn, and forty shillings in money, or the value thereof, in goods: Which, upon refusal, shall be ordered, with costs, upon petition to the county court, in manner as is herein before directed, for servants complaints to be heard.

XIV. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That all servants shall faithfully and obediently, all the whole time of their service, do all their masters or owners just and lawful commands. And if any servant shall resist the master, or mistress, or overseer, or offer violence to any of them, the said servant shall, for every such offence, be adjudged to serve his or her said master or owner, one whole year after the time, by indenture, custom, or former order of court, shall be expired.

XV. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That no person whatsoever shall buy, sell, or receive of, to, or from, any servant, or slave, any coin or commodity whatsoever, without the leave, licence, or consent of the master or owner of the said servant, or slave: And if any person shall, contrary hereunto, without the leave or licence aforesaid, deal with any servant, or slave, he or she so offending, shall be imprisoned one calender month, without bail or main-prize; and then, also continue in prison, until he or she shall find good security, in the sum of ten pounds current money of Virginia, for the good behaviour for one year following; wherein, a second offence shall be a breach of the bond and moreover shall forfeit and pay four times the value of the things so bought, sold, or received, to the master or owner of such servant, or slave: To be recovered, with costs, by action upon the case, in any court of record in this her majesty's colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, or other than one imparlance, shall be allowed.

XVI. *Provided always, and be it enacted,* That when any person or persons convicted for dealing with a servant, or slave, contrary to this act, shall not immediately give good and sufficient security for his or her good behaviour, as aforesaid: then, in such case, the court shall order thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, upon the bare back of such offender, at the common whipping-post of the county, and the said offender to be thence discharged of giving such bond and security.

XVII. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, and declared,* That in all cases of penal laws, whereby persons free are punishable by fine, servants shall be punished by whipping, after the

rate of twenty lashes for every five hundred pounds of tobacco, or fifty shillings current money, unless the servant so culpable, can and will procure some person or persons to pay the fine; in which case, the said servant shall be adjudged to serve such benefactor, after the time by indenture, custom, or order of court, to his or her then present master or owner, shall be expired, after the rate of one month and a half for every hundred pounds of tobacco; any thing in this act contained, to the contrary, in any-wise, notwithstanding.

XVIII. *And if any woman servant shall be delivered of a bastard child within the time of her service aforesaid, Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That in recompence of the loss and trouble occasioned her master or mistress thereby, she shall for every such offence, serve her said master or owner one whole year after her time by indenture, custom, and former order of court, shall be expired; or pay her said master or owner, one thousand pounds of tobacco; and the reputed father, if free, shall give security to the church-wardens of the parish where that child shall be, to maintain the child, and keep the parish indemnified; or be compelled thereto by order of the county court, upon the said church-wardens complaint: But if a servant, he shall make satisfaction of the parish, for keeping the said child, after his time by indenture, custom, or order of court, to his then present master or owner, shall be expired; or be compelled thereto, by order of the county court, upon complaint of the church wardens of the said parish, for the time being. And if any woman servant shall be got with child by her master, neither the said master, nor his executors administrators, nor assigns, shall have any claim of service against her, for or by reason of such child; but she shall, when her time due to her said master, by indenture, custom or order of court, shall be expired, be sold by the church-wardens, for the time being, of the parish wherein such child shall be born, for one year, or pay one thousand pounds of tobacco; and the said one thousand pounds of tobacco, or whatever she shall be sold for, shall be employed, by the vestry, to the use of the said parish. And if any woman servant shall have a bastard child by a negro, or mulatto, over and above the years service due to her master or owner, she shall immediately, upon the expiration of her time to her then present master or owner, pay down to the church-wardens of the parish wherein such child shall be born, for the use of the said parish fifteen pounds current money of Virginia, or be by them sold for five years to the use aforesaid: And if a free christian white woman shall have such bastard child, by a negro, or mulatto, for every such offence, she shall, within one month

after her delivery of such bastard child, pay to the church-wardens for the time being, of the parish wherein such child shall be born, for the use of the said parish fifteen pounds current money of Virginia, or be by them sold for five years to the use aforesaid: And in both the said cases, the church-wardens shall bind the said child to be a servant, until it shall be of thirty one years of age.

XIX. And for a further prevention of that abominable mixture and spurious issue, which hereafter may increase in this her majesty's colony and dominion, as well by English, and other white men and women intermarrying with negros or mulattos, as by their unlawful coition with them, *Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That whatsoever English, or other white man or woman, being free, shall intermarry with a negro or mulatto man or woman, bond or free, shall, by judgment of the county court, be committed to prison, and there remain, during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize; and shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money of Virginia, to the use of the parish, as aforesaid.

XX. *And be it further enacted,* That no minister of the church of England, or other minister, or person whatsoever, within this colony and dominion, shall hereafter wittingly presume to marry a white man with a negro or mulatto woman; or to marry a white woman with a negro or mulatto man, upon pain of forfeiting and paying, for every such marriage the sum of ten thousand pounds of tobacco; one half to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government, and the contingent charges thereof; and the other half to the informer; To be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any court of record within this her majesty's colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed.

XXI. And because poor people may not be destitute of employment, upon suspicion of being servants, and servants also kept from running away, *Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That every servant, when his or her time of service shall be expired, shall repair to the court of the county where he or she served the last of his or her time, and there, upon sufficient testimony, have his or her freedom entered; and a certificate thereof from the clerk of the said court, shall be sufficient to authorise any person to entertain or hire such servant, without any danger of this law. And if it shall at any time happen, that such certificate is won out, or lost, the said clerk shall

grant a new one, and therein also recite the accident happened to the old one. And whoever shall hire such servant, shall take his or her certificate, and keep it, 'till the contracted time shall be expired. And if any person whatsoever, shall harbour or entertain any servant by importation, or by contract, or indenture made here, not having such certificate, he or she so offending, shall pay to the master or owner of such servant, sixty pounds of tobacco for every natural day he or she shall so harbour or entertain such runaway: To be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, in any court of record within this her majesty's colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed. And also, if any runaway shall make use of a forged certificate, or after the same shall be delivered to any master or mistress, upon being hired, shall steal the same away, and thereby procure entertainment, the person entertaining such servant, upon such forged or stolen certificate, shall not be culpable by this law: But the said runaway, besides making reparation for the loss of time, and charges in recovery, and other penalties by this law directed, shall, for making use of such forged or stolen certificate, or for such theft aforesaid, stand two hours in the pillory, upon a court day: And the person forging such certificate, shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money; one half thereof to be to her majesty, her heirs and successors, for and towards the support of this government, and the contingent charges thereof; and the other half to the master or owner of such servant, if he or she will inform or sue for the same, otherwise to the informer: To be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, in any court of record in this her majesty's colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed. And if any person or persons convict of forging such certificate, shall not immediately pay the said ten pounds, and costs, or give security to do the same within six months, he or she so convict, shall receive, on his or her bare back, thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, at the common whipping post of the county; and shall be thence discharged of paying the said ten pounds, and costs, and either of them.

XXII. *Provided,* That when any master or mistress shall happen to hire a runaway, upon a forged certificate, and a servant deny that he delivered any such certificate, the *Onus Probandi* shall lie upon the person hiring, who upon failure therein, shall be liable to the fines and penalties, for entertaining runaway servants, without certificate.

XXIII. And for encouragement of all persons to take

up runaways, *Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That for the taking up of every servant, or slave, if ten miles, or above, from the house or quarter where such servant, or slave was kept, there shall be allowed by the public, as a reward to the taker-up, two hundred pounds of tobacco; and if above five miles, and under ten, one hundred pounds of tobacco: Which said several rewards of two hundred, and one hundred pounds of tobacco, shall also be paid in the county where such taker-up shall reside, and shall be again levied by the public upon the master or owner of such runaway, for re-imbusement of the same to the public. And for the greater certainty in paying the said rewards and re-imbusement of the public, every justice of the peace before whom such runaway shall be brought, upon the taking up, shall mention the proper-name and sur-name of the taker-up, and the county of his or her residence, together with the time and place of taking up the said runaway; and shall also mention the name of the said runaway, and the proper-name and sur-name of the master or owner of such runaway, and the county of his or her residence, together with the distance of miles, in the said justice's judgment, from the place of taking up the said runaway, to the house or quarter where such runaway was kept.

XXIV. *Provided,* That when any negro, or other runaway, that doth not speak English, and cannot, or through obstinacy will not, declare the name of his or her masters or owner, that then it shall be sufficient for the said justice to certify the same, instead of the name of such runaway, and the proper-name and sur-name of his or her master or owner, and the county of his or her residence and distance of miles, as aforesaid; and in such case, shall, by his warrant, order the said runaway to be conveyed to the public gaol, of this country, there to be continued prisoner until the master or owner shall be known; who, upon paying the charges of the imprisonment, or give caution to the prison-keeper for the same, together with the reward of two hundred or one hundred pounds of tobacco, as the case shall be, shall have the said runaway restored.

XXV. And further, the said justice of the peace, when such runaway shall be brought before him, shall, by his warrant commit the said runaway to the next constable, and therein also order him to give the said runaway so many lashes as the said justice shall think fit, not exceeding the number of thirty-nine; and then to be conveyed from constable to constable, until the said runaway shall be carried home, or to the country gaol, as aforesaid, every constable through whose

hands the said runaway shall pass, giving a receipt at the delivery; and every constable failing to execute such warrant according to the tenor thereof, or refusing to give such receipt, shall forfeit and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco to the church-wardens of the parish wherein such failure shall be, for the use of the poor of the said parish: To be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, in any court of record in this her majesty's colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection or wager of law, shall be allowed. And such corporal punishment shall not deprive the master or owner of such runaway of the other satisfaction here in this act appointed to be made upon such servant's running away.

XXVI. *Provided always, and be it further enacted,* That when any servant or slave, in his or her running away, shall have crossed the great bay of Chesapeake, and shall be brought before a justice of the peace, the said justice shall, instead of committing such runaway to the constable, commit him or her to the sheriff, who is hereby required to receive every such runaway, according to such warrant, and to cause him, her, or them, to be transported again across the bay, and delivered to a constable there; and shall have, for all his trouble and charge herein, for every such servant or slave, five hundred pounds of tobacco, paid by the public; which shall be re-imbursed again by the master or owner of such runaway, as aforesaid, in manner aforesaid.

XXVII. *Provided also,* That when any runaway servant that shall have crossed the said bay, shall get up into the country, in any county distant from the bay, that then, in such case, the said runaway shall be committed to a constable, to be conveyed from constable to constable, until he shall be brought to a sheriff of some county adjoining to the said bay of Chesapeake, which sheriff is also hereby required, upon such warrant, to receive such runaway, under the rules and conditions aforesaid; and cause him or her to be conveyed as aforesaid; and shall have the reward, as aforesaid.

XXVIII. And for the better preventing of delays in returning of such runaways, *Be it enacted,* That if any sheriff, under sheriff, or other officer of, or belonging to the sheriffs, shall cause or suffer any such runaway (so committed for passage over the bay) to work, the said sheriff, to whom such runaway shall be so committed, shall forfeit and pay to the master or owner, of every such servant or slave, so put to work, one thousand pounds of tobacco; To be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any court of record within this her majesty's colony and

dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed.

XXIX. *And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That if any constable, or sheriff, into whose hands a runaway servant or slave shall be committed, by virtue of this act, shall suffer such runaway to escape, the said constable or sheriff shall be liable to the action of the party grieved, for recovery of his damages, at the common law with costs.

XXX. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That every runaway servant, upon whose account, either of the rewards aforementioned shall be paid, for taking up, shall for every hundred pounds of tobacco so paid by the master or owner, serve his or her said master or owner, after his or her time by indenture, custom, or former order of court, shall be expired, one calendar month and an half, and moreover, shall serve double the time such servant shall be absent in such running away; and shall also make reparation, by service, to the said master or owner, for all necessary disbursements and charges, in pursuit and recovery of the said runaway; to be adjudged and allowed in the county court, after the rate of one year for eight hundred pounds of tobacco, and so proportionably for a greater or lesser quantity.

XXXI. *Provided,* That the masters or owners of such runaways, shall carry them to court the next court held for the said county, after the recovery of such runaway, otherwise it shall be in the breast of the court to consider the occasion of delay, and to hear, or refuse the claim, according to their discretion, without appeal, for the refusal.

XXXII. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That no master, mistress, or overseer of a family, shall knowingly permit any slave, not belonging to him or her, to be and remain upon his or her plantation, above four hours at any one time, without the leave of such slave's master, mistress, or overseer, on penalty of one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco to the informer; cognizable by a justice of the peace of the county wherein such offence shall be committed.

XXXIII. *Provided also,* That if any runaway servant, adjudged to serve for the charges of his or her pursuit and recovery, shall, at the time, he or she is so adjudged, repay and satisfy, or give good security before the court, for repaignment and satisfaction of the same, to his or her master or owner, within six months after,

such master or owner shall be obliged to accept thereof, in lieu of the service given and allowed for such charges and disbursements.

XXXIV. And if any slave resist his master, or owner, or other person, by his or her order, correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction, it shall not be accounted felony; but the master, owner, and every such other person so giving correction, shall be free and acquit of all punishment and accusation for the same, as if such accident had never happened: And also, if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time, lift his or her hand, in opposition against any christian, not being negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she so offending, shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party, receive on his or her bare back, thirty lashes, well laid on; cognizable by a justice of the peace for that county wherein such offence shall be committed.

XXXV. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That no slave go armed with gun, sword, club, staff, or other weapon, nor go from off the plantation and seat of land where such slave shall be appointed to live, without a certificate of leave in writing, for so doing, from his or her master, mistress, or overseer: And if any slave shall be found offending herein, it shall be lawful for any person or persons to apprehend and deliver such slave to the next constable or head-borough, who is hereby enjoined and required, without further order or warrant, to give such slave twenty lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on, and so send him or her home: And all horses, cattle, and hogs, now belonging, or that hereafter shall belong to any slave, or of any slaves mark in this her majestys colony and dominion, shall be seized and sold by the church-wardens of the parish, wherein such horses, cattle, or hogs shall be, and the profit thereof applied to the use of the poor of the said parish: And also, if any damage shall be hereafter committed by any slave living at a quarter where there is no christian overseer, the master or owner of such slave shall be liable to action for the trespass and damage, as if the same had been done by him or herself.

XXXVI. *And also it is hereby enacted and declared,* That baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage; and that all children shall be bond or free, according to the condition of their mothers, and the particular directions of this act.

XXXVII. And whereas, many times, slaves run away and lie out, hid and lurking in swamps, woods, and

other obscure places, killing hogs, and committing other injuries to the inhabitants of this her majesty's colony and dominion, *Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,* That in all such cases, upon intelligence given of any slaves lying out, as aforesaid, any two justices (*Quorum unus*) of the peace of the county wherein such slave is supposed to lurk or do mischief, shall be and are impowered and required to issue proclamation against all such slaves, reciting their names, and owners names, if they are known, and thereby requiring them, and every of them, forthwith to surrender themselves; and also impowering the sheriff of the said county, to take such power with him, as he shall think fit and necessary, for the effectual apprehending such out-lying slave or slaves, and go in search of them: Which proclamation shall be published on a Sabbath day, at the door of every church and chapel, in the said county, by the parish clerk, or reader, of the church, immediately after divine worship: And in case any slave, against whom proclamation hath been thus issued, and once published at any church or chapel, as aforesaid, stay out, and do not immediately return home, it shall be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever, to kill and destroy such slaves by such ways and means as he, she, or they shall think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime for the same: And if any slave, that hath run away and lain out as aforesaid, shall be apprehended by the sheriff, or any other person, upon the application of the owner of the said slave, it shall and may be lawful for the county court, to order such punishment to the said slave, either by dismembering, or any other way, not touching his life, as they in their discretion shall think fit, for the reclaiming any such incorrigible slave, and terrifying others from the like practices.

XXXVIII. *Provided always, and it is further enacted,* That for every slave killed, in pursuance of this act, or put to death by law, the master or owner of such slave shall be paid by the public:

XXXIX. And to the end, the true value of every slave killed, or put to death, as aforesaid, may be the better known; and by that means, the assembly the better enabled to make a suitable allowance thereupon, *Be it enacted,* That upon application of the master or owner of any such slave, to the court appointed for proof of public claims, the said court shall value the slave in money, and the clerk of the court shall return a certificate thereof to the assembly, with the rest of the public claims.

Hening, William Waller. 1823. *The Statutes at Large; Be-*

ing a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619. New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow.

CODE NOIR OF LOUISIANA (1724)

A Royal Edict Touching on the State and Discipline of the Black Slaves of Louisiana, Given at Versailles in the Month of March 1724

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all present and to come, Salvation. . . . We have judged that it was a matter of our authority and our justice, for the conservation of this colony, to establish there a law and certain rules to maintain there the discipline of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church and to arrange that which concerns the state and quality of slaves in the said Isles. . . .

II. All the slaves who will be in our said province will be instructed in the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion and baptized. . . .

III. We forbid all the exercises of a religion other than the Roman Catholic Apostolic: We wish that the offenders may be punished as rebels and disobedient persons to our commands. . . .

IV. No persons will be appointed overseers for the direction of Negroes who have not made a profession of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, under pain of confiscation of the said Negroes of the master who has appointed them and pain of arbitrary punishment of the overseers who have accepted the said direction.

V. We order all our subjects, of whatever condition they may be, to observe regularly Sundays and Feast days; we forbid them on the said days, from the hour of midnight all the way to the next midnight, to work or to work their slaves in the cultivation of land or in all other works on pain of fine and arbitrary punishment for the masters and of confiscation of the slaves, who will be caught at work. Yet, they [masters] will be able to send their slaves to market.

VI. We forbid our whites subjects of either sex to contract marriage with blacks under pain of punishment and arbitrary fine; [we forbid] pastors, priests, missionaries either secular or religious, and even chaplains on ships to marry them [white-black couple]. We also forbid our said white subjects, even freed blacks or those born free, to live in concubinage with slaves. We wish that those, who will have had one or

several children by such a union, together with the masters who have permitted them, may be sentenced each to a fine of 300 *livres*; and if they are masters of the slave by whom they will have had the said children, they may be deprived of the slave as well as the children, who may be assigned to the workhouse of the place without the ability ever to be freed. We do not intend the present article to hold force, however, when a black man, freed or freeborn, who was not married during his concubinage with his slave woman, will espouse in the manner prescribed by the church the said slave woman, who will be freed by this means and the children rendered free and legitimate.

VII. The solemnities prescribed by the Ordinance of Blois and by the Declaration of 1639 for marriages will be observed with regard to free persons as well as slaves, yet without the consent of the mother and father of the slave being necessary, but only the consent of the master.

VIII. We very expressly forbid curates to go on with the marriage of slaves if it does not appear that they have the consent of their masters. We also forbid masters to constrain their slaves in any way to marry against their wishes.

IX. The children born of marriages between slaves will be slaves, and if the husbands and wives have different masters, the children are to belong to the masters of the female slaves and not to those of the husbands.

X. We wish, if a slave husband has married a free woman, that the children, both male and female, follow the condition of their mother and be as free as she, notwithstanding the servitude of their father; if their father is free and the mother a slave, the children are likewise slaves.

XI. Masters will be bound to bury their baptized slaves in holy ground in cemeteries set aside for this purpose; with regard to those who will die without having received baptism, they will be buried that night in some field in the neighborhood of the place where they died.

XII. We forbid slaves to bear any offensive arms or large sticks. . . .

XIII. We likewise forbid slaves belonging to different masters to gather in a crowd either day or night under the pretext of a wedding or otherwise, be it at their masters' homes or elsewhere, and still less on great thoroughfares or remote places under pain of corporal

punishment, which will not be less than the whip and [branding with] the fleur de Lis. . . .

XIV. Masters who will be convicted of having permitted or tolerated such assemblies . . . will be sentenced. . . to pay for all the damage that will have been done in their neighborhood on the occasion of such assemblies and a fine of 300 *livres* for the first offense and double that for the next.

XV. We forbid slaves to offer for sale in a market or to take to their own houses for sale any sort of provisions, even fruits, vegetables, firewood, herbs, forage for animals, any sort of grain, or any other merchandise, household things or clothing, without the express written permission of their masters. . . .

XVI. For this purpose we wish that two persons be appointed for each market. . . . to examine the produce and merchandise that will be brought by slaves together with the written notes . . . of their masters.

XVII. We permit all our subjects living in the country [Louisiana] to seize all the goods borne by slaves without tickets [written permission] from their masters to return them at once to their masters if they live in the neighborhood where the slaves will have been captured; otherwise, the good will be sent at once to the nearest company store to be warehoused until the masters have been notified.

XVIII. We wish that the officers of our Superior Council of Louisiana send their opinion on the quantity of food and the quality of clothes that would be suitable for masters to furnish their slaves; what food ought to be provided them each week and the clothing each year in order for us to make a decision about it. Meanwhile, we permit the said officers to regulate the provision of the said food and clothing. We prohibit the masters of the said slaves to give them any sort of brandy in place of the said food and clothing.

XIX. We likewise forbid them [masters] to relieve themselves of the nourishment and subsistence of their slaves by permitting them to work a certain day of the week for their own account.

XX. Slaves who are not fed, clothed, and kept up by their masters can report it to the Procurator General of the said Council or to lesser officers of justice and place their memoranda in their hands, on the basis of which . . . the masters will be pursued at the request of the said Procurator General, and without cost; this is

what we wish to be observed regarding the crimes and barbarous and inhuman treatment of masters toward their slaves.

XXI. Slaves weakened by old age, illness, or otherwise, whether the illness be incurable or not, will be fed and kept up by their masters, and in case they have abandoned them, the slaves will be assigned to the nearest hospital, for which the masters will be sentenced to pay eight *sols* a day for the nourishment and maintenance of each slave . . .

XXVII. The slave who will have struck his master, his mistress, the husband of his mistress, or their children, either in the face or resulting in a bruise or the outpouring of blood, will be punished by death.

XXVIII. And as to abuse and assault that will be committed by slaves against free persons, we wish that they be severely punished, even by death if it falls due. . . .

XXXVIII. We also forbid all of our subjects of the said country, of whatever quality or condition they may be, to engage in, or by their private authority to have others engage in, the torture or the racking of slaves, under whatever pretext it may be; nor to do them, or to have others do them, any mutilation, under pain of confiscation of the slaves and of being proceeded against extraordinarily. We permit them [masters], when they believe their slaves will have merited it, only to bind them and to beat them with rods or cords.

XXXIX. We order the officers of justice established in the said country to proceed criminally against the masters and overseers who will have killed their slaves or will have mutilated them while under their power or under their direction and to punish the murder according to the atrocity of the circumstances. In case there is cause to discharge them, we permit the dismissal of the masters as well as the overseers without there being need to obtain from us letters of grace.

XL. We wish that the slaves be considered personal property . . .

XLIII. Yet we wish that the husband, his wife, and their prepubescent children not be able to be seized or sold separately if they are all under the power of the same master: We declare null the separate seizures and sales that may be done. . . .

XLIV. We also wish that slaves ages fourteen and under and up to sixty, attached to lands or to dwellings

and actually working there, not to be able to be seized for debts other than one owing to the price of their purchase, unless the lands or the dwelling might actually be seized. . . .

Dubois, J. 1744–1745. *Recueils de Reglemens, Edits, Declarations et Arrets, Concernant le Commerce, l'Administration de la Justice, & la Police des Colonies Francaises de l'Amerique & les Engages, avec le Code Noir et l'Addition Audit Code.* Paris: Chez les Libraires Associez.

INVESTIGATION INTO A SLAVE CONSPIRACY (1741)

At a Supreme Court of Judicature held for the province of New York, at the city-hall of the city of New York, on Tuesday, April 21, 1741–Present, Frederick Philipse, esq. Second justice; Daniel Horsmanden, esq. third justice.

The grand jury were called. The following persons appeared, and were sworn-viz.:

Mr. Robert Watts, merchant, foreman; Messrs. Jeremiah Latouche, Joseph Read, Anthony Rutgers, John M'Evers, John Cruger, jun. John Merritt, Adoniah Schuyler, Isaac De Peyster, Abraham Keteltass, David Provoost, Rene Hett, Henry Beekman, jun. David Van Horne, George Spencer, Thomas Duncan, Winant Van Zant, merchants. Mr. Justice Philipse gave the charge to the grand jury, as followeth:

Gentlemen of the grand jury,

It is not without some concern, that I am obliged at this time to be more particular in your charge, than for many preceding terms there hath been occasion. The many frights and terrors which the good people of this city have of late been put into, by repeated and unusual fires, and burning of houses, give us too much room to suspect, that some of them at least, did not proceed from mere chance, or common accidents; but on the contrary, from the premeditated malice and wicked pursuits of evil and designing persons; and therefore, it greatly behooves us to use our utmost diligence, by all lawful ways and means to discover the contrivers and perpetrators of such daring and flagitious undertakings: that, upon conviction, they may receive condign punishment; for although we have the happiness of living under a government which exceeds all others in the excellency of its constitution and laws, yet if those to whom the execution of them (which my lord Coke calls the life and soul of the law) is committed, do not exert themselves in a conscientious discharge of their respective duties, such laws which were

intended for a terror to the evil-doer, and a protection to the good, will become a dead letter, and our most excellent constitution turned into anarchy and confusion; every one practising what he listeth, and doing what shall seem good in his own eyes: to prevent which, it is the duty of all grand juries to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of the people in their respective counties; and if, upon examination, they find any to have transgressed the laws of the land, to present them, that so they may by the court be put upon their trial, and then either to be discharged or punished according to their demerits.

I am told there are several prisoners now in jail, who have been committed by the city magistrates, upon suspicion of having been concerned in some of the late fires; and others, who under pretence of assisting the unhappy sufferers, by saving their goods from the flames, for stealing, or receiving them. This indeed, is adding affliction to the afflicted, and is a very great aggravation of such crime, and therefore deserves a narrow inquiry: that so the exemplary punishment of the guilty (if any such should be so found) may deter others from committing the like villainies; for this kind of stealing, I think, has not been often practised among us.

Gentlemen,

Arson, or the malicious and voluntary burning, not only a mansion house, but also any other house, and the out buildings, or barns, and stables adjoining thereto, by night or by day, is felony at common law; and if any part of the house be burned, the offender is guilty of felony, notwithstanding the fire afterwards be put out, or go out of itself.

This crime is of so shocking a nature, that if we have any in this city, who, having been guilty thereof, should escape, who can say he is safe, or tell where it will end?

Gentlemen,

Another Thing which I cannot omit recommending to your serious and diligent inquiry, is to find out and present all such persons who sell rum, and other strong liquor to negroes. It must be obvious to every one, that there are too many of them in this city; who, under pretence of selling what they call a penny dram to a negro, will sell to him as many quarts or gallons of rum, as he can steal money or goods to pay for.

How this notion of its being lawful to sell a penny dram, or a pennyworth of rum to a slave, without the consent or direction of his master, has prevailed, I know not; but this I am sure of, that there is not only no such law, but that the doing of it is directly contrary to an act of the assembly now in force, for the better regulating of slaves. The many fatal conse-

quences flowing from this prevailing and wicked practice, are so notorious, and so nearly concern us all, that one would be almost surprised, to think there should be a necessity for a court to recommend a suppression of such pernicious houses: thus much in particular; now in general.

My charge, gentlemen, further is, to present all conspiracies, combinations, and other offences, from treasons down to trespasses; and in your inquiries, the oath you, and each of you have just now taken will, I am persuaded, be your guide, and I pray God to direct and assist you in the discharge of your duty.

Court adjourned until to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

The grand jury having been informed, that Mary Burton could give them some account concerning the good stolen from Mr. Hogg's, sent for her this morning, and ordered she should be sworn; the constable returned and acquainted them, that she said she would not be sworn, nor give evidence; whereupon they ordered the constable to get a warrant from a magistrate, to bring her before them. The constable was some time gone, but at length returned, and brought her with him; and being asked why she would not be sworn, and give her evidence? she told the grand jury she would not be sworn; and seemed to be under some great uneasiness, or terrible apprehensions; which gave suspicion that she know something concerning the fires that had lately happened: and being asked a question to that purpose, she gave no answer; which increased the jealousy that she was privy to them; and as it was thought a matter of the utmost concern, the grand jury was very importunate, and used many arguments with her, in public and private, to persuade her to speak the truth, and tell all she knew about it. To this end, the lieutenant governor's proclamation was read to her, promising indemnity, and the reward of one hundred pounds to any person, confederate or not, who should make discovery, etc. She seemed to despise it, nor could the grand jury by any means, either threats or promises, prevail upon her, though they assured her withal, that she should have the protection of the magistrates, and her person be safe and secure from harm; but hitherto all was in vain: therefore, the grand jury desired alderman Bancker to commit her; and the constable was charged with her accordingly; but before he had got her to jail, she considered better of it, and resolved to be sworn, and give her evidence in the afternoon.

Accordingly, she being sworn, came before the grand jury; but as they were proceeding to her examination, and before they asked her any questions, she told them she would acquaint them with what she

knew relating to the goods stolen from Mr. Hogg's, but would say nothing about the fires.

This expression thus, as it were providentially, slipping from the evidence, much alarmed the grand jury; for, as they naturally concluded, it did by construction amount to an affirmative, that she could give an account of the occasion of the several fires; and therefore, as it highly became those gentlemen in the discharge of their trust, they determined to use their utmost diligence to sift out the discovery, but still she remained inflexible, till at length, having recourse to religious topics, representing to her the heinousness of the crime which she would be guilty of, if she was privy to, and could discover so wicked a design, as the firing houses about our ears; whereby not only people's estates would be destroyed, but many person might lose their lives in the flames: this she would have to answer for at the day of judgment, as much as any person immediately concerned, because she might have prevented this destruction, and would not; so that a most damnable sin would lie at her door; and what need she fear from her divulging it; she was sure of the protection of the magistrates? or the grand jury expressed themselves in words to the same purpose; which arguments at last prevailed, and she gave the following evidence, which however, notwithstanding what had been said, came from her, as if still under some terrible apprehensions or restraints.

Deposition, No. 1. -Mary Burton, being sworn, deposeth,

1. "That Prince (a) and Caesar (b) brought the things of which they had robbed Mr. Hogg, to her master, John Hughson's house, and that they were handed in through the window, Hughson, his wife, and Peggy receiving them, about two or three o'clock on a Sunday morning (c).

2. "That Caesar, prince, and Mr. Philipse's negro man (Cuffee) used to meet frequently at her master's house, and that she had heard them (the negroes) talk frequently of burning the fort; and that they would go down to the Fly (d) and burn the whole town; and that her master and mistress said, they would aid and assist them as much as they could.

3. "That in their common conversation they used to say, that when all this was done, Caesar should be governor, and Hughson, her master, should be king.

4. "That Cuffee used to say, that a great many people had too much, and others too little; that his old master had a great deal of money, but that, in a short time, he

should have less, and that he (Cuffee) should have more.

5. "That at the same time when the things of which Mr. Hogg was robbed, were brought to her master's house, they brought some indigo and bees wax, which was likewise received by her master and mistress.

6. "That at the meetings of the three aforesaid negroes, Caesar, Prince and Cuffee, at her master's house, they used to say, in their conversations, that when they set fire to the town, they would do it in the night, and as the white people came to extinguish it, they would kill and destroy them.

7. "That she has known at times, seven or eight guns in her master's house, and some swords, and that she has seen twenty or thirty negroes at one time in her master's house; and that at such large meetings, the three aforesaid negroes, Cuffee, Prince and Caesar, were generally present, and most active, and that they used to say, that the other negroes durst not refuse to do what they commanded them, and they were sure that they had a number sufficient to stand by them.

8. "That Hughson (her master) and her mistress used to threaten, that if she, the deponent, ever made mention of the goods stolen from Mr. Hogg, they would poison her; and the negroes swore, if ever she published, or discovered the design of burning the town, they would burn her whenever they met her.

9. "That she never saw any white person in company when they talked of burning the town, but her master, her mistress, and Peggy."

This evidence of a conspiracy, not only to burn the city, but also destroy and murder the people, was most astonishing to the grand jury, and that any white people should become so abandoned as to confederate with slaves in such an execrable and detestable purpose, could not but be very amazing to every one that heard it; what could scarce be credited; but that the several fires had been occasioned by some combination of villains, was, at the time of them, naturally to be collected from the manner and circumstances attending them.

The grand jury therefore, as it was a matter of the utmost consequence, thought it necessary to inform the judges concerning it, in order that the most effectual measures might be concerted, for discovering the confederates; and the judges were acquainted with it accordingly.

Supreme Court, Friday, May 1.

Present, the second and third justices.

The king against Caesar and prince, negroes. On trial.

The jury called, and the prisoners making no challenge, the following persons were sworn, viz. :

Roger French, John Groesbeek, John Richard, Abraham Kipp, George Witts, John Thurman, Patrick Jackson, Benjamin Moore, William Hamersley, John Lashier, Joshua Sleydall, John Shurmur.

These two negroes were arraigned on two indictments, the twenty fourth of April last; the one for their entering the dwelling house of Robert Hogg, of this city, merchant, on the first day of March then last past, with intent then and there to commit some felony; and for feloniously stealing and carrying away then and there the goods and chattels of the said Robert Hogg, of the value of four pounds five shillings sterling, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity.

The other for their entering the dwelling house of Abraham Meyers Cohen in this city, merchant, on the first day of March with the intent then and there to commit some felony; and for feloniously stealing and carrying away then and there the goods and chattels of the said Abraham Meyers Cohen of the value of five pounds sterling, against the form of the statutes, etc. And against the king's peace, etc.

To each of which indictments they pleaded, not guilty.

The Attorney General having opened both the indictments, he with Joseph Murray, Esq. of council for the king, proceeded to examine the witnesses, viz.,

For the king, Mrs. Hogg, Mrs. Boswell, Christopher Wilson, Rachina Guerin, Mr. Robert Hogg, Mr. Robert Watts, Margaret Sorubiero, alias Kerry, Abraham Meyers Cohen, James Mills, Thomas Wenman, John Moore, Esq. Cornelius Brower, Anthony Ham, Mary Burton.

For the prisoners, Alderman Bancker, Alderman Johnson, John Auboyneau.

The prisoners upon their defence denied the charge against them. And,

The evidence being summed up, which was very strong and full, and the jury charged, they withdrew; and being returned, found them guilty of the indictments.

Ordered, that the trials of the Hughsons and Margaret Kerry, be put off until Wednesday of the 6th inst.

Court adjourned until Monday morning, 4th May, at ten o'clock.

Supreme Court Friday, May 8

Present, the second and third justices.

The king against Caesar and Prince, negroes.

The prisoners having been capitally convicted on two several indictments for felony, and being brought to the bar the court proceeded to give sentence; which was passed by the second justice as followeth:

You, Caesar and Prince, the grand jury having found two indictments against each of you, for feloniously stealing and taking away from Mr. Hogg, and Mr. Meyers Cohen, sundry goods of considerable value. To these indictments you severally pleaded not guilty; and for your trials put yourselves upon God and the country; which country having found you guilty, it now only remains for the court to pronounce that judgment which the law requires, and the nature of your crimes deserve.

But before I proceed to sentence, I must tell you, that you have been proceeded against in the same manner as any white man, guilty of your crimes, would have been. You had not only the liberty of sending for your witnesses; asking them such questions as you thought proper; but likewise making the best defence you could; and as you have been convicted by twelve honest men upon their oaths, so the just judgment of God has at length overtaken you.

I have great reason to believe, that the crimes you now stand convicted of, are not the least of those you have been concerned in; for by your general characters you have been very wicked fellows, hardened sinners, and ripe, as well as ready, for the most enormous and daring enterprizes, especially you, Caesar: and as the time you have yet to live is to be but very short, I earnestly advise and exhort both of you to employ it in the most diligent and best manner you can, by confessing your sins, repenting sincerely of them, and praying God of his infinite goodness to have mercy on your souls: and as God knows the secrets of your hearts, and cannot be cheated or imposed upon, so you must shortly give an account to him, and answer for all your actions; and depend upon it, if you do not truly repent before you die, there is a hell to punish the wicked eternally.

And as it is not in your powers to make full restitution for the many injuries you have done the public; so I advise both of you to do all that in you is, to prevent further mischiefs, by discovering such persons as have been concerned with you, in designing or endeavouring to burn this city, and to destroy its inhabitants. This I am fully persuaded is in your power to do if you will; if so, and you do not make such discovery, be assured God almighty will punish you for it, though we do not: therefore I advise you to consider this well, and I hope both of you will tell the truth.

And now, nothing further remains for me to say, but that you Caesar, and you Prince, are to be taken hence to the place whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you, and each of you, are to be hanged by the neck until you be dead. And I pray the Lord to have mercy on your souls.

Ordered, that their execution be on Monday next, the eleventh day of this instant, between the hours of nine and one of the same day. And further ordered that after the execution of the said sentence, the body of Caesar be hung in chains.

Court adjourned till Monday morning next ten o'clock.

Supreme Court of Judicature, New York City. n.d.
 “New York Conspiracy.” In *Journal of the Proceedings Against the Conspirators, at New York in 1741*. New York: Author.

ARGUMENT FOR SLAVERY IN GEORGIA (1743)

“ . . . But as if the difficulties arising from indifferent lands, and discouraging tenures, were not sufficient to humble and prepare them for the other severities they have met with, they were totally prohibited the importation, use, or even sight of Negroes. In spite of all endeavours to disguise this point, it is as clear as light itself, that Negroes are an essential necessary to the cultivation of Georgia, as axes, hoes, or any other utensil of agriculture. So that if a colony was designed able but to subsist itself, their prohibition was inconsistent; if a garrison only was intended, the very inhabitants were needless. But all circumstances considered, it looked as if the assistance of human creatures, who have been called slaves, as well as subject to the treatment of such, were incongruous with a system that proceeded to confer the thing, but to spare the odium of the appellation. Experience would too soon have taught them the parity of their conditions, in spite of a mere nominal difference. The only English clergymen, who were ever countenanced there, declared they never desired to see Georgia a rich, but a godly colony; and the blind subjection the poor Salzburger are under to the Rev. Mr. Boltzius, who has furnished such extraordinary extracts in some accounts of Georgia, published here, will be too evident from some of the annexed depositions to call for any descant.

The pretended content and satisfaction of the people of Ebebezer, without Negroes, will plainly appear to be the dictates of spiritual tyranny, and only the wretched acquiescence of people, who were in truth

unacquainted with the privilege of choosing for themselves.

It is acknowledged indeed that the present war, and late invasion, may furnish the enemies of the colony with the most plausible objections that could occur, against the allowance of black slaves; but these reasons have not always existed, nor have the trustees ever declared any resolution to admit them, at any other juncture. But if it plainly appears that Georgia, as a colony, cannot barely exist without them, surely an admission of them under limitations, suitable to the present situation of affairs, is absolutely necessary to its support; since want and famine must be more dreadful and insuperable invaders, than any living enemy. Besides, the honourable trustees were informed by a letter from Mr. Stirling and others, of the falsehood of the contented and comfortable situation of the people of Darien were affirmed to be in; and that they were bought with a number of cattle, and extensive promises of future rewards when they signed their petition against Negroes. “

1743. *A Brief Account of the Causes That Have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*. Originally published in London. Reprinted in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, II. Savannah, GA: 1842.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S “OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE INCREASE OF MANKIND, PEOPLING OF COUNTRIES, ETC.” (1751)

1. Tables of the Proportion of Marriages to Birth, of Deaths to Births, of Marriages to the Numbers of Inhabitants, &c, form'd on Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality, Christnings, &c., of populous Cities, will not suit Countries; nor will Tables form'd on Observations made on full-settled old Countries, as *Europe*, suit new Countries, as *America*.

2. For People increase in Proportion to the Number of Marriages, and that is greater in Proportion to the Ease and Convenience of supporting a Family. When families can be easily supported, more Persons marry, and earlier in Life.

3. In Cities, where all Trades, Occupations, and Offices are full, many delay marrying till they can see how to bear the Charges of a Family; which Charges are greater in Cities, as Luxury is more common: many live single during Life, and continue Servants to Families, Journeymen to Trades; &c. hence Cities do not by

natural Generation supply themselves with Inhabitants; the Deaths are more than the Births.

4. In Countries full settled, the Case must be nearly the same; all Lands being occupied and improved to the Height; those who cannot get land, must Labour for others that have it; when Labourers are plenty, their Wages will be low; by low Wages a family is supported with Difficulty; this Difficulty deters many from Marriage, who therefore long continue Servants and single. Only as the Cities take Supplies of People from the Country, and thereby make a little more Room in the Country; Marriage is a little more encourag'd there, and the Births exceed the Deaths.

5. *Europe* is generally full settled with Husbandmen, Manufacturers, c., and therefore cannot now much increase in People: *America* is chiefly occupied by Indians, who subsist mostly by Hunting. But as the Hunter, all of men, requires the greatest Quantity of Land from whence to draw his Subsistence, (The Husbandman subsisting on much less, the Gardner on still less, and the Manufacturer requiring least of all), the *Europeans* found *America* as fully settled as it well could be by Hunters; yet these, having large Tracks, were easily prevail'd on to part with Portions of Territory to the new Comers, who did not much interfere with the Natives in Hunting, and furnish'd them with many Things they wanted.

6. Land being thus plenty in *America*, and so cheap as that a labouring man, that understands Husbandry, can in a short Time save Money enough to purchase a Piece of new Land sufficient for a Plantation, whereon he may subsist a Family, such are not afraid to marry; for, if they even look far enough forward to consider how their Children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they see that more Land is to be had at rates equally easy, all Circumstances considered.

7. Hence Marriages in *America* are more general, and more generally early, than in *Europe*. And if it is reckon'd there, that there is but one Marriage per Annum among 100 persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in *Europe* they have but 4 Births to a Marriage (many of their Marriages being late), we may here reckon 8, of which if one half grow up, and our Marriages are made, reckoning one with another at 20 Years of Age, our People must at least be doubled every 20 Years.

8. But notwithstanding this Increase, so vast is the Territory of *North America*, that it will require many Ages

to settle it fully; and, till it is fully settled, Labour will never be cheap here, where no Man continues long a Labourer for others, but gets a Plantation of his own, no Man continues long a Journeyman to a Trade, but goes among those new Settlers, and sets up for himself, &c. Hence Labour is no cheaper now in *Pennsylvania*, than it was 30 Years ago, tho' so many Thousand labouring People have been imported.

9. The Danger therefore of these Colonies interfering with their Mother Country in Trades that depend on Labour, Manufactures, &c., is too remote to require the attention of *Great Britain*.

10. But in Proportion to the Increase of the Colonies, a vast Demand is growing for British Manufactures, a glorious Market wholly in the Power of *Britain*, in which Foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase in a short Time even beyond here Power of supplying, tho' her whole Trade should be to her Colonies: Therefore *Britain* should not too much restrain Manufactures in her Colonies. A wise and good Mother will not do it. To distress, is to weaken, and weakening the Children weakens the whole Family.

11. Besides if the Manufactures of *Britain* (by reason of the *American* Demands) should rise too high in Price, Foreigners who can sell cheaper will drive her Merchants out of Foreign Markets; Foreign Manufactures will thereby be encouraged and increased, and consequently foreign Nations, perhaps her Rivals in Power, grow more populous and more powerful; while her own Colonies, kept too low, are unable to assist her, or add to her Strength.

12. 'Tis an ill-grounded Opinion that by the Labour of slaves, *America* may possibly vie in Cheapness of Manufactures with *Britain*. The Labour of Slaves can never be so cheap here as the Labour of working Men is in *Britain*. Any one may compute it. Interest of Money is in the Colonies from 6 to 10 per Cent. Slaves one with another cost 30 pounds Sterling per Head. Reckon then the Interest of the first Purchase of a Slave, the Insurance or Risque on his Life, his Cloathing and Diet, Expences in his Sickness and Loss of Time, Loss by his Neglect of Business (Neglect is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own Care or Diligence), Expence of a Driver to keep him at work, and his Pilfering from Time to Time, almost every Slave being *by Nature* a thief, and compare the whole Amount with the Wages of a Manufacturer of Iron or Wood in *England*, you will see that Labour is much cheaper there than it ever can be by Negroes here.

Why then will *Americans* purchase Slaves? Because Slaves may be kept as long as a *Man* pleases, or has Occasion for their Labour; while hired Men are continually leaving their masters (often in the midst of his Business,) and setting up for themselves.—Sec. 8.

13. As the Increase of People depends on the Encouragement of Marriages, the following Things must diminish a Nation, viz. 1. *The being conquered*; for the Conquerors will engross as many Offices, and exact as much Tribute or Profit on the Labour of the conquered, as will maintain them in their new Establishment, and this diminishing the Subsistence of the Natives, discourages their Marriages, and so gradually diminishes them, while the foreigners increase. 2. *Loss of Territory*. Thus, the *Britons* being driven into *Wales*, and crowded together in a barren Country insufficient to support such great Numbers, diminished 'till the People bore a Proportion to the Produce, while the *Saxons* increas'd on their abandoned lands; till the Island became full of *English*. And, were the *English* now driven into *Wales* by some foreign Nation, there would in a few Years, be no more Englishmen in *Britain*, than there are now people in *Wales*. 3. *Loss of Trade*. Manufactures exported, draw Subsistence from Foreign Countries for Numbers; who are thereby enabled to marry and raise Families. If the Nation be deprived of any Branch of Trade, and no new Employment is found for the People occupy'd in that Branch, it will also be soon deprived of so many People. 4. *Loss of Food*. Suppose a Nation has a Fishery, which not only employs great Numbers, but makes the Food and Subsistence of the People cheaper. If another Nation becomes Master of the Seas, and prevents the Fishery, the People will diminish in Proportion as the Loss of Employ and Dearness of Provision, makes it more difficult to subsist a Family. 5. *Bad Government and insecure Property*. People not only leave such a Country, and settling Abroad incorporate with other Nations, lose their native Language, and become Foreigners, but, the Industry of those that remain being discourag'd, the Quantity of Subsistence in the Country is lessen'd, and the Support of a Family becomes more difficult. So heavy Taxes tend to diminish a People. 6. *The Introduction of Slaves*. The Negroes brought into the *English Sugar Islands*, have greatly diminish'd the White there; the Poor are by this Means deprived of Employment, while a few Families acquire vast Estates; which they spend on Foreign Luxuries, and educating their Children in the Habit of those Luxuries; the same Income is needed for the Support of one that might have maintain'd 100. The Whites who have Slaves, not labouring, are enfeebled, and therefore not so generally

prolific; the Slaves being work'd too hard, and ill fed, their Constitutions are broken, and the Deaths among them are more than the Births; so that a continual Supply is needed from *Africa*. The Northern Colonies having few Slaves, increase in Whites. Slaves also pejourate the Families that use them; the white Children become proud, disgusted with Labour, and being educated in Idleness, are rendered unfit to get a Living by Industry.

14. Hence the Prince that acquires new Territory, if he finds it vacant, or removed the Natives to give his own People Room; the Legislator that makes effectual laws for promoting of Trade, increasing Employment, improving Land by more or better Tillage, providing more Food by Fisheries; securing Property, &c. and the Man that invents new Trades, Arts, or manufactures, or new Improvements in Husbandry, may be properly called *Fathers* of their Nation, as they are the Cause of the Generation of Multitudes, by the Encouragement they afford to Marriage.

15. As to Privileges granted to the married, (such as the *Jus trium Liberorum* among the *Romans*) they may hasten the filling of a Country that has been thinned by War or Pestilence, or that has otherwise vacant Territory; but cannot increase a People beyond the Means provided for their Subsistence.

16. Foreign Luxuries and needless Manufactures, imported and used in a Nation, do, by the same Reasoning, increase the People of the Nation, that furnishes them, and diminish the People of the Nation that uses them. Laws, therefore, that prevent such Importations, and on the contrary promote the Exportation of Manufactures to be consumed in Foreign Countries, may be called (with Respect to the People that make them) *generative Laws*, as, by increasing Subsistence they encourage Marriage. Such Laws likewise strengthen a Country, doubly, by increasing its own People and diminishing its Neighbours.

17. Some *European* Nations prudently refuse to consume the Manufactures of *East-India*:- They should likewise forbid them to their Colonies; for the Gain to the Merchant is not to be compar'd with the Loss, by this Means, of People to the Nation.

18. Home Luxury in the Great increases the Nation's Manufacturers employ'd by it, who are many, and only tends to diminish the Families that indulge in it, who are few. The greater the common fashionable Expence of any Rank of People, the more cautious they are of

Marriage. Therefore Luxury should never be suffer'd to become common.

19. The great Increase of Offspring in particular Families is not always owing to greater Fecundity of Nature, but sometimes to Examples of Industry in the Heads, and industrious Education; by which the Children are enabled to provide better for themselves, and their marrying early is encouraged from the Prospect of good Subsistence.

20. If there be a Sect, therefore, in our Nation, that regard Frugality and Industry as religious Duties, and educate their Children therein, more than others commonly do; such Sect must consequently increase more by natural Generation, than any other sect in *Britain*.

21. The Importation of Foreigners into a Country, that has as many Inhabitants as the present Employments and Provisions for Subsistence will bear, will be in the End no Increase of People; unless the New Comers have more Industry and Frugality than the Natives, and then they will provide more Subsistence, and increase in the Country; but they will gradually eat the Natives out. Nor is it necessary to bring in Foreigners to fill up any occasional Vacancy in a Country; for such vacancy (if the Laws are good, sec. 14, 16) will soon be filled by natural Generation. Who can now find the Vacancy made in *Sweden*, *France*, or other Warlike Nations, by the Plague of Heroism, 40 years ago; in *France*, by the Expulsion of the Protestants; in *England*, by the Settlement of her Colonies; or in *Guinea*, by 100 Years Exportation of Slaves, that has flacken'd half *America*? The thinness of Inhabitants in *Spain* is owing to National Pride and Idleness, and other Causes, rather than to the Expulsion of the Moors, or to the making of new Settlements.

22. There is, in short, no Bound to the prolific Nature of Plants or Animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of Subsistence. Was the Face of the Earth vacant of other Plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one Kind only; as, for Instance, with Fennel; and were it empty of other Inhabitants, it might in a few Ages be replenish'd from one Nation only; as, for Instance, with *Englishmen*. Thus there are suppos'd to be now upwards of One Million *English* Souls in *North America*, (tho' 'tis thought scarce 80,000 have been brought over Sea,) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in *Britain*, but rather many more, on Account of the Employment the Colonies afford to Manufacturers at Home. This Million doubling, suppose but once in

25 Years, will, in another Century, be more than the People of *England*, and the greatest Number of *Englishmen* will be on this Side the Water. What an Accession of Power to the *British* Empire by Sea as well as Land! What Increase of Trade and Navigation! What Numbers of Ships and Seamen! We have been here but little more than 100 years, and yet the Force of our Privateers in the late War, united, was greater, both in Men and Guns, than that of the whole *British* navy in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time. How important an Affair then to *Britain* is the present Treaty for settling the Bounds between her Colonies and the *French*, and how careful should she be to secure Room enough, since on the Room depends so much the Increase of her People.

23. In fine, a Nation well regulated is like a Polypus; take away a Limb, its Place is soon supply'd; cut it in two, and each deficient Part shall speedily grow out of the Part remaining. Thus if you have Room and Subsistence enough, as you may be dividing, make ten Polypes out of one, you may of one make ten Nations, equally populous and powerful; or rather increase a Nation ten fold in Numbers and Strength.

And since Detachments of *English* from *Britain*, sent to *America*, will have their Places at Home so soon supply'd and increase so largely here; why should the *Palatine Boors* be suffered to swarm into our Settlements and, by herding together, establish their Language and Manners, to the Exclusion of ours? Why should *Pennsylvania*, founded by the *English*, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs any more than they can acquire our Complexion?

24. Which leads me to add one Remark, that the Number of purely white People in the World is proportionably very small. All *Africa* is black or tawny; *America* (exclusive of the new Comers) wholly so. And in *Europe*, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *French*, *Russians*, and *Swedes*, are generally of what we call a swarthy Complexion; as are the *Germans* also, the *Saxons* are excepted, who, with the *English*, make the principal Body of White People on the Face of the Earth. I could wish their Numbers were increased. And while we are, as I may call it, *Scouring* our Planet, by *clearing* *America* of Woods, and so making this Side of our Globe reflect a brighter Light to the Eyes of Inhabitants in *Mars* or *Venus*, why should we, in the Sight of Superior Beings, darken its People? Why increase the Sons of *Africa*, by planting them in *America*, where we have so fair an Opportunity, by excluding all Blacks

and Tawneys, of increasing the lovely White and Red? But perhaps I am partial to the Complexion of my Country, for such Kind of Partiality is natural to Mankind.

DEFENSE OF COLONIAL SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA (1757)

Letter excerpt from Peter Fontaine to Moses Fontaine, March 30, 1757.

. . . As to your second query, if enslaving our fellow creatures be a practice agreeable to Christianity, it is answered in a great measure in many treatises at home, to which I refer you. I shall only mention something of our present state here.

Like Adam we are all apt to shift off the blame from ourselves and lay it upon others, how justly in our case you may judge. The Negroes are enslaved by the Negroes themselves before they are purchased by the masters of the ships who bring them here. It is to be sure at our choice whether we buy them or not, so this then is our crime, folly, or whatever you will please to call it. But, our Assembly, foreseeing the ill consequences of importing such numbers amongst us, hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition, such as ten or twenty pounds a head, but no governor dare pass such a law, having instructions to the contrary from the Board of Trade at home. By this means they are forced upon us, whether we will or will not. This plainly shows the African Company hath the advantage of the colonies, and may do as it pleases with the ministry.

Indeed, since we have been exhausted of our little stock of cash by the war, the importation has stopped; our poverty then is our best security. There is no more picking for their ravenous jaws upon bare bones, but should we begin to thrive, they will be at the same again. All our taxes are now laid upon slaves and on shippers of tobacco, which they wink at while we are in danger of being torn from them, but we durst not do it in time of peace, it being looked upon as the highest presumption to lay any burden upon trade. This is our part of the grievance, but to live in Virginia without slaves is morally impossible. Before our troubles, you could not hire a servant or slave for love or money, so that unless robust enough to cut wood, to go to mill, to work at the hoe, etc., you must starve, or board in some family where they both fleece and half starve you. There is not set price upon corn, wheat and provisions, so they take advantage of the necessities of strangers, who are thus obliged to purchase some slaves and land. This of course draws us all into the

original sin and curse of the country of purchasing slaves, and this is the reason we have no merchants, traders, or artificers of any sort but what become planters in a short time.

A common labourer, white or black, if you can be so much favoured as to hire one, is a shilling sterling or fifteen pence currency per day; a bungling carpenter two shillings or two shillings and sixpence per day; besides diet and lodging. That is, for a lazy fellow to get wood and water, £ 19. 16. 3, current per annum; add to this seven or eight pounds more and you have a slave for life.

Fontaine, James, Ann Maury, John Fontaine, James Maury, et al. 1853. *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family: Translated and Compiled from the Original Autobiography of the Rev. James Fontaine, and Other Family Manuscripts; Comprising an Original Journal of Travels in Virginia, New York, &c. in 1715 and 1716*. New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL (1757)

“Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the Southern Provinces to increase upon me, I acquainted our Monthly Meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate. Expecting to go alone, one of my brothers who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion was some difficulty with me, whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times. At length feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject, and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the Fifth Month, 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, we lodged at John Churchman’s, where I met with our friend, Benjamin Buffington, from New England, who was returning from a visit to the Southern Provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehanna, and lodged at William Cox’s in Maryland.

Soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I often had some feeling of since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on such a visit to have

entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received from what appeared to me to be the gain of oppression. Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that divine prohibition: "Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous" (Exod. xxiii. 8). As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: the entertainment the disciples met with was from them whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them and the truth they published; but we, considered as members of the same religious society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such receptions, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language, and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some Friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and of being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low, and such were the conflicts of my soul that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said: "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight" (Num. xi. 15). But I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me, and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for His gracious and Fatherly assistance, and after a time of deep trial I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the Psalmist more clearly than ever I had done before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child" (Ps. cxxxi. 2).

Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to Him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties, and that by His strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when

I found that omitting it would obstruct that work to which I believed He had called me. As I copy this after my return, I may here add that oftentimes I did so under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus: When I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them; and at other times I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose, and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them.

Ninth of Fifth Month.—A Friend at whose house we breakfasted setting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves, in which my heart was tender; I used much plainness of speech with him, and he appeared to take it kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, thus: "O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me."

On the 11th, we crossed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal. On the way we had the company of a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man. I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life. He concurred in the remark, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes, adding that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation I said, that men having power too often misapplied it; that though we

made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally. This he did not deny, but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country that many of them lived better here than there. I replied, "There is great odds in regard to us on what principle we act"; and so the conversation on that subject ended. I may here add that another person, some time afterwards, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I replied, if compassion for the Africans, on account of their domestic troubles, was the real motive of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly, that, as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us. And as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the Holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein; but that while we manifest by our conduct that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves, and while our buying captives taken in war animates those parties to push on the war and increase desolation amongst them, to say they live unhappily in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour.

I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burdensome stone to such as burden themselves with them; and that, if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us. The person appeared very serious, and owned that in considering their condition and the manner of their treatment in these provinces he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the 12th; and the next day rode, in company with several of them, a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the need of divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me, and in uncommon distress of mind I cried in secret to the Most High, "O Lord, be merciful, I beseech Thee, to Thy poor afflicted creature!" After some time I felt inward relief, and soon after a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain,

their blackness being the mark which God set upon him after he murdered Abel, his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said.

To all which I replied in substance as follows: that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families, being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations, and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose that they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth" (Gen. vii. 21). I further reminded them how the prophets repeatedly declare "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, but every one be answerable for his own sins."

I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations, and in some pressure of spirit said, "The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth. I believe liberty is their right, and as I see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He who is a refuge for the oppressed will, in His own time, plead their cause, and happy will it be for such as walk in uprightness before Him." And thus our conversation ended."

Woolman, John. 1910. *The Journal and Other Writings of John Woolman*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons.

SLAVES PETITION FOR FREEDOM DURING THE REVOLUTION (1773)

Province of the Massachusetts Bay To His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; Governor; To The Honorable His Majesty's Council, and To the Honorable House of Representatives in General Court assembled at Boston, the 6th Day of January, 1773.

The humble PETITION of many Slaves, living in the Town of Boston, and other Towns in the Province is this, namely

That your Excellency and Honors, and the Honorable Representatives would be pleased to take their unhappy State and Condition under your wise and just Consideration.

We desire to bless God, who loves Mankind, who sent his Son to die for their Salvation, and who is no respecter of Persons; that he hath lately put it into the Hearts of Multitudes on both Sides of the Water, to bear our Burthens, some of whom are Men of great Note and Influence; who have pleaded our Cause with Arguments which we hope will have their weight with this Honorable Court.

We presume not to dictate to your Excellency and Honors, being willing to rest our Cause on your Humanity and justice; yet would beg Leave to say a Word or two on the Subject.

Although some of the Negroes are vicious, (who doubtless may be punished and restrained by the same Laws which are in Force against other of the King's Subjects) there are many others of a quite different Character, and who, if made free, would soon be able as well as willing to bear a Part in the Public Charges; many of them of good natural Parts, are discreet, sober, honest, and industrious; and may it not be said of many, that they are virtuous and religious, although their Condition is in itself so unfriendly to Religion, and every moral Virtue except Patience. How many of that Number have there been, and now are in this Province, who have had every Day of their Lives embittered with this most intollerable Reflection, That, let their Behaviour be what it will, neither they, nor their Children to all Generations, shall ever be able to do, or to possess and enjoy any Thing, no, not even Life itself, but in a Manner as the Beasts that perish.

We have no Property! We have no Wives! No Children! We have no City! No Country! But we have a Father in Heaven, and we are determined, as far as his Grace shall enable us, and as far as our degraded contemptuous Life will admit, to keep all his Commandments: Especially will we be obedient to our Masters, so long as God in his sovereign Providence shall suffer us to be holden in Bondage.

It would be impudent, if not presumptuous in us, to suggest to your Excellency and Honors any Law or Laws proper to be made, in relation to our unhappy State, which, although our greatest Unhappiness, is not our Fault; and this gives us great Encouragement to pray and hope for such Relief as is consistent with your Wisdom, justice, and Goodness.

We think Ourselves very happy, that we may thus address the Great and General Court of this Province, which great and good Court is to us, the best judge, under God, of what is wise, just-and good.

We humbly beg Leave to add but this one Thing more: We pray for such Relief only, which by no Possibility can ever be productive of the least Wrong or Injury to our Masters; but to us will be as Life from the dead.

Signed,
FELIX

"A Petition for Freedom in Massachusetts." In *Sources of the African American Past: Primary Sources in American History*, ed. Roy E. Finkenbine. New York: Longman, 1997.

LORD DUNMORE'S PROCLAMATION (1775)

By His Excellency the Right Honorable JOHN Earl of DUNMORE, His MAJESTY'S Lieutenant and Governor General of the Colony and Dominion of VIRGINIA, and Vice Admiral of the Same.

A PROCLAMATION. As I have ever entertained Hopes that an Accommodation might have taken Place between GREAT-BRITAIN and this colony, without being compelled by my Duty to this most disagreeable but now absolutely necessary Step, rendered of by a Body of armed Men unlawfully assembled, bring on His MAJESTY'S [Tenders], and the formation of an Army, and that Army now on their March to attack His MAJESTY'S troops and destroy the well disposed Subjects of this Colony. To defeat such unreasonable Purposes, and that all such Traitors, and their Abettors, may be brought to Justice, and that the Peace, and good Order of this Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary Course of the Civil Law is unable to effect; I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do in Virtue of the Power and Authority to ME given, by His MAJESTY, determine to execute Martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony: and to the end that Peace and good Order may the sooner be [effected], I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms, to [resort] to His MAJESTY'S STANDARD, or be looked upon as Traitors to His MAJESTY'S Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offences; such as forfeiture of

Life, confiscation of Lands, &c. &c. And I do hereby further declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels,) free that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His MAJESTY'S Troops as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty, to His MAJESTY'S Leige Subjects, to retain their [Quitrents], or any other Taxes due or that may become due, in their own Custody, till such Time as Peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy Country, or demanded of them for their former salutary Purposes, by Officers properly authorized to receive the same.

GIVEN under my Hand on board the ship
WILLIAM, off NORPOLE, the 7th Day of
NOVEMBER, in the SIXTEENTH Year of His
MAJESTY'S Reign.
DUNMORE.
(GOD save the KING.)

By his Excellency the Right Honourable John Earl of Dunmore, His Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the Same: A Proclamation [Declaring Martial Law, and to Cause the Same to be Executed Throughout This Colony], broadside. 1775. Williamsburg, Virginia.

VERMONT ABOLISHES SLAVERY (1777)

Constitution of the State of Vermont

A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont. Chapter I, Article 1st—That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, and unalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety; therefore no person born in this country, or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by law, to serve any person as a servant, slave or apprentice, after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years, unless he is bound by his own consent, after he arrives to such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like.

United States Congress. 1909. *The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

PENNSYLVANIA ABOLISHES SLAVERY (1780)

An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery

I. When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our wants in many instances have been supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict, we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings, which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power to extend a portion of that freedom to others which hath been extended to us, and release from that state of thralldom to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we now have every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to inquire why in the creation of mankind the inhabitants of several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty Hand. We find in the distribution of the human species that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by Men of complexions different from ours and from each other; from whence we may reasonably as well as religiously infer that He who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally His care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract His mercies.

We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing as much as possible the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which by the assumed authority of the Kings of Great Britain no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned, by a long course of experience, from those narrow prejudices and partialities we have imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence toward men of all conditions and nations, and we perceive ourselves at this particular period extraordinarily called upon by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession to give substantial proof of our gratitude.

II. And, whereas, the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated Negro and Mulatto

slaves, has been attended with circumstances which not only deprived them of the common blessings that they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other and from their children, an injury the greatness of which can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case. In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily circumstanced, and who, having no prospect before them whereon they may rest their sorrows and hopes, have no reasonable inducement to render their services to society, which they otherwise might, and also in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain.

III. *Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted,* That all persons as well Negroes and Mulattoes, as others, who shall be born within this State from and after the passing of this Act shall not be deemed and considered as servants for life, or slaves; and that all servitude for life, or slavery of children in consequence of the slavery of their mothers, in the case of all children born within this State from and after the passing of this Act, as aforesaid, shall be, and hereby is, utterly taken away, extinguished, and forever abolished.

IV. *Provided always, and be it further enacted,* That every Negro and Mulatto child, born within this State after the passing of this act as aforesaid (who would, in case this act had not been made, have been born a servant for years, or life, or a slave) shall be deemed to be, and shall be, by virtue of this act, the servant of such person, or his or her assigns, who would in such case have been entitled to the service of such child, until such child shall attain the age of twenty-eight years, in the manner, and on the conditions, whereon servants bound, by indenture for four years are or may be retained and holden; and shall be liable to like corrections and punishment, and entitled to like relief, in case he or she be evilly treated by his or her master or mistress, and to like freedom dues and other privileges, as servants bound by indenture for four years are or may be entitled, unless the person, to whom the service of any such child shall belong, shall abandon his or her claim to the same; in which case the Overseers of the Poor of the city, township, or district, respectively, where such child shall be abandoned, shall, by indenture, bind out every child so abandoned, as an apprentice, for a time not exceeding the age herein before limited for the service of such children.

V. *And be it further enacted,* That every person, who is or shall be the owner of any Negro or Mulatto slave or servant for life, or till the age of thirty-one years, now within this State, or his lawful attorney, shall, on or before the said first day of November next, deliver, or cause to be delivered, in writing, to the Clerk of the peace of the county, or to Clerk of the court of record of the city of Philadelphia, in which he or she shall respectively inhabit, the name and surname, and occupation or profession of such owner, and the name of the county and township, district or ward, wherein he or she resideth; and also the name and names of such slave and slaves, and servant and servants for life, or till the age of thirty-one years, together with their ages and sexes, severally and respectively set forth and annexed, by such persons owned or statedly employed, and then being within this State, in order to ascertain and distinguish the slaves and servants for life, and till the age of thirty-one years, within this State, who shall be such on the said first day of November next, from all other persons; which particulars shall, by said Clerk of the sessions and Clerk of the said city court, be entered in books to be provided for that purpose by the said Clerks; and that no Negro or Mulatto, now within this State, shall, from and after the said first day of November, be deemed a slave or servant for life, or till the age of thirty-one years, unless his or her name shall be entered as aforesaid on such record, except such Negro and Mulatto slaves and servants as herein excepted; the said Clerk to be entitled to a fee of two dollars for each slave or servant so entered as aforesaid, from the Treasurer of the county to be allowed to him in his accounts.

VI. *Provided always,* That any person, in whom the ownership or right to the service of any Negro or Mulatto shall be vested at the passing of this act, other than such as are hereinbefore accepted, his or her heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, and all and every of them, severally, shall be liable to the Overseers of the city, township, or district, to which any such Negro or Mulatto shall become chargeable, for such necessary expense, with costs of suit thereon, as such Overseers may be put to through the neglect of the owner, master, or mistress of such Negro or Mulatto, notwithstanding the name and other descriptions of such Negro or Mulatto shall not be entered as aforesaid, unless his or her master or owner shall, before such slave or servant attain his or her twenty-eighth year, execute and record in the proper county, a deed or instrument, securing to such slave or servant his or her freedom.

VII. *And be it further enacted,* That the offences and crimes of Negroes and Mulattoes, as well slaves and servants as freemen, shall be enquired of, adjudged, corrected, and punished, in like manner as the offences and crimes of the other inhabitants of this State are, and shall be enquired of, adjudged, corrected, and punished, and not otherwise, except that a slave shall not be admitted to bear witness against a freeman.

VIII. *And be it further enacted,* That in all cases wherein sentence of death shall be pronounced against a slave, the jury before whom he or she shall be tried shall appraise and declare the value of such slave; and in such case sentence be executed, the court shall make an order on the State Treasurer, payable to the owner for the same, and for the costs of prosecution, but in case of remission or mitigation, for costs only.

IX. *And be it further enacted,* That the reward for taking up runaway and absconding Negro and Mulatto slaves and servants, and the penalties for enticing away, dealing with or harboring, concealing or employing Negro and Mulatto slaves and servants, shall be the same, and shall be recovered in like manner, as in case of servants bound for four years.

X. *And be it further enacted,* That no man or woman of any nation, or color, except the Negroes or Mulattoes who shall be registered as aforesaid, shall, at any time, be deemed, adjudged, and holden within the territories of this commonwealth as slaves and servants for life, but as free men and free women; except the domestic slaves attending upon Delegates in Congress from other American States, foreign Ministers and Consuls, and persons passing through or sojourning in this State, and not becoming resident therein, and seamen employed in ships not belonging to any inhabitant of this State, nor employed in any ship owned by such inhabitants; provided such domestic slaves be not aliened or sold to any inhabitant, nor (except in the case of Members of Congress, foreign Ministers and Consuls) retained in this State longer than six months.

XI. *Provided always, and be it further enacted,* That this act, or anything in it contained, shall not give any relief or shelter to any absconding or runaway Negro or Mulatto slave or servant, who has absented himself or shall absent himself, from his or her owner, master or mistress, residing in any other State or country, but such owner, master or mistress, shall have like right and aid to demand, claim, and take

away his slave or servant, as he might have had in case this act had not been made; and that all Negro and Mulatto slaves now owned and heretofore resident in this State, who have absented themselves, or been clandestinely carried away, or who may be employed abroad as seamen, and have not returned or been brought back to their owner, masters or mistresses, before the passing of this act, may, within five years, be registered, as effectually as is ordered by this act concerning those who are now within the State, on producing such slave before any two Justices of the Peace, and satisfying the said Justices, by due proof, of the former residence, absconding, taking away, or absence of such slaves as aforesaid, who thereupon shall direct and order the said slave to be entered on the record as aforesaid.

XII. And whereas attempts may be made to evade this act, by introducing into this State Negroes and Mulattoes bound by covenant to serve for long and unreasonable terms of years, if the same be not prevented.

XIII. *Be it therefore enacted,* That no covenant of personal servitude or apprenticeship whatsoever shall be valid or binding on a Negro or Mulatto for a longer time than seven years, unless such servant or apprentice were, at the commencement of such servitude or apprenticeship, under the age of twenty-one years, in which case such Negro or Mulatto may be holden as a servant or apprentice, respectively, according to the covenant, as the case shall be, until he or she shall attain the age of twenty-eight years, but no longer.

XIV. *And be it further enacted,* That an act of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and five, entitled *An Act for the trial of Negroes*; and another act of Assembly of the said Province, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, entitled *An Act for the better regulating of Negroes in this Province*; and another act of Assembly of the said Province, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, entitled *An Act for laying a duty on Negro and Mulatto slaves imported into this Province*; and also another act of Assembly of the said Province, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, entitled *An Act for making perpetual an act for laying a duty on Negro and Mulatto slaves imported into this Province, and for laying an additional duty on said slaves*, shall be, and are hereby, repealed, annulled, and made void.

*COMMONWEALTH V. JENNISON (1783)**Charge of Chief Justice Cushing.*

As to the doctrine of slavery and the right of Christians to hold Africans in perpetual servitude, and sell and treat them as we do our horses and cattle, that (it is true) has been heretofore countenanced by the Province Laws formerly, but nowhere is it expressly enacted or established. It has been a usage—a usage which took its origin from the practice of some of the European nations, and the regulations of British government respecting the then Colonies, for the benefit of trade and wealth. But whatever sentiments have formerly prevailed in this particular or slid in upon us by the example of others, a different idea has taken place with the people of America, more favorable to the natural rights of mankind, and to that natural, innate desire of Liberty, with which Heaven (without regard to color, complexion, or shape of noses—features) has inspired all the human race. And upon this ground our Constitution of Government, by which the people of this Commonwealth have solemnly bound themselves, sets out with declaring that all men are born free and equal—and that every subject is entitled to liberty, and to have it guarded by the laws, as well as life and property—and in short is totally repugnant to the idea of being born slaves. This being the case, I think the idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and Constitution; and there can be no such thing as perpetual servitude of a rational creature, unless his liberty is forfeited by some criminal conduct or given up by personal consent or contract . . .

Blaustein, Albert P. and Robert L. Zangrando, eds.
1968. *Civil Rights and the Black American: A Documentary History*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

QUAKER ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENTS (1785)

When the General Congress first assembled, they prefaced the reason of their separation from Great Britain, with the following sentence, ‘We hold 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.’ And in the declaration on the 6th of July 1775, Congress have in very forcible language declared their opinion ‘that it was contrary to the intent of the Divine Author of our existence, that a part of the human kind should hold an absolute property over others, marked out by infinite goodness and wisdom, as objects of a Legal Domina-

tion.—That reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that Government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. ‘As these reflections apply however diversified by colour and other distinctions, how far the situation of the Negroes still kept in slavery, on this continent is consonant thereto, is a matter which calls for the most serious attention of all those who, indeed believe, in a general Providence, and that the good Author of our being multiplies his blessings in proportion as we render ourselves worthy by the practice of Justice and Love. Hence it becomes a matter of the utmost weight to Americans, in a peculiar manner, duly to consider how they can justify a conduct so abhorrent from these sacred truths as that of dragging these oppressed Strangers from their native land and all those tender connections which we hold so dear.’ . . .

How inconsistent is this abhorrent practice, with every idea of Liberty, every principle of humanity. Nay is it not of public notoriety that those masters or overseers who by ill usage or by an unrelenting scourge, have brought their Slaves to an untimely end, have scarce been called to any account, by those who ought not to bear the sword in vain: Scarce an instance can be mentioned even of any man’s being capitally arraigned for the willful murder of a slave. Nay, dreadful to mention, do not the laws in some of the islands, and frequent advertisements in the Southern States, in effect encourage the murder of a Negroe who has absented himself for a certain time from his master’s service, by giving a reward greater for the poor fugitive’s head than for bringing him home alive.

When this unjust and cruel treatment of the Negroes is considered, and brought to the test of the above declarations, will it not appear wonderfully inconsistent and a matter of astonishment, to the whole world, that an alteration of conduct towards them, has not yet taken place, preparatory to a general abolition of Slavery on the continent; a step which every principle of honour, reason and humanity call for, and which may well be effected in such a manner as will conduce to the happiness of the master as well as the slave. . . .

To assist in eradicating the deep rooted prejudice which an education amongst Slaves has planted in many minds, let us attend to what the Abbe Raynal, that celebrated philosopher and friend to Mankind, has said on the subject of Slavery.

“I will not,” says he, “disgrace myself by adding one to the list of venal writers who have prostituted their

pens in defense of a trade so abhorrent from the laws of universal justice. No principles of policy can justify the breach of her Sacred Laws. In so enlightened an age, an age where so many errors are boldly laid open, it would be shameful to conceal any truth that is interesting to humanity. We will first prove that no reason of state can authorize Slavery. In doing this we shall not hesitate to arraign, before the Tribunal of Eternal Light and Justice, all those governments who tolerate the cruel practice, or are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power. The great Montesquieu could not prevail upon himself to treat the question concerning slavery, in a furious light. In reality it is degrading to reason to employ it. I will not say in defending, but even in refuting an abuse so repugnant to it; whoever justifies so odious a system deserves the utmost contempt. . . .”

The writer of the foregoing introductory observations, i.e., A. Benezet, teacher of a school established by private subscription, in Philadelphia, for the instruction of the Black Children and others of that people, has, for many years, had opportunity of knowing the temper and genius of the Africans; particularly of those under his tuition, who have been many, of different ages; and he can with Truth and Sincerity declare, that he has found amongst them as great variety of Talents, equally capable of improvements, as amongst a like number of Whites; and he is bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some, that the Blacks are inferior to the Whites in their capacities, is a vulgar prejudice, founded on the Pride or Ignorance of their lordly Masters, who have kept their Slaves at such a distance, as to be unable to form a right judgement of them.

Benezet, Anthony. 1785. *Short Observations on Slavery*. Philadelphia: Enoch Story.

PREAMBLE OF THE FREE AFRICAN SOCIETY (1787)

Philadelphia

[12th, 4th mo., 1787]—Whereas, Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, two men of the African race, who, for their religious life and conversation have obtained a good report among men, these persons, from a love to the people of their complexion whom they beheld with sorrow, because of their irreligious and uncivilized state, often communed together upon this painful and important subject in order to form some kind of religious society, but there being too few to be found under the like concern, and those who were, differed in their religious sentiments; with these cir-

cumstances they labored for some time, till it was proposed, after a serious communication of sentiments, that a society should be formed, without regard to religious tenets, provided, the persons lived an orderly and sober life, in order to support one another in sickness, and for the benefit of their widows and fatherless children.

Articles

[17th, 5th mo., 1787]—We, the free Africans and their descendants, of the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, or elsewhere, do unanimously agree, for the benefit of each other, to advance one shilling in silver Pennsylvania currency a month; and after one year’s subscription from the date hereof, then to hand forth to the needy of this Society, if any should require, the sum of three shillings and nine pence per week of the said money: provided, this necessity is not brought on them by their own imprudence.

And it is further agreed, that no drunkard nor disorderly person be admitted as a member, and if any should prove disorderly after having been received, the said disorderly person shall be disjointed from us if there is not nit amendment, by being informed by two of the members, without having any of his subscription money returned.

And if any should neglect paying his monthly subscription for three months, and after having been informed of the same by two of the members, and no sufficient reason appearing for such neglect, if he do not pay the whole the next ensuing meeting, he shall be disjointed from us, by being informed by two of the members its an offender, without having any of his subscription money returned.

Also, if any person neglect meeting every month, for every omission he shall pay three pence, except in case of sickness or any other complaint that should require the assistance of the Society, then, and in such a case, he shall be exempt from the fines and subscription during the said sickness.

Also, we apprehend it to be just and reasonable, that the surviving widow of a deceased member should enjoy the benefit of this Society so long as she remains his widow, complying with the rules thereof, excepting the subscriptions.

And we apprehend it to be necessary, that the children of our deceased members be under the care of the Society, so far as to pay for the education of their children, if they cannot attend the free school; also to put them out apprentices to suitable trades or places, if required.

Also, that no member shall convene the Society together; but, it shall be the sole business of the committee, and that only on special occasions, and to dispose of the money in hand to the best advantage, for the use of the Society, after they are granted the liberty at a monthly meeting, and to transact all other business whatsoever, except that of Clerk and Treasurer.

And we unanimously agree to choose Joseph Clarke to be our Clerk and Treasurer; and whenever another should succeed him, it is always understood, that one of the people called Quakers, belonging to one of the three monthly meetings in Philadelphia, is to be chosen to act as Clerk and Treasurer of this useful Institution.

The following persons met, viz., Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, Samuel Baston, Joseph Johnson, Cato Freeman, Caesar Cranchell, and James Potter, also William White, whose early assistance and useful remarks we found truly profitable. This evening the articles were read, and after some beneficial remarks were made, they were agreed unto.

Douglass, William. 1862. *Annals of the First African Church in the United States of America Now Styled the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: King & Baird Printers.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT (1793)

Chap. VII.—An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That whenever the executive authority of any state in the Union, or of either of the territories northwest or south of the river Ohio, shall demand any person as a fugitive from justice, of the executive authority of any such state or territory to which such person shall have fled, and shall moreover produce the copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made before a magistrate of any state or territory as aforesaid, charging the person so demanded, with having committed treason, felony or other crime, certified as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the state or territory from whence the person so charged fled, it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the state or territory to which such person shall have fled, to cause him or her to be arrested and secured, and notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to

such agent when he shall appear: But if no such agent shall appear within six months from the time of the arrest, the prisoner may be discharged. And all costs or expenses incurred in the apprehending, securing, and transmitting such a fugitive to the state or territory making such demand, shall be paid by such state or territory.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That any agent, appointed as aforesaid, who shall receive the fugitive into his custody, shall be empowered to transport him or her to the state or territory from which he or she shall have fled. And if any person or persons shall by force set at liberty, or rescue the fugitive from such agent while transporting, as aforesaid, the person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

Section 3. *And be it also enacted,* That when a person held to labour in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states or territory, the person to whom such labour or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labour, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such state or territory, that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labour to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labour, to the state or territory from which he or she fled.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct or hinder such claimant, his agent or attorney in so seizing or arresting such fugitive from labour, or shall rescue such fugitive from such claimant, his agent or attorney when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given or declared; or shall harbor or conceal such person after notice that he or she was a fugitive from labour, as aforesaid, shall, for either of the said offences, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars. Which penalty may be recovered by and for the benefit of such claimant, by action of debt, in any court proper to try the same; saving moreover to the person

claiming such labour or service, his right of action for or on account of the said injuries or either of them.

Approved, February 12, 1793.

U.S. Congress. 1793. *United States Statutes at Large*. 2nd Cong., 2nd sess., ch. 7.

THE FORMATION OF A BLACK CONGREGATION IN PHILADELPHIA (1794)

Whereas, a few of our race did in the NAME and FEAR Of GOD, Associate for the purpose Of advancing our friends in a true knowledge of God, of true religion, and of the ways and means to restore our long lost race, to the dignity of men and of christians;—and Whereas, God in mercy and wisdom, has exceeded Our most sanguine wishes, in blessing our undertakings, for the above purposes, and has opened the hearts of our white brethren, to assist in our undertakings therein;—and

Whereas the light of the glorious gospel of God, our Saviour, has begun to shine into our hearts, who were strangers to the true and living God, and aliens to the commonwealth of this spiritual Israel; and having seen the dawn of the gospel day, we are zealously concerned for the gathering together our race into the sheep-fold of the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls; and as we would earnestly desire to proceed in all our ways therein consistent with the word of God or the scripture of the revelation of God's will, concerning us and our salvation;—and

Whereas, through the various attempts we have made to promote our design, God has marked out [and] made our ways with blessings. And we are now encouraged through the grace and divine assistance of the friends and God opening the hearts of our white friends and brethren, to encourage us to arise out of the dust and shake ourselves, and throw off that servile fear, that the habit of oppression and bondage trained us up in. And in meekness and fear we would desire to walk in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. That following peace with all men, we may have our fruit unto holiness, and in the end, everlasting life.

And in order the more fully to accomplish the good purposes of God's will, and organize ourselves for the purpose of promoting the health [of] the people all, but more particularly our relatives, of color. We, after many consultations, and some years deliberation thereon, have gone forward to erect a house for the glory of God, and our mutual advantage to meet in for clarification and social religious worship. And more

particularly to keep an open door for those of our race, who may be into assemble with us, but would not attend divine worship in Other places; and

Whereas, faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, we are the more encourage thereto, believing God will bless our works and labors of love;—and

Whereas, for all the above purposes, it is needful that we enter into, and forthwith establish some orderly, Christian-like government and order of former usage in the Church of Christ; and, being a way to avoid all appearance of evil, by self-conceitedness, or an intent to promote or establish any new human device among us.

Now be it known to all the world and in all eyes thereof, that we the founders and trustees of said house did on Tuesday the twelfth day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety four.

RESOLVE AND DECREE, To resign and conform ourselves to the Protestant Episcopal Church of North America.—And we dedicate ourselves to God, imploring his holy protection; and our house to the memory of St. Thomas, the Apostle, to be henceforward known and called by the name and title of St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church of Philadelphia; to be governed by us and our successors for ever as follows.

Given under our hands, this
Twelfth day of August, 1794.

Founders and Trustees.

William Gray, Absalom Jones,
William White, William Gardner,
Henry Stewart, William Gray,
for William Wiltshire.

Douglass, William. 1862. *Annals of the First African Church in the United States of America now Styled the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: King & Baird Printers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON FREES HIS SLAVES (1799)

*The Last Will and Testament of George
Washington [Excerpt]*

July 9, 1799

In the name of God, amen!

I, George Washington of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States and lately President of the same, do make, ordain and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand and every page thereof sub-

scribed with my name, to be my last Will and Testament, revoking all others.

Imprimus. All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies hereinafter bequeathed are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item. To my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter—my improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron Streets, I give to her and her heirs forever, as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Item. Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire, that all the slaves which I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would tho earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes as to excite the most painful sensations—if not disagreeable consequences from the latter while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor, it not being in my power under the tenure by which the dower Negroes are held to manumit them. And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this devise there may be some who from old age, or bodily infirmities and others who on account of their infancy, that will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second description shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living are unable, or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years, and in cases where no record can be produced whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court upon its own view of the subject shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters and mistresses) to be taught to read and write and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphans and other poor children—and I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretense, whatsoever—and I do moreover most positively, and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the sur-

vivors of them to see that this clause respecting slaves and every part thereof be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place without evasion, neglect or delay after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm, seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support so long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provisions to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man, William (calling himself William Lee) I give immediate freedom or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so. In either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive; if he chooses the last alternative, but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first, and this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

Abbot, W. W., ed. 1999. *The Papers of George Washington, Retirement Series, vol. 4, April–December 1799*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON RACE AND SLAVERY (1801)

It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expense of supplying, by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race.—To these objections, which are political, may be added others, which are physical and moral. The first difference which strikes us is that of colour.—Whether the black of the negro resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf-skin, or in the scarf-skin itself; whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is fixed in nature, and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known to us. And is this difference of no importance? Is it not the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races? Are not the fine mixtures of

red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of colour in the one, preferable to that eternal monotony, which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favour of the whites, declared by their preference of them, as uniformly as is the preference of the Oranootan for the black women over those of his own species. The circumstance of Superior beauty, is thought worthy attention in the propagation of our horses, dogs, and other domestic animals; why not in that of man? Besides those of colour, figure, and hair, there are other physical distinctions proving a difference of race. They have less hair on the face and body. They secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very strong and disagreeable odour. This greater degree of transpiration renders them more tolerant of heat, and less so of cold than the whites. Perhaps too a difference of structure in the pulmonary apparatus, which a late ingenious experimentalist has discovered to be the principal regulator of animal heat, may have disabled them from extricating, in the act of inspiration, so much of that fluid from the outer air, or obliged them in expiration, to part with more of it. They seem to require less sleep. A black after hard labour through the day, will be induced by the slightest amusements to sit up till midnight, or later, though knowing he must be out with the first dawn of the morning. They are at least as brave, and more adventuresome. But this may perhaps proceed from a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present.—When present, they do not go through it with more coolness or steadiness than the whites. They are more ardent after their female: but love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation. Their griefs are transient. Those numberless afflictions, which render it doubtful whether heaven has given life to us in mercy or in wrath, are less felt, and sooner forgotten with them. In general, their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection. To this must be ascribed their disposition to sleep when abstracted from their diversions, and unemployed in labour. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect, must be disposed to sleep of course. Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. It would

be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation.

We will consider them here, on the same stage with the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed. It will be right to make great allowances for the difference of condition, of education, of conversation, of the sphere in which they move. Many millions of them have been brought to, and born in America. Most of them indeed have been confined to tillage, to their own homes, and their own society: yet many have been so situated, that they might have availed themselves of the conversation of their masters; many have been brought up to the handicraft arts, and from that circumstance have always been associated with the whites. Some have been liberally educated, and all have lived in countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated to a considerable degree, and have had before their eyes samples of the best works from abroad.

The Indians, with no advantages of this kind, will often carve figures on their pipes not destitute of design and merit. They will crayon out an animal, a plant, or a country, so as to prove the existence of a germ in their minds which only wants cultivation. They astonish you with strokes of the most sublime oratory; such as prove their reason and sentiment strong, their imagination glowing and elevated. But never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time, and they have been found capable of imagining a small catch. Whether they will be equal to the composition of a more extensive run of melody, or of complicated harmony, is yet to be proved. Misery is often the parent of the most affecting touches in poetry. Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry. Love is the peculiar oestrum of the poet. Their love is ardent, but it kindles the senses only, not the imagination. Religion indeed has produced a Phillis Wheatley but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism. The heroes of the *Dunciad* are to her, as Hercules to the author of that poem. Ignatius Sancho has approached nearer to merit in composition; yet his letters do more honour to the heart than the head. They breathe the purest effusions of friendship and general philanthropy, and show how great a degree of the latter may be compounded with strong religious zeal. He is often happy in the turn of his compliments, and his style is easy and familiar, except when he affects a Shandean fabrication of words. But his imagi-

nation is wild and extravagant, escapes incessantly from every restraint of reason and taste, and, in the course of its vagaries, leaves a tract of thought as incoherent and eccentric, as is the course of a meteor through the sky. His subjects should often have led him to a process of sober reasoning: yet we find him always substituting sentiment for demonstration. Upon the whole, though we admit him to the first place among those of his own colour who have presented themselves to the public judgment, yet when we compare him with the writers of the race among whom he lived and particularly with the epistolary class, in which he has taken his own stand, we are compelled to enrol him at the bottom of the column. This criticism supposes the letters published under his name to be genuine, and to have received amendment from no other hand; points which would not be of easy investigation. The improvement of the blacks in body and mind, in the first instance of their mixture with the whites, has been observed by every one, and proves that their inferiority is not the effect merely of their condition of life. We know that among the Romans, about the Augustan age especially, the condition of their slaves was much more deplorable than that of the blacks on the continent of America. The two sexes were confined in separate apartments, because to raise a child cost the master more than to buy one. Cato, for a very restricted indulgence to his slaves in this particular, took from them a certain price. But in this country the slaves multiply as fast as the free inhabitants. Their situation and manners place the commerce between the two sexes almost without restraint. The same Cato, on a principle of economy, always sold his sick and superannuated slaves. He gives it as a standing precept to a master visiting his farm, to sell his old oxen, old wagons, old tools, old and diseased servants, and every thing else become useless. . . . The American slaves cannot enumerate this among the injuries and insults they receive. It was the common practice to expose in the island Esculapius, in the Tyber, diseased slaves, whose cure was like to become tedious. The emperor Claudius, by an edict, gave freedom to such of them as should recover, and first declared that if any person chose to kill rather than expose them, it should be deemed homicide. The exposing them is a crime of which no instance has existed with us; and were it to be followed by death, it would be punished capitally. We are told of a certain Vedius Pollio, who, in the presence of Augustus, would have given a slave as food to his fish, for having broken a glass. With the Romans, the regular method of taking the evidence of their slaves was under torture. Here it has been thought better never to resort to their evidence. When

a master was murdered, all his slaves, in the same house, or within hearing, were condemned to death. Here punishment falls on the guilty only, and as precise proof is required against him as against a freeman. Yet notwithstanding these and other discouraging circumstances among the Romans, their slaves were often their rarest artists. They excelled too in science, inasmuch as to be usually employed as tutors to their masters' children. Epictetus, Terence, and Phaedrus, were slaves. But they were of the race of whites. It is not their condition then, but nature, which has produced the distinction. Whether further observation will or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she will be found to have done them justice. That disposition to theft with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man, in whose favour no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favour of others. When arguing for ourselves, we lay it down as a fundamental, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right; that, without this, they are mere arbitrary rules of conduct, founded in force, and not in conscience: and it is a problem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave? And whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one, who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? That a change in the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas of moral right or wrong, is neither new, nor peculiar to the colour of the blacks. Homer tells us it was so 2600 years ago.

*Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.*

But the slaves of which Homer speaks were whites. Notwithstanding these considerations which must weaken their respect for the laws of property, we find among them numerous instances of the most rigid integrity, and as many as among their better instructed masters, of benevolence, gratitude and unshaken fidelity. The opinion, that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination, must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion, requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the anatomical knife, to optical classes, to analysis by fire, or by solvents. How much more then where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the

Senses; where the conditions of its existence are various and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent bid defiance to calculation; let me add too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, where our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them. To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose, that different Species of the same genus, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications. Will not a lover of natural history then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them?

This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the question *'What further is to be done with them?'* join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.

The particular customs and manners that may happen to be received in that state? It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether catholic, or particular. It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard the manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. 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; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self love, for restraining the intemper-

ance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavours to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.—But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.

Thomas Jefferson. 1801. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Philadelphia: R. T. Rawle.

FEAR THAT ST. DOMINGO MIGHT INFLUENCE AMERICAN SLAVES (1804)

Petition by the Citizens of Pointe Coupée

Post of Pointe Coupée, November 9th, 1804.

His Excellency Wm. C. C. Claibourn, Governor of The Territory of Orleans, etc. We, the inhabitants of Pointe Coupée, have deputed Dr. E. Cooley, Planter of this Place, to lay before your Excellency the precarious Situation of the lives and property of the Inhabitants of this Post. The news of The revolution of St. Domingo and other Places has become common amongst our Blacks—and some here who relate the tragical history of the Revolution of that Island with the General Disposition of the most of our Slaves has become very serious—a Spirit of Révolt and mutyny has crept in amongst them. A few Days since we happily Discovered a Plan for our Distruction.

Our Nombre [*sic*] and fource [*sic*] being so extrêaly [*sic*; i. e., “extremely”] in favour of the Blacks and almost destitute of any kind of Arms for our defence, we must humbly beg your Excellency Goodness to assist us in this Cloud of Danger—in Sending immediately for our temporary Relief, a Detachment of a Company of Military force and the loan of a hundred Stand of Arms to defend the lives and Property of your new friends and fellows Citizens we subscribe with the higheste Esteem for your Excellency and a sympathetic Regret, for your irretreivable Domestic Calamity. Your most Obt Fellow-citizens and very Huble Servants—

This is followed by one hundred and seven signatures—probably all the landholders in Pointe Coupée.

James Alexander Robertson. 1911. *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785–1807*. Vol. 2. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Company.

PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES (C. 1810)

About a week afterwards, I was sent by my master to a place a few miles distant, on horseback, with some letters. I took a short cut through a lane, separated by gates from the high road, and bounded by a fence on each side. This lane passed through a part of the farm owned by my master's brother, and his overseer was in the adjoining field, with three negroes, when I went by. On my return, half an hour afterwards, the overseer was sitting on the fence, but I could see nothing of the black fellows. I rode on, utterly unsuspecting of

any trouble; but as I approached, he jumped off the fence, and at the same moment two of the negroes sprang up from under the bushes where they had been concealed, and stood with him immediately in front of me, while the third sprang over the fence just behind me. I was thus enclosed between what I could no longer doubt were hostile forces. The overseer seized my horse's bridle and ordered me to alight, in the usual elegant phraseology addressed by such men to slaves. I asked what I was to alight for. “To take the worst flogging you ever had in your life, you black scoundrel.” He added many oaths that I will not repeat. “But what am I to be flogged for, Mr. L.?” I asked. “Not a word,” said he, “but 'light at once, and take off your jacket.” I saw there was nothing else to be done, and slipped off the horse on the opposite side from him. “Now take off your shirt,” cried he; and as I demurred at this he lifted a stick he had in his hand to strike me, but so suddenly and violently that he frightened the horse, which broke away from him and ran home. I was thus left without means of escape to sustain the attacks of four men as well as I might. In avoiding Mr. L.'s blow, I had accidentally got into a corner of the fence where I could not be approached except in front. The overseer called upon the negroes to seize me; but they, knowing something of my physical power, were slow to obey. At length they did their best, and as they brought themselves within my reach I knocked them down successively; and I gave one of them, who tried to trip up my feet, when he was down, a kick with my heavy shoe, which knocked out several teeth, and sent him howling away.

Meanwhile Bryce Litton beat my head with a stick, not heavy enough to knock me down, but it drew blood freely. He shouted all the while, “Won't you give up! Won't you give up!” adding oath after oath. Exasperated at my defence, he suddenly seized a heavy fence-rail and rushed at me with rage. The ponderous blow fell; I lifted my arm to ward it off, the bone cracked like a pipe-stem, and I fell headlong to the ground. Repeated blows then rained on my back till both shoulder-blades were broken, and the blood gushed copiously from my mouth. In vain the negroes interposed. “Didn't you see the nigger strike me?” Of course they must say “Yes,” although the lying coward had avoided close quarters, and fought with his stick alone. At length, his vengeance satisfied, he desisted, telling me “to remember what it was to strike a white man.”

Meanwhile an alarm had been raised at the house by the return of the horse without his rider, and my master started off with a small party to learn what the

trouble was. When he first saw me he swore with rage. "You've been fighting, you mean nigger!" I told him Bryce Litton had been beating me, because he said I shoved him the other night at the tavern, when they had a fuss. Seeing how much I was injured, he became still more fearfully mad; and after having me carried home, mounted his horse and rode over to Montgomery Court House to enter a complaint. Little good came of it. Litton swore that when he spoke to me in the lane I "sassed" him, jumped off my horse, attacked him, and would have killed him but for the help of his negroes. Of course no negro's testimony was admitted against a white man, and he was acquitted. My master was obliged to pay all the costs of court; and although he had the satisfaction of calling Litton a liar and scoundrel, and giving him a tremendous bruising, still even this partial compensation was rendered less gratifying by what followed, which was a suit for damages and a heavy fine.

My sufferings after this cruel treatment were intense. Besides my broken arm and the wounds on my head, I could feel and hear the pieces of my shoulder-blades grate against each other with every breath. No physician or surgeon was called to dress my wounds, and I never knew one to be called on Riley's estate on any occasion whatever. "A nigger will get well anyway," was a fixed principle of faith, and facts seemed to justify it. The robust, physical health produced by a life of outdoor labour, made our wounds heal with as little inflammation as they do in the case of cattle. I was attended by my master's sister, Miss Patty, as we called her, the Esculapius of the plantation. She was a powerful, big-boned woman, who flinched at no responsibility, from wrenching out teeth to setting bones. I have seen her go into the house and get a rifle to shoot a furious ox that the negroes were in vain trying to butcher. She splintered my arm and bound up my back as well as she knew how. Alas! it was but cobbler's work. From that day to this I have been unable to raise my hands as high as my head. It was five months before I could work at all, and the first time I tried to plough, a hard knock of the coulter against a stone shattered my shoulder-blades again, and gave me even greater agony than at first. And so I have gone through life maimed and mutilated. Practice in time enabled me to perform many of the farm labours with considerable efficiency; but the free, vigorous play of the muscles of my arm was gone for ever.

Josiah Henson. 1876. "Uncle Tom's Story of His Life" *An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson (Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom")*, from 1789 to 1876. John Lobb, ed. London: Christian Age Office.

A KENTUCKY SLAVE CODE (1811)

An act for the more effectual prevention of crimes, conspiracies and insurrections of slaves, free negroes and mulattoes, and for their better government.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky*, That if any negroes or other slaves, shall, at any time hereafter conspire to rebel or make insurrection, every such conspiring shall be adjudged and deemed felony, and the slave or slaves, duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death.

Section 2. *Be it further enacted*, That where any slave or slaves shall hereafter be convicted of administering to any person or persons, any poison or medicine with the evil intent, that death may thereupon ensue, such slave or slaves shall suffer death.

Section 3. *Be it further enacted*, That any slave or slaves, free negro or mulatto, hereafter duly convicted of voluntary manslaughter, shall suffer death.

Section 4. *Be it further enacted*, That any slaver or slaves hereafter duly convicted of an attempt to commit a rape on the body of any white woman, such slave, or slaves, so convicted, shall suffer death.

Section 5. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for any trustee of a town to issue his warrant, to cause any slave, free negro, or mulatto, misbehaving within the limits of the town, to be apprehended and brought before him, or some other trustee of said town, who shall have power to punish such slave or slaves, free negro or mulatto, as is now vested by law in a justice of the peace.

Section 6. *Be it further enacted*, That if any negro or other slave, shall, at any time hereafter, consult or advise the murder of any person or persons whatever, every such consulting or advising, shall be punished by any number of stripes, not exceeding one hundred, in the discretion of a jury, to be empanelled by order of any justice or justices of the peace, before whom such slave or slaves may be brought for trial.

Section 7. All laws, sections or parts of laws, coming within the provisions or purview of this act, are hereby repealed; *Provided however*, that nothing in this section contained shall be construed to prevent any justice of the peace from exercising the powers given to trustee.

Kentucky Reporter, February II, 1811.

PAUL CUFFEE VISITS

SIERRA LEONE (1811)

“On the first of the present month of August, 1811, a vessel arrived at Liverpool, with a cargo from Sierra Leone, the owner, master, mate, and whole crew of which are free Negroes. The master, who is also owner, is the son of an American Slave, and is said to be very well skilled both in trade and navigation, as well as to be of a very pious and moral character. It must have been a strange and animating spectacle to see this free and enlightened African entering, as an independent trader, with his black crew, into that port which was so lately the nidus of the Slave Trade.”—*Edinb. Review*, August, 1811.

We are happy in having an opportunity of confirming the above account, and at the same time of laying before our readers an authentic memoir of Capt. Paul Cuffee, the master and owner of the vessel above referred to, who sailed from this port on the 20th ult. with a licence from the British Government, to prosecute his intended voyage to Sierra Leone.

The father of Paul Cuffee, was a native of Africa, whence he was brought as a Slave into Massachusetts.—He was there purchased by a person named Slocum, and remained in slavery a considerable portion of his life.—He was named Cuffee, but as it is usual in those parts took the name of Slocum, as expressing to whom he belonged. Like many of his countrymen he possessed a mind superior to his condition, and although he was diligent in the business of his Master and faithful to his interest, yet by great industry and economy he was enabled to purchase his personal liberty.

At this time the remains of several Indian tribes, who originally possessed the right of soil, resided in Massachusetts; Cuffee became acquainted with a woman descended from one of those tribes, named Ruth Moses, and married her.—He continued in habits of industry and frugality, and soon afterwards purchased a farm of 100 acres in Westport in Massachusetts.

Cuffee and Ruth has a family of ten children.—The three eldest sons, David, Jonathan, and John are farmers in the neighborhood of Westport, filling respectable situations in society, and endowed with good intellectual capacities.—They are all married, and have families to whom they are giving good educations. Of six daughters four are respectably married, while two remain single.

Paul was born on the Island of Cutterhunkker, one of the Elizabeth Islands near New Bedford, in the year 1759; when he was about 14 years of age his father died

leaving a considerable property in land, but which being at that time unproductive afforded but little provision for his numerous family, and thus the care of supporting his mother and sisters devolved upon his brothers and himself.

At this time Paul conceived that commerce furnished to industry more ample rewards than agriculture, and he was conscious that he possessed qualities which under proper culture would enable him to pursue commercial employments with prospects of success; he therefore entered at the age of 16 as a common hand on board of a vessel destined to the bay of Mexico, on a Whaling voyage. His second voyage was to the West Indies; but on his third he was captured by a British ship during the American war about the year 1776: after three months detention as a prisoner at New York, he was permitted to return home to Westport, where owing to the unfortunate continuance of hostilities he spent about 2 years in his agricultural pursuits. During this interval Paul and his brother John Cuffee were called on by the Collector of the district, in which they resided, for the payment of a personal tax. It appeared to them, that, by the laws of the constitution of Massachusetts, taxation and the whole rights of citizenship were untied.—If the laws demanded of them the payment of personal taxes, the same laws must necessarily and constitutionally invest them with the rights of representing, and being represented, in the state Legislature. But they had never been considered as entitled to the privilege of voting at Elections, nor of being elected to places of trust and honor.—Under these circumstances, they refused payment of the demands.—The Collector resorted to the force of the laws, and after many delays and vexations, Paul and his brother deemed it most prudent to silence the suit by payment of the demands. But they resolved, if it were possible, to obtain the rights which they believed to be connected with taxation.

Liverpool *Mercury*

EFFORTS TO STOP SLAVE

SMUGGLING (1817)

Extract of a letter from Captain Charles Morris to the Secretary of the Navy.

U.S. Frigate Congress,

Off the Balize, 10th June, 1817.

“Most of the goods carried to Galveston are introduced into the United States; the more bulky and least valuable, regularly through the custom house; the more valuable, and the slaves, are smuggled in through the numerous inlets to the Westward, where the peo-

ple are but too much disposed to render them every possible assistance. Several hundred slaves are now at Galveston, and persons have gone from New Orleans to purchase them. Every exertion will be made to intercept them, but I have little hopes of success.”

United States’ brig Boxer, off the Balize,
June 28th, 1817.

“From cape Catouche to La Vera Cruz, the piratical boats are very numerous, and commit their depredations without respect to flag or nation. Should it meet your approbation, sir, it would afford me infinite pleasure to protect our commerce on that coast.

I shall leave this on Monday, to cruise off the Sabine river: it is reported that attempts will be made to smuggle slaves into Louisiana from Galveston, and the natural presumption is, they will attempt the Sabine or Atchafalya rivers; the depth of the water off those rivers are very inaccurately represented on the charts, and it will not be in my power to approach nearer the shore than within ten miles off the Sabine, and not nearer than thirty off the Atchafalya. Whatever can be done to prevent their being brought clandestinely into the country, will have to be performed by the boats, which, sir, shall be actively employed the moment we arrive on the ground.”

*Extract of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, to captain John H. Elton, commanding the U.S. brig Saranac, New York
Navy Department, July 16th 1817.*

“The recent occupation of Amelia Island by an officer in the service of the Spanish revolutionists, occasions just apprehensions that from the vicinity to the coast of Georgia, attempts will be made to introduce slaves into the United States, contrary to the existing laws, and further attempts at illicit trade in smuggling goods in violation of our revenue laws, you are hereby directed to detain and search every vessel under whatever flag, which may enter the river St. Mary’s, or be found hovering upon the coast under suspicious circumstances, and seize every vessel freighted with slaves, or whose doubtful character and situation shall indicate an intention of smuggling. In the execution of these orders, you will take special care not to interrupt or detain any vessels sailing with regular papers and of a national character, upon lawful voyages to or from a port or ports of the United States. The traffic in slaves is intended to be restrained, and in the performance of this duty, you will exercise your sound judgment in regard to all vessels you may visit.”

Bauer, K. Jack, ed. *The New American State Papers—Naval Affairs*. 1981. Vol. 2, *Diplomatic Activities*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.

MEMORIAL TO THE CONGRESS FROM THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (1820)

*To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States:*

The President and Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society respectfully represent that, being about to commence the execution of the object to which their views have been long directed, they deem it proper and necessary to address themselves to the legislative council of their country. They trust that this object will be considered, in itself, of great national importance, will be found inseparably connected with another, vitally affecting the honor and interest of this nation, and leading, in its consequences, to the most desirable results.

Believing that examination and reflection will show that such are its connexions and tendency, they are, encouraged to present themselves, and their cause, where they know that a public measure, having these advantages, cannot fail to receive all the countenance and aid it may require.

The last census shows the number of free people of color of the United States, and their rapid increase. Supposing them to increase in the same ratio, it will appear how large a proportion of our population will, in the course of even a few years, consist of persons of that description.

No argument is necessary to show that this is very far indeed from constituting an increase of our physical strength; nor can there be a population, in any country, neutral as to its effects upon society. The least observation shows that this description of persons are not, and cannot be, either useful or happy among us; and many considerations, which need not be mentioned, prove, beyond dispute, that it is best, for all the parties interested, that there should be a separation; that those who are now free may become so those who hereafter, should be provided with the means of attaining to a state of respectability and happiness, which, it is certain, they have never yet reached, and, therefore, can never be likely to reach, in this country.

The two last reports of the Society, to which your memorialists beg leave to refer, show the success of their mission to Africa, and the result of their inquiries upon that continent. From those it is manifest that a

situation can be readily obtained, favorable to commerce and agriculture, in a healthy and fertile country, and that the natives are well disposed to give every encouragement to the establishment of such a settlement among them. Thus, it appears, that an object of great national concern, already expressly desired by some of the States, and truly desirable to all, receiving, also, the approbation of those upon whom it is more immediately to operate, is brought within our reach.

But this subject derives, perhaps, its chief interest from its connexion with a measure which has, already, to the honor of our country, occupied the deliberations of the Congress of the United States.

Your memorialists refer, with pleasure, to the act, passed at the last session of Congress, supplementary to the act formerly passed for the suppression of the slave trade. The means afforded, by the provisions of that act, for the accomplishment of its object are certainly great; but the total extirpation of this disgraceful trade cannot, perhaps, be expected from any measures which rely alone upon the employment of a maritime force, however considerable.

The profits attending it are so extraordinary, that the cupidity of the unprincipled will still be tempted to continue it, as long as there is any chance of escaping the vigilance of the cruisers engaged against them. From the best information your memorialists have been able to obtain, of the nature, causes, and course of this trade, and of the present situation of the coast of Africa, and the habits and dispositions of the natives, they are well assured that the suppression of the African slave trade, and the civilization of the natives, are measures of indispensable connexion. . . .

Since the establishment of the English settlement at Sierra Leone, the slave trade has been rapidly ceasing upon that part of the coast.

Not only the kingdoms in its immediate neighborhood, but those upon the Sherbro and Bagroo rivers, and others with whom the people of that settlement have opened a communication, have been prevailed upon to abandon it, and are turning their attention to the ordinary and innocent pursuits of civilized nations.

That the same consequences will result from similar settlements cannot be doubted. When the natives there see that the European commodities, for which they have been accustomed to exchange their fellow-beings, until vast and fertile regions have become almost depopulated, can be more easily and safely obtained by other pursuits, can it be believed that they will hesitate to profit by the experience? Nor will the advantages of civilization be alone exhibited. That religion, whose mandate is "peace on earth and good will

towards men," will "do its errand"; will deliver them from the bondage of their miserable superstitions, and display the same triumphs which it is achieving in every land.

No nation has it so much in its power to furnish proper settlers for such establishments as this; no nation has so deep an interest in thus disposing of them. By the law passed at the last session, and before referred to, the captives who may be taken by our cruisers, from the slave ships are to be taken to Africa, and delivered to the custody of agents appointed by the President. There will then be a settlement of captured negroes upon the coast, in consequence of the measures already adopted. And it is evidently most important, if not necessary, to such a settlement, that the Civilized people of color of this country, whose industry, enterprise, and knowledge of agriculture and the arts, would render them most useful assistants, should be connected with such an establishment.

When, therefore, the object of the Colonization Society is viewed in connection with that entire suppression of the slave trade which your memorialists trust it is resolved shall be effected, its importance becomes obvious in the extreme.

The beneficial consequences resulting from success in such a measure, it is impossible to calculate. To the general cause of humanity it will afford the most rich and noble contribution, and for the nation that regards that cause, that employs its power in its behalf, it cannot fail to procure a proportionate reward. It is by such a course that a nation insures to itself the protection and favor of the Governor of the World. Nor are there wanting views and considerations, arising from our peculiar political institutions, which would justify the sure expectation of the most signal blessings to ourselves from the accomplishment of such an object. If one of these consequences shall be the gradual and almost imperceptible removal of a national evil, which all unite in lamenting, and for which, with the most intense, but, hitherto, hopeless anxiety, the patriots and statesmen of our country have labored to discover a remedy, who can doubt, that, of all the blessings we may be permitted to bequeath to our descendants, this will receive the richest tribute of their thanks and veneration?

Your memorialists cannot believe that such an evil, universally acknowledged and deprecated, has been irremovably fixed upon us. Some way will always be opened by Providence by which a people desirous of acting justly and benevolently may be led to the attainment of a meritorious object. And they believe that, of all the plans that the most sagacious and discerning of

our patriots have suggested, for effecting what they have so greatly desired the colonization of Africa, in the manner proposed, present the fairest prospects of success. But if it be admitted to be ever so doubtful, whether this happy result shall be the reward of our exertions, yet, if: great and certain benefits immediately attend them, why may not others, still greater, follow them?

In a work evidently progressive, who shall assign limits to the good that zeal and perseverance shall be permitted to accomplish? Your memorialists beg leave to state that, having expended considerable funds in prosecuting their inquiries and making preparations, they are now about to send out a colony, and complete the purchase, already stipulated for with the native kings and chiefs of Sherbro, of a suitable territory for their establishment. The number they are now enabled to transport and provide for, is but a small proportion of the people of color who have expressed their desire to go; and without a larger and more sudden increase of their funds than can be expected from the voluntary contributions of individuals, their progress must be slow and uncertain. They have always flattered themselves with the hope that when it was seen they had surmounted the difficulties of preparation, and shown that means applied to the execution of their design would lead directly and evidently to its accomplishment, they would be able to obtain for it the national countenance and assistance. To this point they have arrived; and they, therefore, respectfully request that this interesting subject may receive the consideration of your honorable body, and that the Executive Department may be authorized, in such way as may meet your approbation, to extend to this object such pecuniary and other aid as it may be thought to require and deserve.

Your memorialists further request, that the subscribers to the American Colonization Society may be incorporated, by act of Congress, to enable them to act with more efficiency in carrying on the great and important objects of the Society, and to enable them, with more economy, to manage the benevolent contributions intrusted to their care.

Signed by John Mason, W. Jones, E. B. Caldwell, and F. S. Key, committee.

Washington
February, 1, 1820

Blaustein, Albert P. and Robert L. Zangrando. 1968.
Civil Rights and the Black American: A Documentary History. New York: Simon & Schuster.

PROSPECTUS OF *THE EMANCIPATOR* (1820)

Address of the Editor.

The EMANCIPATOR will be published monthly in *Jonesborough*, Ten. By ELIHU EMBREE, on a fine superroyal sheet of paper, in octava form, at *One Dollar* per annum, payable on receipt of the first number.

This paper is especially designed by the editor to advocate the abolition of slavery, and to be a repository of tracts on that interesting and important subject. It will contain all the necessary information that the editor can obtain of the progress of the abolition of slavery of the descendants of Africa, together with a concise history of their introduction into slavery, collected from the best authorities.

The constitutions and proceedings of the several benevolent societies in the United States and elsewhere who have had this grand object in view will be carefully selected and published in the *Emancipator*.

A correspondence between those societies, and between individuals in different parts of the nation on the subject, of emancipation, will be kept up through the medium of this paper by inserting in its pages all interesting communications, letters &c. that may come to the knowledge of the editor.

The speeches of those who have been and are eminently advocating this glorious cause, either in the Congress of the United States, the state legislatures, or in the parliaments and courts of the nations, will be strictly attended to.

Biographical sketches of the lives of those who have been eminent in this cause will also occasionally find a place in this work.

A portion of this paper is intended to be devoted to a history of the abolition of the African Slave Trade, in every part of the world, from its first dawn, down to the present times.

In the prosecution of this work the editor professes that he expects (like other periodical editors) to live much upon the borrow; and to make use of such materials as he may find in his way, suited to his object, without being very particular to take up much time or room in acknowledging a loan, unless he may think it necessary, willing that others should use the same freedom with him, & hoping that by offering such a fair exchange, such borrowing will be thought no robbery.

Communications on the subject, and materials for the work are solicited and will be thankfully received both from societies and individuals friendly to the abolition of slavery. Such communications, if ap-

proved of by the editor, will find a hearty welcome in the *Emancipator*.

The Manumission Society of Tennessee in particular, it is expected, will afford many tracts on the subject of slavery, which the editor assures them he will feel inclined to respect; and where his judgment should not otherwise dictate, will give them an early and gratuitous insertion. They will find the *Emancipator* a true chronicle of the proceedings of that benevolent society, as far as the editor is enabled—And for this purpose the clerks of the conventions, and of each branch of the society are requested to forward from time to time true copies of all their minutes, which may not be really improper to publish (and it is hoped there will be none such) together with the names of their members, their places of residence, &c. All which particulars we are of opinion will not be unprofitable to the cause of abolition to be published.

Letters from one individual to another, with the names of both, we think will be often beneficial to be published. If they do nothing more they will shew that all are not asleep nor dumb to the cries of suffering humanity.

Those who have had, or may have law suits on hand for the freedom of such as are unlawfully held in bondage, are desired to forward the true history of the facts, their progress, final decision, &c. with the places of residence and the names of plaintiffs and defendants, with every interesting particular, and they shall find in the *Emancipator* a true repository.

Although the editor is as far from being a man of leisure as any in his acquaintance, and not the owner of the office where the paper will be printed, and therefore shall have to hire the printing of it; and although he has spent several thousand dollars already in some small degree abolishing and in endeavoring to facilitate the general abolition of slavery, yet he feels not satisfied without continuing to throw in his mite, hoping that if the weight of it should not at present be felt that when the scale comes nearly to a preponderancy, it will be more sensibly perceived and in some small degree hasten an even balance of equal rights to the now neglected sons of Africa.

And as it will be at considerable trouble and expense that the work will be published, agreeably to the editor's intention, it is hoped that none who have any love for African liberty will think hard of paying \$1 annually to the support of the only paper of this kind in the United States. And as the sum is too small and the income by no means expected to be sufficient to warrant the editor in travailing over the country to procure subscribers he takes the liberty of sending the *Emancipator* to a good many whose names and places

of residence he has become acquainted with, without their having subscribed. And he requests, and from the nature of the work, he will expect that those to whom they are sent, will, on receiving the first number, and having time to peruse it, remit to the editor, by mail or otherwise, *One Dollar* in some good current bank paper; or if they do not wish it continued, will carefully wrap it in a separate paper to preserve it from being injured, and direct it to the editor at Embree's Ironworks.

All communications by mail to the editor must be directed as follows—*Elihu Embree, post-master, Embree's Ironworks, Sullivan County, Tennessee*—By this mean the postage will be free, both to and from the editor; the government bearing the expense, as it righteously ought, of distributing these communications through the country, for the purpose of preparing the public mind for a practical reform from imposing unconditional slavery on a portion of its subjects.—

It is intended that each number bear date the last day of each month.

Those who procure 12 subscribers and pay for them shall be entitled to one gratis.

The Emancipator, April 30, 1820: 1.

FUGITIVES FOLLOW THE NORTH STAR TO ESCAPE (C. 1820)

At sixteen she went to live with her young mistress, who was married to a planter in that fertile country known as the "Eastern Shore." At eighteen Margaret was a large woman, tall and well formed, her complexion black as jet, her countenance always pleasant, though she seldom laughed. She talked but little, even to those of her own race. At twenty years of age she became the wife of a worthy young man to whom she had given her best affections. Not long after, her young master became very angry with her for what he called stubbornness and resistance to his will, and threatened to chastise her by whipping—a degradation that she had always felt that she could not submit to, and yet to obey her master in the thing he demanded would be still worse. She therefore told him that she would not be whipped, she would rather die, and gave him warning that any attempt to execute his threat would surely result in the death of one of them. He knew her too well to risk the experiment, and decided to punish her in another way. He sold her husband, and she saw him bound in chains and driven off with a large drove of men and women for the New Orleans market. He then put her in the hands of a brutal overseer, with directions to work her to the extent of her

ability on a tobacco plantation, which command was enforced up to the day of the birth of her child. At the end of one week she was driven again to the field and compelled to perform a full task, having at no time any abatement of her work on account of her situation, with exception of one week. It was the custom on the plantation to establish nurseries, presided over by old, broken down slaves, where mothers might leave their infants, but this privilege was denied to Margaret. She was obliged to leave her child under the shade of a bush in the field, returning to it but twice during the long day. On returning to the child one evening she found it apparently senseless, exhausted with crying, and a large serpent lying across it. Although she felt that it would be better for both herself and child if it were dead, yet a mother's heart impelled her to make an effort to save it, and by caressing him and careful handling she resuscitated it.

As soon as she heard its feeble, wailing cry, she made a vow to deliver her boy from the cruel power of slavery or die in the attempt, and falling prostrate, she prayed for strength to perform her vow, and for grace and patience to sustain her in her suffering, toil, and hunger; then pressing her child to her bosom, she fled with all the speed of which she was capable toward the North Star. Having gone a mile or two, she heard something pursuing her; on looking round she saw Watch, the old house dog. Watch was a large mastiff, somewhat old, and with him Margaret had ever been a favorite, and since she had been driven to the field, Watch often visited her at her cabin in the evening. She feared it would not be safe to allow Watch to go with her, but she could not induce him to go back, so she resumed her flight, accompanied by her faithful escort. At break of day she hid herself on the border of a plantation and soon fell asleep.

Toward evening she was aroused by the noise made by the slaves returning to their quarters, and seeing an old woman lingering behind all the others, she called her, told her troubles, and asked for food. The old woman returned about midnight with a pretty good supply of food, which Margaret divided with Watch, and then started on, taking the north star for her guide. The second day after she left, the Overseer employed a hunter with his dogs to find her. He started with an old slut and three whelps, thinking, no doubt, that as the game was only a woman and her infant child, it would be a good time to train his pups.

Margaret had been missed at roll call the morning after her flight, but the Overseer supposed she was hiding near the place for a day or two, and that hunger would soon drive her up; therefore, when the hunter started, he led the old dog, expecting to find her in an

hour or two, but not overtaking her the first day, on the next morning, he let his hounds loose, intending to follow on horseback, guided by their voices. About noon, the old dog struck the track at the place where Margaret had made her little camp the day before, and she bounded off with fresh vigor, leaving the man and the younger dogs beyond sight and hearing. The young dogs soon lost the track where Margaret forded the streams, and the old dog was miles away, leaving the hunter without a guide to direct him.

Margaret had been lying in the woods on the bank of a river, intending to start again as soon as it was dark, when she was startled by the whining and nervous motions of old Watch, and listening, she heard the hoarse ringing bay of a blood-hound. Although she had expected that she would be hunted with dogs, and recalled over and over again the shocking accounts related by Overseers to the slaves, of fugitives overtaken and torn in pieces by the Spanish blood-hounds, she had not, until now, realized the horrors of her situation. She expected to have to witness the destruction of her child by the savage brute, and then be torn in pieces herself. Meanwhile, old Watch lay with his nose between his feet, facing the coming foe. The hound, rendered more fierce by the freshness of the track, came rushing headlong with nose to the ground, scenting her prey, and seemed not to see old Watch, until, leaping to pass over him, she found her wind-pipe suddenly collapsed in the massive jaws of the old mastiff. The struggle was not very noisy, for Watch would not even growl, and the hound could not, for it was terribly energetic. The hound made rapid and persuasive gestures with her paws and tail, but it was of no use, the jaws of old Watch relaxed not until all signs of life in his enemy had ceased. Margaret came back from the river, and would have embraced her faithful friend, but fearing that a stronger pack was following, she hastily threw the dead hound into the river and pursued her journey.

Within a few hours after her providential escape by the aid of her faithful friend, old Watch, from the fangs of the slave hunter's hound, she fell into the hands of friends, who kept her secreted until she could be sent into a free State; while there, she learned about the pursuit by the hunter, and that he never knew what became of his best hound. After the chase was abandoned, she, through a regular line, similar to our Underground Railroad, was sent to Philadelphia and then to New York, where she became a celebrated nurse, and always befriended the poor of all colors and all nationalities.

Pettit, Eber M. 1879. *Sketches in the History of the Underground Railroad, Comprising Many Thrilling Incidents of*

the Escape of Fugitives from Slavery, and the Perils of Those Who Aided Them. Fredonia, NY: W. McKinstry & Son.

CHARLES BALL DESCRIBES THE PROVISIONS GRANTED SLAVES (C. 1820)

At the time of which I now speak, the rice was ripe, and ready to be gathered. On Monday morning, after our feast, the overseer took the whole of us to the rice field, to enter upon the harvest of this crop. The field lay in a piece of low ground, near the river, and in such a position that it could be flooded by the water of the stream, in wet seasons. The rice is planted in drills, or rows, and grows more like oats than any of the other grain, known in the north.

The water is sometimes let in to the rice fields, and drawn off again, several times, according to the state of the weather. Watering and weeding the rice is considered one of the most unhealthy occupations on a southern plantation, as the people are obliged to live for several weeks in the mud and water, subject to all the unwholesome vapours that arise from stagnant pools, under the rays of a summer sun, as well as the chilly autumnal dews of night. At the time we came to cut this rice, the field was quite dry; and after we had reaped and bound it, we hauled it upon wagons, to a piece of hard ground where we made a threshing floor, and threshed it. In some places, they tread out the rice, with mules or horses, as they tread wheat in Maryland; but this renders the grain dusty, and is injurious to its sale.

After getting in the rice, we were occupied for some time in clearing and ditching swampy land, preparatory to a more extended culture of rice, the next year; and about the first of August, twenty or thirty of the people, principally women and children, were employed for two weeks in making cider, of apples which grew in an orchard of nearly two hundred trees, that stood on a part of the estate. After the cider was made, a barrel of it was one day brought to the field, and distributed amongst us; but this gratuity was not repeated. The cider that was made by the people, was converted into brandy, at a still in the corner of the orchard.

I often obtained cider to drink, at the still, which was sheltered from the weather by a shed, of boards and slabs. We were not permitted to go into the orchard at pleasure; but as long as the apples continued, we were allowed the privilege of sending five or six persons every evening, for the purpose of bringing apples to the quarter, for our common use; and by taking

large baskets, and filling them well, we generally contrived to get as many as we could consume.

When the peaches ripened, they were guarded with more rigour—peach brandy being an article which is nowhere more highly prized than in South Carolina. There were on the plantation, more than a thousand peach trees, growing on poor sandy fields which were no longer worth the expense of cultivation. The best peaches grow upon the poorest sandhills.

We were allowed to take three bushels of peaches every day, for the use of the quarter; but we could, and did eat, at least three times that quantity, for we stole at night that which was not given us by day. I confess, that I took part in these thefts, and I do not feel that I committed any wrong, against either God or man, by my participation in the common danger that we ran, for we well knew the consequences that would have followed detection.

After the feast at laying by the corn and cotton, we had no meat for several weeks; and it is my opinion that our master lost money, by the economy he practised at this season of the year.

In the month of August, we had to save the fodder. This fodder-saving is the most toilsome, and next to working in the rice swamps, the most unhealthy job, that has to be performed on a cotton plantation, in the whole year. The manner of doing it is to cut the tops from the corn, as is done in Pennsylvania; but in addition to this, the blades below the ear, are always pulled off by the hand. Great pains is taken with these corn-blades. They constitute the chosen food of race, and all other horses, that are intended to be kept with extraordinary care, and in superior condition. For the purpose of procuring the best blades, they are frequently stripped from the stock, sometimes before the corn is ripe enough in the ear, to permit the top of the stalk to be cut off, without prejudice to the grain. After the blades are stripped from the stem, they are stuck between the hills of corn until they are cured, ready for the stack. They are then cut, and bound in sheaves, with small bands of the blades themselves. This binding, and the subsequent hauling from the field, must be done either early in the morning, before the dew is dried up, or in the night, whilst the dew is falling.

This work exposes the people who do it, to the fogs and damps of the climate, at the most unhealthy season of the year. Agues, fevers, and all the diseases which follow in their train, have their dates at the time of fodder-saving. It is the only work, appertaining to a cotton estate, which must of necessity be done in the night, or in the fogs of the morning; and the people at this season of the year, and whilst engaged in this very fatiguing work, would certainly be

better able to go through with it, if they were regularly supplied, with proper portions of sound and wholesome salted provisions.

If every master would, through the months of August and September, supply his people with only a quarter of a pound of good bacon flitch to each person, daily, I have no doubt but that he would save money by it; to say nothing of the great comfort it would yield to the slaves, at this period, when the human frame is so subject to debility and feebleness.

Early in August, disease made its appearance amongst us. Several were attacked by the ague, with its accompanying fever; but in South Carolina the "ague," as it is called, is scarcely regarded as a disease, and if a slave, has no ailment that is deemed more dangerous, he is never withdrawn from the roll of the field hands. I have seen many of our poor people compelled to pick cotton, when their frames were shaken so violently, by the ague, that they were unable to get hold of the cotton in the burs, without difficulty. In this, masters commit a great error. Many fine slaves are lost, by this disease, which superinduces the dropsy, and sometimes the, consumption, which could have been prevented by arresting the ague at its onset. When any of our people were taken so ill that they were not able to go to the field, they were removed to the great house, and placed in the "sick room," as it was termed. This sick room was a large, airy apartment, in the second story of a building, which stood in the garden.

The lower part of this building was divided into two apartments, in one of which was kept the milk, butter, and other things connected with the dairy. In the other, the salt provisions of the family, including fish, bacon, and other articles, were secured. This apartment also constituted the smoke house; but as the ceiling was lathed, and plastered with a thick coat of lime and sand, no smoke could penetrate the "sick room," which was at all seasons of the year, a very comfortable place to sleep in. Though I was never sick myself, whilst on this plantation, I was several times in this "sick room," and always observed, when there, that the sick slaves were well attended to. There a hanging partition, which could be let down at pleasure, and which was let down when it was necessary, to divide the rooms into two apartments, which always happened when there were several slaves of different sexes, sick at the same time. The beds, upon which the sick lay, were of straw, but clean and wholesome, and the patients when once in this room, were provided with every thing necessary for persons in their situation. A physician attended them daily, and proper food, and even wines, were not wanting.

The contrast between the cotton and rice fields, and

this little hospital, was very great; and it appeared to me at the time, that if a part of the tenderness and benevolence, displayed here, had been bestowed upon the people whilst in good health, very many of the inmates of this infirmary, would never have been here.

Ball, Charles. 1836. *Slavery in the United States. A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man, Who Lived Forty Years in Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia, as a Slave Under Various Masters, and Was One Year in the Navy with Commodore Barney, During the Late War.* Lewistown, PA: J. W. Shugert.

DESCRIPTION OF DENMARK VESEY (1822)

As Denmark Vesey has occupied so large a place in the conspiracy, a brief notice of him will, perhaps, be not devoid of interest. The following anecdote will show how near he was to the chance of being distinguished in the bloody events of San Domingo. During the revolutionary war, Captain Vesey, now an old resident of this city, commanded a ship that traded between St. Thomas and Cape Francais (San Domingo). He was engaged in supplying the French of that Island with Slaves. In the year 1781, he took on board at St. Thomas 390 slaves and sailed for the Cape; on the passage, he and his officers were struck with the beauty, alertness and intelligence of a boy about 14 years of age, whom they made a pet of, by taking him into the cabin, changing his apparel, and calling him by way of distinction Telemaque, (which appellation has since, by gradual corruption, among the negroes, been changed to Denmark, or sometimes Tebaak.) On the arrival, however, of the ship at the Cape, Captain Vesey, having no use for the boy, sold him among his other slaves, and returned to St. Thomas. On his next voyage to the Cape, he was surprised to learn from his consignee that Telemaque would be returned on his hands, as the planter, who had purchased him, represented him unsound, and subject to epileptic fits. According to the custom of trade in that place, the boy was placed in the hands of the king's physician, who decided that he was unsound, and Captain Vesey was compelled to take him back, of which he had no occasion to repent, as Denmark proved, for 20 years, a most faithful slave. In 1800, Denmark drew a prize of \$1500 in the East-Bay-Street Lottery, with which he purchased his freedom from his master, at six hundred dollars, much less than his real value. From that period to day of his apprehension he has been working as a carpenter in this city, distinguished for great strength and activity. Among his colour he was always looked

up to with awe and respect. His temper was impetuous and domineering in the extreme, qualifying him for the despotic rule, of which he was ambitious. All his passions were ungovernable and, savage; and to his numerous wives and children, he displayed the haughty and capricious cruelty of Eastern Bashaw. He had nearly effected his escape, after information had been lodged against him. For three days the town was searched for him without success. As early as Monday, the 17th, he had concealed himself. It was not until the night of the 22d of June, during a perfect tempest, that he was found secreted in the house of one of his wives. It is to the uncommon efforts and vigilance of Mr. Wesner, and Capt. Dove, of the City Guard, (the latter of whom seized him) that public justice received its necessary tribute, in the execution of this man. If the party had been one moment later, he would, in all probability, have effected his escape the next day in some outward bound vessel.

Coffin, Joshua. 1860. *An Account of Some of the Principal Slave Insurrections, and Others, Which Have Occurred, or Been Attempted, in the United States and Elsewhere, During the Last Two Centuries, with Various Remarks*. New York: American Anti-Slavery Society.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MANUMISSION SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA (1824)

The delegates appointed to revise and amend the constitution of the society of North Carolina for the gradual abolition of slavery are of opinion, that at this eventful era, when the attention of Europe and America is excited by the suffering of the African race, it is incumbent on us to consider whether we are acting up to the principles we profess. We take the liberty briefly to observe, that we adhere to the declaration of 1776, viz. "that all men are endowed by the great Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We think that declaration holds good, without respect to color, and that it is the duty of nations and states, as well as individuals, and more especially those who profess to be actuated by the republican principle, to suppress involuntary slavery among them, and endeavor to remove this dishonor of the christian character from a free people. In accordance with these principles, we have adopted the following articles as a constitution.

Article 1. This society shall be known by the title of "The Manumission Society of North Carolina," for promoting the gradual abolition of slavery, and for meliorating the condition of the African race among us.

Article 2. This society shall convene once in each year, or oftener if necessary, which meeting shall be denominated the "General Association."

Article 3. This society shall consist of such branch meetings as shall adopt this constitution, and be represented in the general association.

Article 4. The general association shall elect a president, secretary and treasurer, by ballot, for the term of two years. Twelve members shall constitute a quorum; but a smaller number may adjourn from time to time, until a quorum shall be formed.

Article 5. It shall be the duty of the association when met, to transact the business of the society, and endeavour to promote the objects of this institution. The money for the use of the society is to be raised by free donation of the branches, and by voluntary contribution of individuals who may wish to promote the views of this society.

Article 6. Each branch meeting who may adopt this constitution, shall be entitled to two representatives in the general association, but may send one delegate for every ten members. Each branch may choose their own officers, and make their own by-laws, consistent with the stipulations of this constitution. Each branch meeting shall convene once in six months, or oftener if they think proper.

Article 7. The reception of members shall take place at the respective branch meetings; each branch shall keep a record of their members, and report the number annually to the association.

Article 8. The general association may choose a board of managers, if they think proper, to transact the business of the society in the recess of its sittings. With regard to the emigration of free colored persons who may be disposed to remove, the society reserve to themselves the privilege to act as circumstances may justify, to promote emigration to any place which in their judgement may be most likely to produce the desired effect.

Article 9. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at each meeting of the association, keep order and decorum, and give such information to the meeting as he may be in possession of, relative to the affairs of the society, and recommend such measures as in his opinion may have a tendency to promote the views of this institution; shall have power to adjourn as occasion

may require, and may call a special meeting of the association at the request of two, or more, of the branches. In case of absence of the president, the meeting shall appoint one pro tempore.

Article 10. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep fair records of the proceeding of each association, so as to form a regular journal of the transactions of the society. In case of absence of the secretary, the meeting shall appoint a secretary pro tempore.

Article 11. It shall be the duty of the treasurer to receive the money collected for the use of the society; he shall make regular entries of all money received or paid out, but shall not pay out any money without an order from the president, or the chairman of the board of managers; he shall exhibit a true statement of the funds at each annual meeting.

Article 12. In case any member shall violate the principles of this institution, he may be disowned by the branch meeting unto which he belongs, subject to an appeal to the general association.

Article 13. The general association shall have power to alter or amend this constitution whenever two thirds of the branches concur therein.

Ratified in general association,
held at Deep river meeting-house,
in Guilford county, the 19th of
October, 1824.

RICHARD MENDENHALL, *Pres't.*

AARON COFFIN, *Sec.ry.*

Genius of Universal Emancipation and Baltimore Courier,
October 8, 1825.

QUAKER ATTITUDES TOWARD SLAVERY (1824)

Observations and Remarks on Slavery, 1824.

I had at Fredericksburg a very large meeting in the Presbyterian meeting house. The prospect of having a meeting at that place, where I have repeatedly seen the poor slaves treated with great cruelty, felt awful to me. But the dear Master helped his poor servant to do the work required. I was enlarged in setting forth the love of Him who has loved us whilst sinners, and has commanded us to love one another as he has loved us. His love is to all men, he has died for all, and we must love all, and do to others as we would they should do to us. Were this the case, could men oppress one another?

could they wage war against one another? could they hold their fellow men, of any colour or nation, in a state of bondage? The Lord's power came over the meeting in such a manner as to bring conviction to the minds of the people, and seriousness prevailed over all. But, alas! it may prove to many on only the passing of the morning cloud.

On the way to Richmond, stopping on the road to feed our horses, we saw a large concourse of slaves in an orchard. They were holding a meeting, previous to the burial of an aged fellow negro. Such a meeting was allowed them on the occasion, and a magistrate was with them to see that order was maintained. There was no need however of his interference, for they were very quiet and serious. One of the number was preaching to them. He was earnest and fluent in his communication, and the matter was good and appropriate. It was pleasant to me to stand a while among them, listening to what was said. I doubt not that many of them were offering unto the Lord acceptable worship.

I had two meetings at Richmond; one was largely attended by the inhabitants. I had several times, before now, apprehended that there are in this place, among much of what is evil, some well-disposed, pious persons; to these the Lord gave me to minister, for their encouragement in the ways of righteousness and holiness.

The Quarterly Meeting at Wain Oak was a time of suffering to me; things are very low among them, and there is a great departure, among the young people, from the purity and Christian simplicity of our religious profession. Many of these have been sorely wounded by associations with slaveholders . . .

I had meeting throughout that part of Virginia, as far as Suffolk. These meetings were numerously attend[ed] by slave-holders. I cannot describe the weight of distress brought on my mind on these occasions; for the yoke of slavery has become heavy here; their treatment, and the oppressive laws against the free people of colour, are not less so. It is very evident that their Colonization Society, under fair, specious appearances, has for its object to drive the free negroes away from the country, so that slaves, by not seeing any of their colour in the enjoyment of liberty, may the better submit to their state of bondage. They have so increased the penalties on the free blacks, that if any one of these is charged with having stolen to the value of *one dollar and fifty cents*, he is to be sold as a slave, and transported out of the country. Those that have been set free of late, must leave the state within one year, or else they are liable to be sold again as slaves. Free people of colour are liable to be taken up as suspected slaves, and confined in prison till they can give proof that they are

free; but, being shut up, they have not an opportunity to obtain this proof; or, should they obtain it, if they cannot pay the expenses incurred by their imprisonment, they are also sold as slaves. Will not the Lord plead with his people for these things? Will He not arise for the cry of the poor and oppressed descendants of Africa? I feel deeply for them, and not less awfully for their oppressors. . . .

I passed thence into the lower parts of North Carolina, attended their Quarterly Meeting for those counties, held this time as Sutton's Creek, which was very satisfactory. The public meetings were baptizing seasons. Great crowds attend them, and the Lord was pleased to extend his gracious invitation to return to him with full purpose of heart. Through those counties I had several large meetings. Some entirely among the slave-holders. Others, chiefly among the slaves; for, although it was given me to proclaim the Truth, without disguise, to the masters, their hearts appeared to be open towards me, and they made way very readily for the meetings I appointed for their slaves. Some of the masters attended, but generally they said, that they were persuaded that I would not say anything in their absence, that I would not say in their presence. The Lord was very precious near in several of these religious opportunities. . . .

25th [7th month, 1824]. I had two meetings; one in the forenoon with Friends, the other in the Methodists large house at Lynchburg, attended by the people of the various religious denominations in the place. The Lord was near and good; he strengthened me to proclaim his Gospel, which is designed to be glad tidings of great joy to all people; a joy that all may become partakers of, if, by their own fault, they do not frustrate the purpose of the Redeemer's love towards them. In his love and free mercy he has come to deliver us from the bondage of sin, and has commanded us to love one another as he has loved us. Can we say that we love him if we observe not his commandments? Can we say that we love our fellow men, if we act toward them contrary to what we would they should do towards us? Should we think, that those who are now held under the galling yoke of bondage, acted justly towards us, were they to rivet the same heavy chains upon us that they are now laden with? It will not avail us to say that slaves are of another colour than ourselves; they, equally with us, are the children of the same Almighty Father. He has made all the nations of the earth one blood; Christ Jesus has died for all men, and he commands us to love all men. I entreated with them, to live in the Divine fear, to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God. Much serious-

ness was over the assembly, and none made any opposition, though I fully set before them the unrighteousness of slavery, and the guilt of slave-holders.

Grellet, Stephen. 1877. *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Stephen Grellet*. Benjamin Seebohm, ed. Philadelphia: H. Longstreth.

FEARS ABOUT PENDING EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN TEXAS (1826)

Emancipation of Slaves in Texas.

We learn by a gentleman of this place, who arrived a few days since from Miller County that a citizen of that county had returned before he started from the province of Texas, bringing information that great excitement prevailed throughout the several colonies in that country, when he left there, in consequence of the recent passage of a law by the *Mexican Government*, for the *Emancipation of all the Slaves in the Province of Texas*, and that orders had been received for carrying it into immediate effect. As may be well supposed, this information produced the greatest consternation among the slave holders, all of whom had emigrated to that country under an assurance, as we are informed, from the local authorities of Texas, that they could hold their slaves, though we are under the impression that slavery is prohibited throughout the Republic, by the Constitution of Mexico.

The large slave holders were hurrying off their slaves in great numbers, into Louisiana and Arkansas, and we have heard of several persons who emigrated from this Territory, who have recently crossed the line into Louisiana, with their slaves. Those persons, who have but few slaves have held meetings, at which it was resolved, that they would stand by each other in resisting the execution of the law until they can gather this year's crop, after which they have determined to leave the country.

We also learn, that the Indians have been very troublesome for some time past, to the colonists, and that in many settlements they were under the necessity of erecting forts for their protection, and retreating into them for security. Several persons had been killed by the Indians within a few months, but at the latest advices, the alarm was subsiding. The crops are said to be short this season, and the country very sickly.

Arkansas Gazette, November 11, 1826.

FREEDOM'S JOURNAL EDITORIAL (1827)

To Our Patrons

In presenting our first number to our Patrons, we feel all the diffidence of persons entering upon a new and untried line of business. But a moment's reflection upon the noble objects, which we have in view by the publication of this journal; the expediency of its appearance at this time, when so many schemes are in action concerning our people encourage us to come boldly before an enlightened publick. For we believe, that a paper devoted to the dissimulation of useful knowledge among our brethren, and to their moral and religious improvement, must meet with the cordial approbation of every friend to humanity.

The peculiarities of this Journal, renders it important that we should advertise to the world our motives by which we are actuated, and the objects which we contemplate.

We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publick been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimation of some mere trifles; for though there are many in society who exercise towards us benevolent feelings; still (with sorrow we confess it) there are others who make it their business to enlarge upon the least trifle, which tends to the discredit of any person of colour; and pronounce anathemas and denounce our whole body for the misconduct of this guilty one. We are aware that there are many instances of vice among us, but we avow that it is because no one has taught its subjects to be virtuous; many instances of poverty, because no sufficient efforts accommodated to minds contracted by slavery, and deprived of early education have been made, to teach them how to husband their hard earnings, and to secure to themselves comfort.

Education being an object of the highest importance to the welfare of society, we shall endeavour to present just and adequate views of it, and to urge upon our brethren the necessity and expediency of training their children, while young, to habits of industry, and thus forming them for becoming useful members of society. It is surely time that we should awake from this lethargy of years, and make a concentrated effort for the education of our youth. We form a spoke in the human wheel, and it is necessary that we should understand our pendency on the different parts, and theirs on us, in order to perform our part with propriety.

Though not desiring of dictating, we shall feel it

our incumbent duty to dwell occasionally upon the general principles and rules of economy. The world has grown too enlightened, to estimate any man's character by his personal appearance. Though all men acknowledge the excellency of Franklin's maxims, yet comparatively few practise upon them. We may deplore when it is too late, the neglect of these self-evident truths, but it avails little to mourn. Ours will be the task of admonishing our brethren on these points.

The civil rights of a people being of the greatest value, it shall ever be our duty to vindicate our brethren, when oppressed; and to lay the case before the publick. We shall also urge upon our brethren, (who are qualified by the laws of the different states) the expediency of using their elective franchise; and of making an independent use of the same. We wish them not to become the tools of party.

And as much time is frequently lost, and wrong principles instilled, by the perusal of works of trivial importance, we shall consider it a part of our duty to recommend to our young readers, such authors as will not only enlarge their stock of useful knowledge, but such as will also serve to stimulate them to higher attainments in science.

We trust also, that through the columns of the FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, many practical pieces, having for their bases, the improvement of our brethren, will be presented to them, from the pens of many of our respected friends, who have kindly promised their assistance.

It is our earnest wish to make our journal a medium of intercourse between our brethren in the different states of this great confederacy: that through its columns an expression of our sentiments, on many interesting subjects which concern us, may be offered to the publick: that plans which apparently are beneficial may be candidly discussed and properly weighed; if worth, receive our cordial approbation; if not, our marked disapprobation.

Useful knowledge of every kind, and everything that relates to Africa, shall find a ready admission into our columns; and as that vast continent becomes daily more known, we trust that many things will come to light, proving that the natives of it are neither so ignorant nor stupid as they have generally been supposed to be.

And while these important subjects shall occupy the columns of the FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, we would not be unmindful of our brethren who are still in the iron fetters of bondage. They are our kindred by all the ties of nature; and though but little can be effected by us, still let our sympathies be poured forth, and our

prayers in their behalf, ascend to Him who is able to succour them.

From the press and the pulpit we have suffered much by being incorrectly represented. Men whom we equally love and admire have not hesitated to represent us disadvantageously, without becoming personally acquainted with the true state of things, nor discerning between virtue and vice among us. The virtuous part of our people feel themselves sorely aggrieved under the existing state of things—they are not appreciated.

Our vices and our degradation are ever arrayed against us, but our virtues are passed by unnoticed. And what is still more lamentable, our friends, to whom we concede all the principles of humanity and religion, from these very causes seem to have fallen into the current of popular feeling and are imperceptibly floating on the stream—actually living in the practice of prejudice, while they abjure it in theory, and feel it not in their hearts. Is it not very desirable that such should know more of our actual condition; and of our efforts and feelings, that in forming or advocating plans for our amelioration, they may do it more understandingly? In the spirit of candor and humility we intend by a simple representation of facts to lay our case before the public, with a view to arrest the progress of prejudice, and to shield ourselves against the consequent evils. We wish to conciliate all and to irritate none, yet we must be firm and unwavering in our principles, and persevering in our efforts.

If ignorance, poverty and degradation have hitherto been our unhappy lot; has the Eternal decree gone forth, that our race alone are to remain in this state, while knowledge and civilization are shedding their enlivening rays over the rest of the human family? The recent travels of Denham and Clapperton in the interior of Africa, and the interesting narrative which they have published; the establishment of the republic of Hayti after years of sanguinary warfare; its subsequent progress in all the arts of civilization; and the advancement of liberal ideas in South America, where despotism has given place to free governments, and where many of our brethren now fill important civil and military stations, prove the contrary.

The interesting fact that there are FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND free persons of colour, one half of whom might peruse, and the whole be benefitted by the publication of the journal; that no publication, as yet, has been devoted exclusively to their improvement—that many selections from approved standard authors, which are within the reach of few, may occasionally be made—and more important still, that this large body of our citizens have no public channel—all

serve to prove the real necessity, at present, for the appearance of the FREEDOM'S JOURNAL.

It shall ever be our desire so to conduct the editorial department of our paper as to give offence to none of our patrons; as nothing is farther from us than to make it the advocate of any partial views, either in politics or religion. What few days we can number, have been devoted to the improvement of our brethren; and it is our earnest wish that the remainder may be spent in the same delightful service.

In conclusion, whatever concerns us as a people, will ever find a ready admission into the FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, interwoven with all the principal news of the day.

And while every thing in our power shall be performed to support the character of our journal, we would respectfully invite our numerous friends to assist by their communications, and our coloured brethren to strengthen our hands by their subscriptions, as our labour is one of common cause, and worthy of their consideration and support. And we most earnestly solicit the latter, that if at any time we should seem to be zealous, or too pointed in the inculcation of any important lesson, they will remember, that they are equally interested in the cause in which we are engaged, and attribute our zeal to the peculiarities of our situation; and our earnest engagedness in their well-being.

Freedom's Journal, March 16, 1827.

FREEDOM FOR AN AFRICAN PRINCE (1828)

The Captive African Restored to Liberty

Letter from a gentleman of Natchez to a Lady of Cincinnati. Natchez, April 7, 1828.

This letter will be handed to you by a very extraordinary personage—no less than your old acquaintance Prince (or Ibrahim) who is now FREE, and on his way to his own country; where he was captured in battle nearly forty years ago, and has been in slavery nearly the whole of that long period upon the plantation of Mr. Thomas Foster of this county. I am much gratified to have been the instrument of his emancipation—although from his advanced age (sixty-six years), he can but possess merely a glimpse of the blessings to which he was entitled from his birth.

As I happen to have a leisure half hour, I will give you a sketch of the manner in which his liberation has been brought about; you may recollect that I frequently suggested to him that if he would write a letter

to his country, I would have it conveyed for him to his own country. I think it was early in the spring of 1826, that he wrote the letter in my office, which I directed to the care of our Consul General (Captain John Mulloy). Thomas B. Reed, Esq., one of our Senators, took charge of the letter to Washington, from whence it was sent by the Department of State to its destination. During last summer, I received a letter from the Department of State, informing me that the letter had been forwarded, and a translation of it returned, and I was requested to inquire on what terms Mr. Foster would liberate Prince, to the intent that he might be returned to his own country. On applying to Mr. F. he agreed to give him up without any compensation, conditioned, that he should not enjoy his liberty in this country. I informed the President of the result of my inquiry, and a few weeks ago, received a letter from Mr. Clay, asking of me to complete the agency and to send Prince on to Washington City, for which purpose I was authorized to draw for a sum of money necessary to defray the expenses of his journey and to clothe him if necessary.

But the poor old man, when the news was communicated to him that he was to be free and return to his country, where he is, we have no doubt a lawful king, [of a country called Timboo,] he looked at the old companion of his slavery—the mother of his nine children—he could not agree to part with her—she too—how could she part with him!—She wished to follow him to the end of the world. What was to be done? I had no authority to interfere as to her, and I felt almost grieved that I had taken a solitary step in the business believing that the separation of the old couple would no doubt accelerate the death of both. However, it rejoices me to tell you Isabella is with Prince—they will both call and see “Miss Jane”—as the old man, you recollect always called you. I applied again to Mr. Foster, who is a truly amiable and worthy man; he could not find in his heart to separate his old and faithful servants, and for a very small sum (compared to the value of Isabella as a servant), he agreed to give her up. So soon as his intentions were known, I requested a young gentleman of the bar to head a subscription paper for Prince, asking of his friends to assist him to purchase his wife. Two hundred dollars was the sum required. In a very few days he had a surplus of \$33. Several gentlemen gave him 10 dolls. One gave him 15, many gave 5 and very few less than 1 dollar.

Prince has also several certificates voluntarily given to him, of his uncommon good conduct for twenty four years. N. A. Ware, Esq. has kindly undertaken to see him to Washington City. I expect he will remain three or four days in Cincinnati, and as he will call on

you in all his finery, (I have had an elegant Moorish dress made for him), and perhaps attract some attention. I write you this long history, that you may be enabled to give some account of your distinguished visitor.

Prince is really a most extraordinary man—born to a kingdom—well educated, for he now writes Arabic in a most elegant style—brought a slave in a foreign country, he has sustained a character for honesty and integrity which is almost beyond parallel; he has been faithful, honest, humble, and industrious, and although he adheres strictly to the religion of his country (Mahometism) he expresses the greatest respect for the Christian religion and is very anxious to obtain a testament in his own language, that he may read the history of Jesus Christ. I wrote to the President to request one for him, but that part of my letter was not answered. I am however in hopes, if one is to be had at Washington City, he will be gratified on his own application for it.

Prince called to see us yesterday, with his wife and sons, who are really the finest looking young men I have seen. They were all genteelly dressed; and although they expressed themselves pleased with the freedom of their parents, there was a look of *silent agony* in their eyes I could not bear to witness. I hope the old man will be able to realize his prospects and regain his property; which if he does, he says he can buy them free at TEN PRICES.

Freedom's Journal, 2:8 (May 16, 1828).

DAVID WALKER ADDRESSES FREE PERSONS OF COLOR (1828)

Address, Delivered before the General Colored Association at Boston, by David Walker

Mr. President,—I cannot but congratulate you, together with my brethren on this highly interesting occasion, the first semi-annual meeting of this Society. When I reflect upon the many impediments through which we have had to conduct its affairs, and see, with emotions of delight, the present degree of eminency to which it has arisen, I cannot, sir, but be of the opinion, that an invisible arm must have been stretched out on our behalf. From the very second conference, which was by us convened, to agitate the proposition respecting this society, to its final consolidation, we were by some, opposed, with an avidity and zeal, which, had it been on the opposite side, would have done great honor to themselves. And, sir, but for the undeviating, and truly patriotic exertions of those who were favor-

able to the formation of this institution, it might have been this day, in a yet unorganized condition. Did I say in an unorganized condition? Yea, had our opponents their way, the very notion of such an institution might have been obliterated from our minds. How strange it is, to see men of sound sense, and of tolerably good judgment, act so diametrically in opposition to their interest; but I forbear making any further comments on this subject, and return to that for which we are convened.

First, then, Mr. President, it is necessary to remark here, at once, that the primary object of this institution, is, to unite the colored population, so far, through the United States of America, as may be practicable and expedient; forming societies, opening, extending, and keeping up correspondences, and not withholding any thing which may have the least tendency to meliorate *our* miserable condition—with the restrictions, however, of not infringing on the articles of its constitution, or that of the United States of America. Now, that we are disunited, is a fact, that no one of common sense will deny; and, that the cause of which, is a powerful auxiliary in keeping us from rising to the scale of reasonable and thinking beings, none but those who delight in our degradation will attempt to contradict. Did I say those who delight in our degradation? Yea, sir, glory in keeping us ignorant and miserable, that we might be the better and the longer slaves. I was credibly informed by a gentleman of unquestionable veracity, that a slaveholder upon finding one of his young slaves with a small spelling book in his hand (not opened) fell upon and beat him almost to death, exclaiming, at the same time, to the child, you will acquire better learning than I or any of my family.

I appeal to every candid and unprejudiced mind, do not all such men glory in our miseries and degradations; and are there not millions whose chief glory centers in this horrid wickedness? Now, Mr. President, those are the very humane, philanthropic, and charitable men who proclaim to the world, that the blacks are such a poor, ignorant and degraded species of beings, that, were they set at liberty, they would die for the want of something to subsist upon, and in consequence of which, they are compelled to keep them in bondage, to do them good.

O Heaven! what will not avarice and the love of despotic sway cause men to do with their fellow creatures, when actually in their power? But, to return whence digressed; it has been asked, in what way will the *General Colored Association* (or the Institution) unite the colored population, so far, in the United States as may be practicable and expedient? To which

enquiry I answer, by asking the following: Do not two hundred and eighty years [of] very intolerable sufferings teach us the actual necessity of a general among us? do we not know indeed, the horrid dilemma into which we are, and from which, we must exert ourselves, to be extricated? Shall we keep slumbering on, with our arms completely folded up, exclaiming every now and then, against our miseries, yet never do the least thing to ameliorate our condition, or that of posterity? Shall we not, by such inactivity, leave, or [farther] entail a hereditary degradation on our children, but a little, if at all, inferior to that which our fathers, under all their comparative disadvantages and privations, left on us? In fine, shall we, while almost every other people under Heaven, are making such mighty efforts to better their condition, go around from house to house, enquiring what good associations and societies are going to do for us? Ought we not to form ourselves into a general body, to protect, aid, and assist each other to the utmost of our power, with the beforementioned restrictions?

Yes, Mr. President, it is indispensably our duty to try every scheme that we think will have a tendency to facilitate our salvation, and leave the final result to that God, who holds the destinies of people in the hollow of his hand, and who ever has, and will, repay every nation according to its works.

Will any be so hardy as to say, or even to imagine, that we are incapable of effecting any object which may have a tendency to hasten our emancipation, in consequence of the prevalence of ignorance and poverty among us? That the major part of us are ignorant and poor, I am at this time unprepared to deny. —But shall this deter us from all lawful attempts to bring about the desired object? Nay, sir, it should rouse us to greater exertions; there ought to be a spirit of emulation and inquiry among us, a hungering and thirsting after religion; these are requisitions, which, if we ever be so happy as acquire, will fit us, for all the departments of life; and, in my humble opinion, ultimately result in rescuing us from an oppression, unparalleled, I had almost said, in the annals of the world.

But some may even think that our white brethren and friends are making such mighty efforts, for the amelioration of our condition, that we may stand as neutral spectators of the work. That we have very good friends yea, very good, among that body, perhaps none but a few of those who have, ever read at all will deny; and that many of them have gone, and will go, all lengths for our good, is evident, from the very works of the great, the good, and the godlike Granville Sharpe [sic], Wilberforce, Lundy, and the truly patri-

otic and lamented Mr. Ashmun, late Colonial Agent of Liberia, who, with a zeal which was only equaled by the goodness of his heart has lost his life in our cause, and a host of others too numerous to mention: a number of private gentlemen too, who, though they say but little, are nevertheless engaged for good. Now, all of those great, and indeed, good friends whom God has given us I do humbly, and very gratefully acknowledge. But, that we should co-operate with them, as far as we are able by uniting and cultivating a spirit of friendship and of love among us, is obvious, from the very exhibition of our miseries, under which we groan.

Two millions and a half of colored people in these United States, more than five hundred thousand of whom are about two thirds of the way free. Now, I ask, if no more than these last were united (which they must be, or always live as enemies) and resolved to aid and assist each other to the utmost of their power, what mighty deeds could be done by them for the good of our cause?

But, Mr. President, instead of a general compliance with these requisitions, which have a natural tendency to raise us in the estimation of the world, we see, to our sorrow, in the very midst of us, a gang of villains, who, for the paltry sum of fifty or a hundred dollars, will kidnap and sell into perpetual slavery their fellow creatures! and, too, of one of their fellow sufferers, whose miseries are a little more enhanced by the scourges of a tyrant, would abscond from his pretended owner, to take a little recreation, and unfortunately fall in their way, he is gone! Brethren and fellow sufferers, I ask you, in the name of God, and of Jesus Christ, shall we suffer such notorious villains to rest peaceably among us? will they not take our wives and little ones, more particularly our *little ones*, when a convenient opportunity will admit and sell them for money to slave holders, who will doom them to *chains, handcuffs*, and even unto death? May God open our eyes on these children of the devil and enemies of all good!

But, sir, this wickedness is scarcely more infernal than that which was attempted a few months since, against the government of our brethren, the Haytians, by a consummate rogue, who ought to have, long since, been *haltered*, but who, I was recently informed, is nevertheless, received into company among some of our most respectable men, with a kind of brotherly affection which ought to be shown only to a gentleman of honor.

Now, Mr. President, all such mean, and more than disgraceful actions as these, are powerful auxiliaries, which work for our destruction, and which are abhorred in the sight of God and of good men.

But, sir, I cannot but bless God for the glorious anticipation of a not very distant period, when these things which now help to degrade us still no more be practiced among the sons of Africa—for, though this, and perhaps another, generation may not experience the promised blessings of Heaven, yet, the dejected, degraded, and now enslaved children of Africa will have, in spite of all their enemies, to take their stand among the nations of the earth. And, sir, I verily believe that God has something in reserve for us, which, when he shall have poured it out upon us, will repay us for all our suffering and miseries.

Freedom's Journal, December 19, 1828.

KEY ARGUMENTS FROM DAVID WALKER'S *APPEAL* (1829)

My dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow Citizens.

Having travelled over a considerable portion of these United States, and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist—the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we, (coloured people of these United States,) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and I pray God that none like us ever may live again until time shall be no more. They tell us of the Israelites in Egypt, the Helots in Sparta, and of the Roman Slaves, which last were made up from almost every nation under heaven, whose sufferings under those ancient and heathen nations, were, in comparison with ours, under this enlightened and Christian nation, no more than a cypher—or, in other words, those heathen nations of antiquity, had but little more among them than the name and form of slavery; while wretchedness and endless miseries were reserved, apparently in a phial, to be poured out upon, our fathers, ourselves and our children, by *Christian Americans!*

. . . I call upon the professing Christians, I call upon the philanthropist, I call upon the very tyrant himself, to show me a page of history, either sacred or profane, on which a verse can be found, which maintains, that the Egyptians heaped the *insupportable insult* upon the children of Israel, by telling them that they were not of the *human family*. Can the whites deny this charge? Have they not, after having reduced us to the deplorable condition of slaves under their feet, held us up as descending originally from the tribes of *Monkeys* or *Orang-Outangs*? O! my God!

I appeal to every man of feeling—is not this insupportable? Is it not heaping the most gross insult upon our miseries, because they have got us under their feet and we cannot help ourselves? Oh! pity us we pray thee, Lord Jesus, Master.—Has Mr. Jefferson declared to the world, that we are inferior to the whites, both in the endowments of our bodies and our minds? It is indeed surprising, that a man of such great learning, combined with such excellent natural parts, should speak so of a set of men in chains. I do not know what to compare it to, unless, like putting one wild deer in an iron cage, where it will be secured, and hold another by the side of the same, then let it go, and expect the one in the cage to run as fast as the one at liberty. So far, my brethren, were the Egyptians from heaping these insults upon their slaves, that Pharaoh's daughter took Moses, a son of Israel for her own, as will appear by the following.

The world knows, that slavery as it existed was, man's, (which was the primary cause of their destruction) was, comparatively speaking, no more than a *cypher*, when compared with ours under the Americans. Indeed I should not have noticed the Roman slaves, had not the very learned and penetrating Mr. Jefferson said, "when a master was murdered, all his slaves in the same house, or within hearing, were condemned to death."—Here let me ask Mr. Jefferson, (but he is gone to answer at the bar of God, for the deeds done in his body while living,) I therefore ask the whole American people, had I not rather die, or be put to death, than to be a slave to any tyrant, who takes not only my own, but my wife and children's lives by the inches? Yea, would I meet death with avidity far! far!! in preference to such *servile submission* to the murderous hands of tyrants. Mr. Jefferson's very severe remarks on us have been so extensively argued upon by men whose attainments in literature, I shall never be able to reach, that I would not have meddled with it, were it not to solicit each of my brethren, who has the spirit of a man, to buy a copy of Mr. Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," and put it in the hand of his son.

But let us review Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us some further. Comparing our miserable fathers, with the learned philosophers of Greece, he says: "Yet notwithstanding these and other discouraging circumstances among the Romans, their slaves were often their rarest artists. They excelled too, in science, inso-much as to be usually employed as tutors to their master's children; Epictetus, Terence and Phaedrus, were slaves,—but they were of the race of whites. It is not their *condition* then, but *nature*, which has produced the distinction. "See this, my brethren! Do you believe that this assertion is swallowed by millions of the

whites? Do you know that Mr. Jefferson was one of as great characters as ever lived among the whites? See his writings for the world, and public labours for the United States of America. Do you believe that the assertions of such a man, will pass away into oblivion unobserved by this people and the world? If you do you are much mistaken—See how the American people treat us—have we souls in our bodies? Are we men who have any spirits at all? I know that there are many *swell-bellied* fellows among us, whose greatest object is to fill their stomachs. Such I do not mean—I am after those who know and feel, that we are MEN, as well as other people; to them, I say, that unless we try to refute Mr. Jefferson's arguments respecting us, we will only establish them.

. . . I must observe to my brethren that at the close of the first Revolution in this country, with Great Britain, there were but thirteen States in the Union, now there are twenty-four, most of which are slaveholding States, and the whites are dragging us around in chains and in handcuffs, to their new States and Territories to work their mines and farms, to enrich them and their children—and millions of them believing firmly that we being a little darker than they, were made by our Creator to be an inheritance to them and their children for ever—the same as a parcel of *brutes*.

Are we MEN!!—I ask you, O my brethren, are we MEN? Did our Creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves? Are they not dying worms as well as we? Have they not to make their appearance before the tribunal of Heaven, to answer for the deeds done in the body, as well as we? Have we any other Master but Jesus Christ alone? Is he not their Master as well as ours?—What right then, have we to obey and call any other Master, but Himself? How we could be so *submissive* to a gang of men, whom we cannot tell whether they are as good as ourselves or not, I never could conceive. However, this is shut up with the Lord, and we cannot precisely tell—but I declare, we judge men by their works.

The whites have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority.

. . . to my no ordinary astonishment, [a] Reverend gentleman got up and told us (coloured people) that slaves must be obedient to their masters—must do their duty to their masters or be whipped—the whip was made for the backs of fools, &c. Here I pause for a moment, to give the world time to consider what was my surprise, to hear such preaching from a minister of my Master, whose very gospel is that of peace and not of blood and whips, as this pretended preacher tried to make us believe. What the American

preachers can think of us, I aver this day before my God, I have never been able to define. They have newspapers and monthly periodicals, which they receive in continual succession, but on the pages of which, you will scarcely ever find a paragraph respecting slavery, which is ten thousand times more injurious to this country than all the other evils put together; and which will be the final overthrow of its government, unless something is very speedily done; for their cup is nearly full. —Perhaps they will laugh at or make light of this; but I tell you Americans! that unless you speedily alter your course, *you and your Country are gone!!!!*

If any of us see fit to go away, go to those who have been for many years, and are now our greatest earthly friends and benefactors—the English. If not so, go to our brethren, the Haytians, who, according to their word, are bound to protect and comfort us. The Americans say, that we are ungrateful—but I ask them for heaven's sake, what should we be grateful to them for—for murdering our fathers and mothers?—Or do they wish us to return thanks to them for chaining and handcuffing us, branding us, cramming fire down our throats, or for keeping us in slavery, and beating us nearly or quite to death to make us work in ignorance and miseries, to support them and their families. They certainly think that we are a gang of fools. Those among them, who have volunteered their services for our redemption, though we are unable to compensate them for their labours, we nevertheless thank them from the bottom of our hearts, and have our eyes steadfastly fixed upon them, and their labours of love for God and man.—But do slave-holders think that we thank them for keeping us in miseries, and taking our lives by the inches?

Let no man of us budge one step, and let slave-holders come to beat us from our country. America is more our country, than it is the whites—we have enriched it with our *blood and tears*. The greatest riches in all America have arisen from our blood and tears:—and will they drive us from our property and homes, which we have earned with our *blood*? They must look sharp or this very thing will bring swift destruction upon them. The Americans have got so fat on our blood and groans, that they have almost forgotten the God of armies. But let them go on.

Do the colonizationists think to send us off without first being reconciled to us? Do they think to bundle us up like brutes and send us off, as they did our brethren of the State of Ohio? Have they not to be reconciled to us, or reconcile us to them, for the cruelties with which they have afflicted our fathers and us? Methinks colonizationists think they have a set of brutes

to deal with, sure enough. Do they think to drive us from our country and homes, after having enriched it with our blood and tears, and keep back millions of our dear brethren, sunk in the most barbarous wretchedness, to dig up gold and silver for them and their children? Surely, the Americans must think that we are brutes, as some of them have represented us to be. They think that we do not feel for our brethren, whom they are murdering by the inches, but they are dreadfully deceived.

What nation under heaven, will be able to do any thing with us, unless God gives us up into its hand? But Americans. I declare to you, while you keep us and our children in bondage, and treat us like brutes, to make us support you and your families, we cannot be your friends. You do not look for it, do you? Treat us then like men, and we will be your friends. And there is not a doubt in my mind, but that the whole of the past will be sunk into oblivion, and we yet, under God, will become a united and happy people. The whites may say it is impossible, but remember that nothing is impossible with God.

I count my life not dear unto me, but I am ready to be offered at any moment. For what is the use of living, when in fact I am dead. But remember, Americans, that as miserable, wretched, degraded and abject as you have made us in preceding, and in this generation, to support you and your families, that some of you, (whites) on the continent of America, will yet curse the day that you ever were born. You want slaves, and want us for your slaves!!! My colour will yet, root some of you out of the very face of the earth!!!!!! You may doubt it if you please. I know that thousands will doubt—they think they have us so well secured in wretchedness, to them and their children, that it is impossible for such things to occur.

See your Declaration Americans!!! Do you understand your own language? Hear your languages, proclaimed to the world, July 4th, 1776—“We hold 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! !” Compare your own language above, extracted from your Declaration of Independence, with your cruelties and murders inflicted by your cruel and unmerciful fathers and yourselves on our fathers and on us—men who have never given your fathers or you the least provocation!!!!!!

Walker, David. 1830. *David Walker's Appeal, In Four Articles: Together with a Preamble to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to those of the United States of America*. Boston: D. Walker.

ADDRESS TO THE FREE
PEOPLE OF COLOUR OF
THESE UNITED STATES (1830)

Brethren,

Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being thought by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with unalienable rights, among which are the enjoyments of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.

Viewing these as incontrovertible facts, we have been led to the following conclusions; that our forlorn and deplorable situation earnestly and loudly demand of us to devise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men.

And in pursuit of this great object, various ways and means have been resorted to; among others, the African Colonization Society is the most prominent. Not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet we beg leave to say, that it does not meet with our approbation. However great the debt which these United States may owe to injured Africa, and however unjustly her sons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still we who have been born and nurtured on this soil, we, whose habits, manners, and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that Society to that much afflicted country.

Tell it not to barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilised, and eject our christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the states of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren to leave their homes and seek an asylum in foreign climes: and in taking a view of the unhappy situation of many of these, whom the oppressive laws alluded to, continually crowd into the Atlantic cities, dependent of their support upon their daily labour, and who often suffer for want of employment, we have had to lament that no means have yet been devised for their relief.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion, that the formation of a settlement in the British province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage of the people of colour. In accordance with these views, we pledge ourselves to aid each other by all honourable means, to plant and support one in that coun-

try, and therefore we earnestly and most feelingly appeal to our coloured brethren, and to all philanthropists here and elsewhere, to assist in this benevolent and important work.

To encourage our brethren earnestly to co-operate with us, we offer the following, viz.

1st. Under that government no invidious distinction of colour is recognised, but there we shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens.

2nd. That the language, climate, soil, and productions are similar to those in this country.

3rd. That land of the best quality can be purchased at the moderate price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre, by the one hundred acres. 4th. The market for different kinds of produce raised in that colony, is such as to render a suitable reward to the industrious farmer, equal in our opinion to that of the United States. And lastly, as the erection of buildings must necessarily claim the attention of the emigrants, we would invite the mechanics from our large cities to embark in the enterprise; the advancement of architecture depending much on their exertions, as they must consequently take with them the arts and improvements of our well regulated communities.

It will be much to the advantage of those who have large families, and desire to see them happy and respected, to locate themselves in a land where the laws and prejudices of society will have no effect in retarding their advancement to the summit of civil and religious improvement. There the diligent student will have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance; whilst those of moderate attainments, if properly nurtured, may be enabled to take their stand as men in the several offices and situations necessary to promote union, peace, order and tranquility. It is to these we must look for the strength and spirit of our future prosperity.

Before we close, we would just remark, that it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people, have not availingly appreciated every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen. That our mental and physical qualities have not been more actively engaged in pursuits more lasting, is attributable in a great measure to a want of unity among ourselves; whilst our only stimulus to action has been to become domestics, which at best is but a precarious and degraded situation.

It is to obviate these evils, that we have recommended our views to our fellow-citizens in the foregoing instrument, with a desire of raising the moral and political standing of ourselves; and we cannot devise any plan more likely to accomplish this end, than by encouraging agriculture and mechanical arts: for by the first, we shall be enabled to act with a degree of independence, which as yet has fallen to the lot of but few among us; and the faithful pursuit of the latter, in connection with the sciences, which expand and ennoble the mind, will eventually give us the standing and condition we desire.

To effect these great objects, we would earnestly request our brethren throughout the United States, to co-operate with us, by forming societies *auxiliary* to the Parent Institution, about being established in the city of Philadelphia, under the patronage of the GENERAL CONVENTION. And we further recommend to our friends and brethren, who reside in places where, *at present*, this may be impracticable, so far to aid us, by contributing to the funds of the Parent Institution; and, if disposed, to appoint one delegate to represent them in the next Convention, to be held in Philadelphia the first Monday of June next, it being fully understood, that organized societies be at liberty to send any number of delegates not exceeding *five*.

Signed by order of the Convention,

Rev. Richard Allen, *President*,

Senior Bishop of the African
Methodist Episcopal Churches.

Junius C. Morel, *Secretary*.

Constitution of the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for Improving Their Condition in the United States; for Purchasing Lands; and for the Establishment of a Settlement in Upper Canada, also the Proceedings of the Convention, with Their Address to the Free Persons of Colour in the United States. 1831. Philadelphia:
J. W. Allen.

THE LIBERATOR (1831)

To the Public:

In the month of August, I issued proposals for publishing "*The Liberator*" in Washington city; but the enterprise, though hailed in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* to the Seat of Government has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the

subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states—and *particularly in New-England*—than at the south. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth place of liberty*. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe—yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let southern oppressors tremble—let their secret abettors tremble—let their northern apologists tremble—let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park-street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of gradual abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My confidence is now satisfied.

I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will* be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hand of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in

earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—

AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The *charge is not true*. On this question my influence,—humble as it is,—is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard “the fear of man which bringeth a snare,” and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power. And here I close with this fresh dedication:

*Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel—but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base:—
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalizing sway – till Afric’s chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,—
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take—SO HELP ME GOD!*

The Liberator, 1:1 (January 1, 1831).

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON COMMENTS ON WALKER'S APPEAL (1831)

Believing, as we do, that men should never do evil that good may come; that a good end does not justify wicked means in the accomplishment of it; and that we ought to suffer, as did our Lord and his apostles, unresistingly—knowing that vengeance belongs to God, and he will certainly repay it where it is due;—believing all this, and that the Almighty will deliver the oppressed in a way which they know not, we deprecate the spirit and tendency of this Appeal. Nevertheless, it is not for the American people, as a nation, to denounce it as bloody or monstrous. Mr. Walker but pays them in their own coin, but follows their own creed, but adopts their own language. *We* do not preach rebellion—no, but submission and peace. Our

enemies may accuse us of striving to stir up the slaves to revenge but their accusations are false, and made only to excite the prejudices of the whites, and to destroy our influence. We say, that the possibility of a bloody insurrection at the south fills us with dismay; and we avow, too, as plainly, that if any people were ever justified in throwing off the yoke of their tyrants, the slaves are that people. It is not we, but our guilty countrymen, who put arguments into the mouths, and swords into the hands of the slaves. Every sentence that they write—every word that they speak—every resistance that they make, against foreign oppression, is a call upon their slaves to destroy them. Every Fourth of July celebration must embitter and inflame the minds of the slaves. And the late dinners, and illuminations, and orations, and shoutings, at the south, over the downfall of the French tyrant, Charles the Tenth, furnish so many reasons to the slaves why they should obtain their own rights by violence.

Some editors have affected to doubt where the deceased Walker wrote this pamphlet.—On this point, skepticism need not stumble: the Appeal bears the strongest internal evidence of having emanated from his own mind. No white man could have written in language so natural and enthusiastic.

The Liberator, 1:2 (January 8, 1831).

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF NAT TURNER'S REVOLT (1831)

The Banditti

. . . A fanatic preacher by the name of Nat Turner (Gen. Nat Turner) who had been taught to read and write, and permitted to go about preaching in the country, was at the bottom of this infernal brigandage. He was artful, impudent and vindictive, without any cause or provocation, that could be assigned. —He was the slave of Mr. Travis. He and another slave of Mr. T. a young fellow, by the name of Moore, were two of the leaders. Three or four others were first concerned and most active.—

They had 15 others to join them. And by importunity or threats they prevailed upon about 20 others to cooperate in the scheme of massacre. We cannot say how long they were organizing themselves—but they turned out on last Monday early (the 22d) upon their nefarious expedition. . . . They were mounted to the number of 40 or 50; and with knives and axes—knocking on the head, or cutting the throats of their victims. They had few firearms among them—and scarcely one, if one, was fit for use. . . . But as they

went from house to house, they drank ardent spirits—and it is supposed, that in consequence of their being intoxicated,—or from mere fatigue, they paused in their murderous career about 12 o'clock on Monday.

A fact or two, before we continue our narrative. These wretches are now estimated to have committed sixty-one murders! Not a white person escaped at all the houses they visited except two. One was a little child at Mrs. Waller's, about 7 or 8 years of age, who had sagacity enough to Creep up a chimney; and the other was Mrs. Barrow, whose husband was murdered in his cotton patch, though he had received some notice in the course of the morning of the murderous deeds that were going on; but placed no confidence in the story and fell victim to his incredulity. His wife hid herself between weather-boarding, and the unplastered lathing, and escaped, the wretches not taking time to hunt her out. It was believed that one of the brigands had taken up a spit against Mr. Barrow, because he had refused him one of his female slaves for a wife.

Early on Tuesday morning, they attempted to renew their bloody work. They made an attack upon Mr. Blunt, a gentleman who was very unwell with the gout, and who instead of flying determined to brave them out. He had several pieces of firearms, perhaps seven or eight, and he put them into the hands of his own slaves, who nobly and gallantly stood by him. They repelled the brigands—killed one, wounded and took prisoner (Gen. Moore), and we believe took a third who was not wounded at all. . . .

The militia of Southampton had been most active in ferreting out the fugitives from their hiding places. . . . But it deserves to be said to the credit of many of the slaves whom gratitude had bound to their masters, that they had manifested the greatest alacrity in detecting and apprehending many of the brigands. They had brought in several and a fine spirit had been shown in many of the plantations of confidence on the part of the masters, and gratitude on that of the slaves. It is said that from 40 to 50 blacks were in jail—some of whom were known to be concerned with the murders, and others suspected. The courts will discriminate the innocent from the guilty.

It is believed that all the brigands were slaves—and most, if not all these, the property of kind and indulgent masters. It is not known that any of them had been the runaways of the swamps and only one of them was a free man of color. He had afterwards returned to his own house, and a party sent there to apprehend him. He was accidentally seen concealed in his yard and shot. . . .

Nat, the ringleader, who calls himself General, pretends to be a Baptist preachers great enthusiast—de-

clares to his comrades that he is commissioned by Jesus Christ, and proceeds under his inspired directions—that the late singular appearance of the sun was the sign for him, &c., &c., is among the number not yet taken. The story of his having been killed at the bridge, and of two engagements there, is ungrounded. It is believed he cannot escape.

The General is convinced, from various sources of information, that there existed no general concert among the slaves. —Circumstances impossible to have been feigned, demonstrate the entire ignorance on the subject of all the slaves in the counties around Southampton, among whom he has never known more perfect order and quiet to prevail.

Richmond *Enquirer*,
August 30, 1831.

FROM NAT TURNER'S CONFESSION (1831)

Agreeable to his own appointment, on the evening he was committed to prison, with permission of the jailer, I visited NAT on Tuesday the 1st November, when, without being questioned at all, commenced his narrative in the following words:—

SIR,—You have asked me to give a history of the motives which induced me to undertake the late insurrection, as you call it—To do so I must go back to the days of my infancy, and even before I was born. I was thirty-one years of age the 2d of October last, and born the property of Benj. Turner, of this county. In my childhood a circumstance occurred which made an indelible impression on my mind, and laid the ground work of that enthusiasm, which has terminated so fatally to many, both white and black, and for which I am about to atone at the gallows. It is here necessary to relate this circumstance—trifling as it may seem, it was the commencement of that belief which has grown with time, and even now, sir, in this dungeon, helpless and forsaken as I am, I cannot divest myself of. Being at play with other children, when three or four years old, I was telling them something, which my mother overhearing, said it had happened before I was born—I stuck to my story, however, and related somethings which went, in her opinion, to confirm it—others being called on were greatly astonished, knowing that these things had happened, and caused them to say in my hearing, I surely would be a prophet, as the Lord had shewn me things that had happened before my birth. And my

father and mother strengthened me in this my first impression, saying in my presence, I was intended for some great purpose, which they had always thought from certain marks on my head and breast—[a parcel of excrescences which I believe are not at all uncommon, particularly among negroes, as I have seen several with the same. In this case he has either cut them off or they have nearly disappeared]—My grand mother, who was very religious, and to whom I was much attached—my master, who belonged to the church, and other religious persons who visited the house, and whom I often saw at prayers, noticing the singularity of my manners, I suppose, and my uncommon intelligence for a child, remarked I had too much sense to be raised, and if I was, I would never be of any service to any one as a slave—To a mind like mine, restless, inquisitive and observant of every thing that was passing, it is easy to suppose that religion was the subject to which it would be directed, and although this subject principally occupied my thoughts—there was nothing that I saw or heard of to which my attention was not directed—The manner in which I learned to read and write, not only had great influence on my own mind, as I acquired it with the most perfect ease, so much so, that I have no recollection whatever of learning the alphabet—but to the astonishment of the family, one day, when a book was shewn me to keep me from crying, I began spelling the names of different objects—this was a source of wonder to all in the neighborhood, particularly the blacks—and this learning was constantly improved at all opportunities—when I got large enough to go to work, while employed, I was reflecting on many things that would present themselves to my imagination, and whenever an opportunity occurred of looking at a book, when the school children were getting their lessons, I would find many things that the fertility of my own imagination had depicted to me before; all my time, not devoted to my master's service, was spent either in prayer, or in making experiments in casting different things in moulds made of earth, in attempting to make paper, gunpowder, and many other experiments, that although I could not perfect, yet convinced me of its practicability if I had the means. I was not addicted to stealing in my youth, nor have ever been—Yet such was the confidence of the negroes in the neighborhood, even at this early period of my life, in my superior judgment, that they would often carry me with them when they were going on any roguery, to plan for them. Growing up among them, with this confidence in my superior judgment, and when this, in their opinions, was perfected by Divine inspiration, from the circumstances

already alluded to in my infancy, and which belief was ever afterwards zealously inculcated by the austerity of my life and manners, which became the subject of remark by white and black.—Having soon discovered to be great, I must appear so, and therefore studiously avoided mixing in society, and wrapped myself in mystery, devoting my time to fasting and prayer—By this time, having arrived to man's estate, and hearing the scriptures commented on at meetings, I was struck with that particular passage which says : “Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you.” I reflected much on this passage, and prayed daily for light on this subject—As I was praying one day at my plough, the spirit spoke to me, saying “Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you.” *Question*—what do you mean by the Spirit. *Ans.* The Spirit that spoke to the prophets in former days—and I was greatly astonished, and for two years prayed continually, whenever my duty would permit—and then again I had the same revelation, which fully confirmed me in the impression that I was ordained for some great purpose in the hands of the Almighty. Several years rolled round, in which many events occurred to strengthen me in this my belief. At this time I reverted in my mind to the remarks made of me in my childhood, and the things that had been shewn me—and as it had been said of me in my childhood by those by whom I had been taught to pray, both white and black, and in whom I had the greatest confidence, that I had too much sense to be raised, and if I was, I would never be of any use to any one as a slave. Now finding I had arrived to man's estate, and was a slave, and these revelations being made known to me, I began to direct my attention to this great object, to fulfil the purpose for which, by this time, I felt assured I was intended. Knowing the influence I had obtained over the minds of my fellow servants, (not by the means of conjuring and such like tricks—for to them I always spoke of such things with contempt) but by the communion of the Spirit whose revelations I often communicated to them, and they believed and said my wisdom came from God. I now began to prepare them for my purpose, by telling them something was about to happen that would terminate in fulfilling the great promise that had been made to me—About this time I was placed under an overseer, from whom I ran away—and after remaining in the woods thirty days, I returned, to the astonishment of the negroes on the plantation, who thought I had made my escape to some other part of the country, as my father had done before. But the reason of my return was, that the Spirit appeared to me and said I had my wishes di-

rected to the things of this world, and not to the kingdom of Heaven, and that I should return to the service of my earthly master—"For he who knoweth his Master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes, and thus, have I chastened you." And the negroes found fault, and murmured against me, saying that if they had my sense they would not serve any master in the world. And about this time I had a vision—and I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams—and I heard a voice saying, "Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bare it." I now withdrew myself as much as my situation would permit, from the intercourse of my fellow servants, for the avowed purpose of serving the Spirit more fully—and it appeared to me, and reminded me of the things it had already shown me, and that it would then reveal to me the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of tides, and changes of the seasons. After this revelation in the year 1825, and the knowledge of the elements being made known to me, I sought more than ever to obtain true holiness before the great day of judgment should appear, and then I began to receive the true knowledge of faith. And from the first steps of righteousness until the last, was I made perfect; and the Holy Ghost was with me, and said, "Behold me as I stand in the Heavens"—and I looked and saw the forms of men in different attitudes—and there were lights in the sky to which the children of darkness gave other names than what they really were—for they were the lights of the Saviour's hands, stretched forth from east to west, even as they were extended on the cross on Calvary for the redemption of sinners. And I wondered greatly at these miracles, and prayed to be informed of a certainty of the meaning thereof—and shortly afterwards, while laboring in the field, I discovered drops of blood on the corn as though it were dew from heaven—and I communicated it to many, both white and black, in the neighborhood—and I then found on the leaves in the woods hieroglyphic characters, and numbers, with the forms of men in different attitudes, portrayed in blood, and representing the figures I had seen before in the heavens. And now the Holy Ghost had revealed itself to me, and made plain the miracles it had shown me—For as the blood of Christ had been shed on this earth, and had ascended to heaven for the salvation of sinners, and was now returning to earth again in the form of dew—and as the leaves on the trees bore the impression of the figures I had seen in the heavens, it was plain to me that the Saviour was about to lay

down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgment was at hand. About this time I told these things to a white man, (Etheldred T. Brantley) on whom it had a wonderful effect—and he ceased from his wickedness, and was attacked immediately with a cutaneous eruption, and blood ozed from the pores of his skin, and after praying and fasting nine days, he was healed, and the Spirit appeared to me again, and said, as the Saviour had been baptised so should we be also—and when the white people would not let us be baptised by the church, we went down into the water together, in the sight of many who reviled us, and were baptised by the Spirit—After this I rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God. And on the 12th of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first. *Ques.* Do you not find yourself mistaken now? *Ans.* Was not Christ crucified. And by signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work—and until the first sign appeared, I should conceal it from the knowledge of men—And on the appearance of the sign, (the eclipse of the sun last February) I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons. And immediately on the sign appearing in the heavens, the seal was removed from my lips, and I communicated the great work laid out for me to do, to four in whom I had the greatest confidence, (Henry, Hark, Nelson, and Sam)—It was intended by us to have begun the work of death on the 4th July last—Many were the plans formed and rejected by us, and it affected my mind to such a degree, that I fell sick, and the time passed without our coming to any determination how to commence—Still forming new schemes and rejecting them, when the sign appeared again, which determined me not to wait longer.

Since the commencement of 1830, I had been living with Mr. Joseph Travis, who was to me a kind master, and placed the greatest confidence in me; in fact, I had no cause to complain of his treatment to me. On Saturday evening, the 20th of August, it was agreed between Henry, Hark and myself, to prepare a dinner the next day for the men we expected, and then to concert a plan, as we had not yet determined on any. Hark, on the following morning, brought a pig, and Henry brandy, and being joined by Sam, Nelson, Will and Jack, they prepared in the woods a dinner, where, about three o'clock, I joined them.

Q. Why were you so backward in joining them?

A. The same reason that had caused me not to mix with them for years before.

I saluted them on coming up, and asked Will how came he there, he answered, his life was worth no more than others, and his liberty as dear to him. I asked him if he thought to obtain it? He said he would, or loose his life. This was enough to put him in full confidence. Jack, I knew, was only a tool in the hands of Hark, it was quickly agreed we should commence at home (Mr. J. Travis') on that night, and until we had armed and equipped ourselves, and gathered sufficient force, neither age nor sex was to be spared, (which was invariably adhered to.) We remained at the feast until about two hours in the night, when we went to the house and found Austin; they all went to the cider press and drank, except myself. On returning to the house, Hark went to the door with an axe, for the purpose of breaking it open, as we knew we were strong enough to murder the family, if they were awaked by the noise; but reflecting that it might create an alarm in the neighborhood, we determined to enter the house secretly, and murder them whilst sleeping. Hark got a ladder and set it against the chimney, on which I ascended, and hoisting a window, entered and came down stairs, unbarred the door, and removed the guns from their places. It was then observed that I must spill the first blood. On which, armed with a hatchet, and accompanied by Will, I entered my master's chamber, it being dark, I could not give a death blow, the hatchet glanced from his head, he sprang from the bed and called his wife, it was his last word, Will laid him dead, with a blow of his axe, and Mrs. Travis shared the same fate, as she lay in bed. The murder of this family, five in number, was the work of a moment, not one of them awoke; there was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten, until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Henry and Will returned and killed it; we got here, four guns that would shoot, and several old muskets, with a pound or two of powder. We remained some time at the barn, where we paraded; I formed them in a line as soldiers, and after carrying them through all the manoeuvres I was master of, marched them off to Mr. Salathul Francis', about six hundred yards distant. Sam and Will went to the door and knocked. Mr. Francis asked who was there, Sam replied, it was him, and he had a letter for him, on which he got up and came to the door, they immediately seized him, and dragging him out a little from the door, he was dispatched by repeated blows on the head; there was no

other white person in the family. We started from there for Mrs. Reese's, maintaining the most perfect silence on our march, where finding the door unlocked, we entered, and murdered Mrs. Reese in her bed, while sleeping; her son awoke, but it was only to sleep the sleep of death, he had only time to say who is that, and he was no more. From Mrs. Reese's we went to Mrs. Turner's, a mile distant, which we reached about sunrise, on Monday morning. Henry, Austin, and Sam, went to the still, where, finding Mr. Peebles, Austin shot him, and the rest of us went to the house; as we approached, the family discovered us, and shut the door. Vain hope! Will, with one stroke of his axe, opened it, and we entered and found Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Newsome in the middle of a room, almost frightened to death. Will immediately killed Mrs. Turner, with one blow of his axe. I took Mrs. Newsome by the hand, and with the sword I had when I was apprehended, I struck her several blows over the head, but not being able to kill her, as the sword was dull. Will turning around and discovering it, despatched her also. A general destruction of property and search for money and ammunition, always succeeded the murders. By this time my company amounted to fifteen, and nine men mounted, who started for Mrs. Whitehead's, (the other six were to go through a by way to Mr. Bryant's and rejoin us at Mrs. Whitehead's,) as we approached the house we discovered Mr. Richard Whitehead standing in the cotton patch, near the lane fence; we called him over into the lane, and Will, the executioner, was near at hand, with his fatal axe, to send him to an untimely grave. As we pushed on to the house, I discovered some one run round the garden, and thinking it was some of the white family, I pursued them, but finding it was a servant girl belonging to the house, I returned to commence the work of death, but they whom I left, had not been idle; all the family were already murdered, but Mrs. Whitehead and her daughter Margaret. As I came round to the door I saw Will pulling Mrs. Whitehead out of the house, and at the step he nearly severed her head from her body, with his broad axe. Miss Margaret, when I discovered her, had concealed herself in the corner, formed by the projection of the cellar cap from the house; on my approach she fled, but was soon overtaken, and after repeated blows with a sword, I killed her by a blow on the head, with a fence rail. By this time, the six who had gone by Mr. Bryant's, rejoined us, and informed me they had done the work of death assigned them. We again divided, part going to Mr. Richard Porter's, and from thence to Nathaniel Francis', the others to Mr. Howell Harris', and Mr. T. Doyles. On my reaching Mr. Porter's, he had escaped

with his family. I understood there, that the alarm had already spread, and I immediately returned to bring up those sent to Mr. Doyles, and Mr. Howell Harris'; the party I left going on to Mr. Francis', having told them I would join them in that neighborhood. I met these sent to Mr. Doyles' and Mr. Harris' returning, having met Mr. Doyle on the road and killed him; and learning from some who joined them, that Mr. Harris was from home, I immediately pursued the course taken by the party gone on before; but knowing they would complete the work of death and pillage, at Mr. Francis' before I could there, I went to Mr. Peter Edwards', expecting to find them there, but they had been here also. I then went to Mr. John T. Barrow's, they had been here and murdered him. I pursued on their track to Capt. Newit Harris', where I found the greater part mounted, and ready to start; the men now amounting to about forty, shouted and hurraed as I rode up, some were in the yard, loading their guns, others drinking. They said Captain Harris and his family had escaped, the property in the house they destroyed, robbing him of money and other valuables. I ordered them to mount and march instantly, this was about nine or ten o'clock, Monday morning. I proceeded to Mr. Levi Waller's, two or three miles distant. I took my station in the rear, and as it 'twas my object to carry terror and devastation wherever we went, I placed fifteen or twenty of the best armed and most to be relied on, in front, who generally approached the houses as fast as their horses could run; this was for two purposes, to prevent their escape and strike terror to the inhabitants—on this account I never got to the houses, after leaving Mrs. Whitehead's, until the murders were committed, except in one case. I sometimes got in sight in time to see the work of death completed, viewed the mangled bodies as they lay, in silent satisfaction, and immediately started in quest of other victims—Having murdered Mrs. Waller and ten children, we started for Mr. William Williams'—having killed him and two little boys that were there; while engaged in this, Mrs. Williams fled and got some distance from the house, but she was pursued, overtaken, and compelled to get up behind one of the company, who brought her back, and after showing her the mangled body of her lifeless husband, she was told to get down and lay by his side, where she was shot dead. I then started for Mr. Jacob Williams, where the family were murdered—Here we found a young man named Drury, who had come on business with Mr. Williams—he was pursued, overtaken and shot. Mrs. Vaughan was the next place we visited—and after murdering the family here, I determined on starting for Jerusalem—Our number amounted now to fifty or

sixty, all mounted and armed with guns, axes, swords and clubs—On reaching Mr. James W. Parkers' gate, immediately on the road leading to Jerusalem, and about three miles distant, it was proposed to me to call there, but I objected, as I knew he was gone to Jerusalem, and my object was to reach there as soon as possible; but some of the men having relations at Mr. Parker's it was agreed that they might call and get his people. I remained at the gate on the road, with seven or eight; the others going across the field to the house, about half a mile off. After waiting some time for them, I became impatient, and started to the house for them, and on our return we were met by a party of white men, who had pursued our blood-stained track, and who had fired on those at the gate, and dispersed them, which I new nothing of, not having been at that time rejoined by any of them—Immediately on discovering the whites, I ordered my men to halt and form, as they appeared to be alarmed—The white men, eighteen in number, approached us in about one hundred yards, when one of them fired, (this was against the positive orders of Captain Alexander P. Peete, who commanded, and who had directed the men to reserve their fire until within thirty paces) And I discovered about half of them retreating, I then ordered my men to fire and rush on them; the few remaining stood their ground until we approached within fifty yards, when they fired and retreated. We pursued and overtook some of them who we thought we left dead; (they were not killed) after pursuing them about two hundred yards, and rising a little hill, I discovered they were met by another party, and had halted, and were re-loading their guns, (this was a small party from Jerusalem who knew the negroes were in the field, and had just tied their horses to await their return to the road, knowing that Mr. Parker and family were in Jerusalem, but knew nothing of the party that had gone in with Captain Peete; on hearing the firing they immediately rushed to the spot and arrived just in time to arrest the progress of these barbarous villains, and save the lives of their friends and fellow citizens.) Thinking that those who retreated first, and the party who fired on us at fifty or sixty yards distant, had all only fallen back to meet others with amunition. As I saw them re-loading their guns, and more coming up than I saw at first, and several of my bravest men being wounded, the others became panick struck and squandered over the field; the white men pursued and fired on us several times. Hark had his horse shot under him, and I caught another for him as it was running by me; five or six of my men were wounded, but none left on the field; finding myself defeated here I instantly determined to go through

a private way, and cross the Nottoway river at the Cypress Bridge, three miles below Jerusalem, and attack that place in the rear, as I expected they would look for me on the other road, and I had a great desire to get there to procure arms and amunition. After going a short distance in this private way, accompanied by about twenty men, I overtook two or three who told me the others were dispersed in every direction. After trying in vain to collect a sufficient force to proceed to Jerusalem, I determined to return, as I was sure they would make back to their old neighborhood, where they would rejoin me, make new recruits, and come down again. On my way back, I called at Mrs. Thomas's, Mrs. Spencer's, and several other places, the white families having fled, we found no more victims to gratify our thirst for blood, we stopped at Majr. Ridley's quarter for the night, and being joined by four of his men, with the recruits made since my defeat, we mustered now about forty strong. After placing out sentinels, I laid down to sleep, but was quickly roused by a great racket; starting up, I found some mounted, and others in great confusion; one of the sentinels having given the alarm that we were about to be attacked, I ordered some to ride round and reconnoitre, and on their return the others being more alarmed, not knowing who they were, fled in different ways, so that I was reduced to about twenty again; with this I determined to attempt to recruit, and proceed on to rally in the neighborhood, I had left. Dr. Blunt's was the nearest house, which we reached just before day; on riding up the yard, Hark fired a gun. We expected Dr. Blunt and his family were at Maj. Ridley's, as I knew there was a company of men there; the gun was fired to ascertain if any of the family were at home; we were immediately fired upon and retreated, leaving several of my men. I do not know what became of them, as I never saw them afterwards. Pursuing our course back and coming in sight of Captain Harris', where we had been the day before, we discovered a party of white men at the house, on which all deserted me but two, (Jacob and Nat,) we concealed ourselves in the woods until near night, when I sent them in search of Henry, Sam, Nelson, and Hark, and directed them to rally all they could, at the place we had had our dinner the Sunday before, where they would find me, and I accordingly returned there as soon as it was dark and remained until Wednesday evening, when discovering white men riding around the place as though they were looking for some one, and none of my men joining me, I concluded Jacob and Nat had been taken, and compelled to betray me. On this I gave up all hope for the present; and on

Thursday night after having supplied myself with provisions from Mr. Travis's, I scratched a hole under a pile of fence rails in a field, where I concealed myself for six weeks, never leaving my hiding place but for a few minutes in the dead of night to get water which was very near; thinking by this time I could venture out, I began to go about in the night and eaves drop the houses in the neighborhood; pursuing this course for about a fortnight and gathering little or no intelligence, afraid of speaking to any human being, and returning every morning to my cave before the dawn of day. I know not how long I might have led this life, if accident had not betrayed me, a dog in the neighborhood passing by my hiding place one night while I was out, was attracted by some meat I had in my cave, and crawled in and stole it, and was coming out just as I returned. A few nights after, two negroes having started to go hunting with the same dog, and passed that way, the dog came again to the place, and having just gone out to walk about, discovered me and barked, on which thinking myself discovered, I spoke to them to beg concealment. On making myself known they fled from me. Knowing then they would betray me, I immediately left my hiding place, and was pursued almost incessantly until I was taken a fortnight afterwards by Mr. Benjamin Phipps, in a little hole I had dug out with my sword, for the purpose of concealment, under the top of a fallen tree. On Mr. Phipps' discovering the place of my concealment, he cocked his gun and aimed at me. I requested him not to shoot and I would give up, upon which he demanded my sword. I delivered it to him, and he brought me to prison. During the time I was pursued, I had many hair breadth escapes, which your time will not permit you to relate. I am here loaded with chains, and willing to suffer the fate that awaits me.

I here proceeded to make some inquiries of him after assuring him of the certain death that awaited him, and that concealment would only bring destruction on the innocent as well as guilty, of his own color, if he knew of any extensive or concerted plan. His answer was, I do not. When I questioned him as to the insurrection in North Carolina happening about the same time, he denied any knowledge of it; and when I looked him in the face as though I would search his inmost thoughts, he replied, "I see sir, you doubt my word; but can you not think the same ideas, and strange appearances about this time in the heaven's might prompt others, as well as myself, to this undertaking." I now had much conversation with and asked him many questions, having forborne to do so previously, except in the cases noted in parenthesis;

but during his statement, I had, unnoticed by him, taken notes as to some particular circumstances, and having the advantage of his statement before me in writing, on the evening of the third day that I had been with him, I began a cross examination, and found his statement corroborated by every circumstance coming within my own knowledge or the confessions of others whom had been either killed or executed, and whom he had not seen nor had any knowledge since 22d of August last, he expressed himself fully satisfied as to the impracticability of his attempt. It has been said he was ignorant and cowardly, and that his object was to murder and rob for the purpose of obtaining money to make his escape. It is notorious, that he was never known to have a dollar in his life; to swear an oath, or drink a drop of spirits. As to his ignorance, he certainly never had the advantages of education, but he can read and write, (it was taught him by his parents,) and for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension, is surpassed by few men I have ever seen. As to his being a coward, his reason as given for not resisting Mr. Phipps, shews the decision of his character. When he saw Mr. Phipps present his gun, he said he knew it was impossible for him to escape as the woods were full of men; he therefore thought it was better to surrender, and trust to fortune for his escape. He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. On other subjects he possesses an uncommon share of intelligence, with a mind capable of attaining any thing; but warped and perverted by the influence of early impressions. He is below the ordinary stature, though strong and active, having the true negro face, every feature of which is strongly marked. I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison. The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him; clothed with rags and covered with chains; yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man; I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins.

I will not shock the feelings of humanity, nor wound afresh the bosoms of the disconsolate sufferers in this unparalleled and inhuman massacre, by detailing the deeds of their fiend-like barbarity. There were two or three who were in the power of these wretches, had they known it, and who escaped in the most providential manner. There were two whom they thought they left dead on the field at Mr. Parker's, but who

were only stunned by the blows of their guns, as they did not take time to re-load when they charged on them. The escape of a little girl who went to school at Mr. Waller's, and where the children were collecting for that purpose. excited general sympathy. As their teacher had not arrived, they were at play in the yard, and seeing the negroes approach, ran up on a dirt chimney (such as are common to log houses,) and remained there unnoticed during the massacre of the eleven that were killed at this place. She remained on her hiding place till just before the arrival of a party, who were in pursuit of the murderers, when she came down and fled to a swamp, where, a mere child as she was, with the horrors of the late scene before her, she lay concealed until the next day, when seeing a party go up to the house, she came up, and on being asked how she escaped, replied with the utmost simplicity, "The Lord helped her." She was taken up behind a gentleman of the party, and returned to the arms of her weeping mother. Miss Whitehead concealed herself between the bed and the mat that supported it, while they murdered her sister in the same room, without discovering her. She was afterwards carried off, and concealed for protection by a slave of the family, who gave evidence against several of them on their trial. Mrs. Nathaniel Francis, while concealed in a closet heard their blows, and the shrieks of the victims of these ruthless savages; they then entered the closet where she was concealed, and went out without discovering her. While in this hiding place, she heard two of her women in a quarrel about the division of her clothes. Mr. John T. Baron, discovering them approaching his house, told his wife to make her escape, and scorning to fly, fell fighting on his own threshold. After firing his rifle, he discharged his gun at them, and then broke it over the villain who first approached him, but he was overpowered, and slain. His bravery, however, saved from the hands of these monsters, his lovely and amiable wife, who will long lament a husband so deserving of her love. As directed by him, she attempted to escape through the garden, when she was caught and held by one of her servant girls, but another coming to her rescue, she fled to the woods, and concealed herself. Few indeed, were those who escaped their work of death. But fortunate for society, the hand of retributive justice has overtaken them; and not one that was known to be concerned has escaped.

Turner, Nat. 1881. *The Confession, Trial and Execution of Nat Turner, the Negro Insurrectionist; Also a List of Persons Murdered in the Insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia, on the 21st and 22nd of August, 1831, with Introductory Remarks.* Petersburg, VA: J. B. Edge.

CONDITIONS OF FREE BLACKS IN PENNSYLVANIA (1832)

Appendix to Memorial to Pennsylvania Legislature.

1. In connexion with the foregoing memorial, we beg leave to offer the following statement of facts for the information of all who desire to be correctly informed on the subjects to which they relate.

2. By a statement published by order of the guardians of the poor in 1832, it appears that out of 549 outdoor poor relieved during the year, only 22 were persons of color, being about 4 per cent of the whole number, while their ratio of the population of the city and suburbs exceeds 8 1/4 per cent. By a note appended to the printed report of the guardians of the poor, above referred to, it appears that the colored paupers admitted into the almshouse for the same period, did not exceed 4 per cent of the whole number.

3. In consequence of the neglect of the assessors, to distinguish, in their assessment, the property of people of color from that of others, it is not easy to ascertain the exact amount of taxes paid by us. But an attempt has been made to remedy this defect by a reference to receipts kept by tax-payers. The result thus obtained must necessarily be deficient, and fall short of the amount really paid by people of color; because it is fair to presume that we could not find receipts for all the money paid in taxes, and because no returns have been made except where receipts were found. From these imperfect returns, however, it is ascertained that we pay not less than 2500 dollars annually, while the sum expended for the relief of our poor, out of the public funds has rarely, if ever, exceeded \$2000 a year. The amount of rents paid by our people, is found to exceed \$100,000 annually.

4. Many of us, by our labor and industry have acquired a little property; and have become freeholders. Besides which, we have no less than six Methodist meeting houses, two Presbyterian, two Baptist, one Episcopalean, and one public hall, owned exclusively by our people, the value of which, in the aggregate, is estimated to exceed \$100,000. To these may be added, two Sunday schools, two tract societies, two Bible societies, two temperance societies, and one female literary institution.

5. We have among ourselves, more than fifty beneficent societies, some of which are incorporated, for mutual aid in time of sickness and distress. The members

of these societies are bound by rules and regulations, which tend to promote industry and morality among them. For any disregard or violation of these rules,—for intemperance or immorality of any kind, the members are liable to be suspended or expelled. These societies expend annually for the relief of their members when sick or disabled, or in distress, upwards of \$7000, out of funds raised among themselves for mutual aid. It is also worthy of remark, that we cannot find a single instance of one of the members of either of these societies being convicted in any of our courts. One instance only has occurred of a member being brought up and accused before a court; but this individual was acquitted. Notwithstanding the difficulty of getting places for our sons as apprentices, to learn mechanical trades, owing to the prejudices with which we have to contend, there are between four and five hundred people of color in the city and suburbs who follow mechanical employments.

6. While we thankfully embrace the opportunity for schooling our children, which has been opened to us by public munificence and private benevolence, we are still desirous to do our part in the accomplishment of so desirable an object. Such of us as are of ability to do so, send our children to school at our own expense. Knowing by experience the disadvantages many of us labor under for want of early instruction; we are anxious to give our children a suitable education to fit them for the duties and enjoyments of life. In making the above statement of facts, our only object is, to prevent a misconception of our real condition; and to counteract those unjust prejudices against us, which the prevalence of erroneous opinions in regard to us, is calculated to produce.

We know that the most effectual method of refuting, and rendering harmless, false and exaggerated accounts of our degraded condition, is by our conduct; by living consistent, orderly and moral lives. Yet we are convinced that many good and humane citizens of this commonwealth, have been imposed upon, and induced to give credit to statements injurious to our general character and standing. At this important crisis, pregnant with great events, we deem it a duty we owe to ourselves and to our white friends, and to the public in general, to present to their candid and impartial consideration, the above statements. We ask only to be judged fairly and impartially. We claim no exemption from the frailties and imperfections of our common nature. We feel that we are men of like passions and feelings with others of a different color, liable to be drawn aside by temptation, from the paths of recti-

tude. But we think that in the aggregate we will not suffer by a comparison with our white neighbors whose opportunities of improvement have been no greater than ours. By such a comparison, fairly and impartially made, we are willing to be judged.

We have been careful in our exhibit of facts, to produce nothing but what may be sustained by legal evidence; by which we mean such facts as are susceptible of proof in a court of law. We have submitted our statements, with the sources whence they are drawn, to some of the intelligent citizens of Philadelphia who can testify to their substantial accuracy. All of which is respectfully submitted to a candid public.

Hazard's Register, June 1832.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS DESCRIBES SLAVE RESISTANCE (1834)

If at any one time of my life, more than another, I was made to drink the bitterest dregs of slavery, that time was during the first six months of my stay with this man Covey. We worked all weathers. It was never too hot, or too cold; it could never rain, blow, snow, or hail too hard for us to work in the field. Work, work, work, was scarcely more than the order of the day than of the night. The longest days were too short for him, and the shortest nights were too long for him. I was somewhat unmanageable at the first, but a few months of this discipline tamed me. Mr. Covey succeeded in breaking me—in body, soul, and spirit. My natural elasticity was crushed; my intellect languished; the disposition to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died out; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me, and behold a man transformed to a brute!

Sunday was my only leisure time. I spent this under some large tree, in a sort of beast-like stupor between sleeping and waking. At times I would rise up and a flash of energetic freedom would dart through my soul, accompanied with a faint beam of hope that flickered for a moment, and then vanished. I sank down again mourning over my wretched condition. I was sometimes tempted to take my life and that of Covey, but was prevented by a combination of hope and fear. My sufferings, as I remember them now, seem like a dream rather than like a stern reality.

Our house stood within a few rods of the Chesapeake bay, whose broad bosom was ever white with sails from every quarter of the habitable globe. Those beautiful vessels, robed in white, and so delightful to the eyes of free men, were to me so many shrouded

ghosts, to terrify and torment me with thoughts of my wretched condition. I have often, in the deep stillness of a summer's Sabbath, stood all alone upon the banks of that noble bay, and traced, with saddened heart and tearful eye, the countless number of sails moving off to the mighty ocean. The sight of these always affected me powerfully. My thoughts would compel utterance; and there, with no audience but the Almighty, I would pour out my soul's complaint in my rude way with an apostrophe to the moving multitude of ships. . . .

I shall never be able to narrate half the mental experience through which it was my lot to pass, during my stay at Covey's. I was completely wrecked, changed, and bewildered; goaded almost to madness at one time, and at another reconciling myself to my wretched condition. All the kindness I had received at Baltimore, all my former hopes and aspirations for usefulness in the world, and even the happy moments spent in the exercises of religion, contrasted with my then present lot, served but to increase my anguish.

I suffered bodily as well as mentally. I had neither sufficient time in which to eat, or to sleep, except on Sundays. The overwork, and the brutal chastisements of which I was the victim, combined with that evergnawing and soul devouring thought—"I am a slave and a slave for life—a slave with no rational ground to hope for freedom"—rendered me a living embodiment of mental and physical wretchedness.

Douglass, Frederick. 1951. "Frederick Douglass and the Slave-Breaker, 1834." In *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. Volume I. Herbert Aptheker, ed. New York: Carol Publishing Group.

ABOLITIONIST LITERATURE AND THE U.S. MAIL (1835)

Report on the Delivery of Abolition Materials in the Southern States by Postmaster General Amos Kendall.

A new question has arisen in the administration of this Department. A number of individuals have established an association in the Northern and Eastern States and raised a large sum of money, for the purpose of effecting the immediate abolition of Slavery in the Southern States. One of the means reported to has been the printing of a large mass of newspapers, pamphlets, tracts, and almanacs, containing exaggerated, and in some instances, false accounts of the treatment of slaves, illustrated with cuts calculated to operate on the passions of the colored men, and produce discontent, assassination, and servile war. These they attempted to

disseminate throughout the slaveholding States, by the agency of the public mails.

As soon as it was ascertained that the mails contained these productions, great excitement arose, particularly in Charleston, S. C., and to ensure the safety of the mail in its progress Southward, the postmaster at that place agreed to retain them in his office until he could obtain instructions from the Postmaster General. In reply to his appeal, he was informed, that it was a subject upon which the Postmaster General had no legal authority to instruct him. The question again came up from the Postmaster at New York, who had refused to send the papers by the steamboat mail to Charleston, S. C. He was also answered that the Postmaster General possessed no legal authority to give instructions on the subject; but as the undersigned had no doubt that the circumstances of the case justified the detention of the papers, he did not hesitate to say so. Important principles are involved in this question, and it merits the grave consideration of all departments of the Government.

It is universally conceded, that our States are united only for certain purposes. There are interests, in relation to which they are believed to be as independent of each other as they were before the constitution was formed. The interest which the people of some of the States have in slaves, is one of them. No State obtained by the union any right whatsoever over slavery in any other State, nor did any State lose any of its power over it, within its own borders. On this subject, therefore, if this view be correct, the States are still independent, and may fence round and protect their interest in slaves, by such laws and regulations as in their sovereign will they may deem expedient.

Nor have the people of one State any more right to interfere with this subject in another State, than they have to interfere with the internal regulations, rights of property, or domestic police, of a foreign nation. If they were to combine and send papers among the laboring population of another nation, calculated to produce discontent and rebellion, their conduct would be good ground of complaint on the part of that nation; and, in case it were not repressed by the United States, might be, if perseveringly persisted in, just cause of war. The mutual obligations of our several States to suppress attacks by their citizens on each others' reserved rights and interests, would seem to be greater, because by entering into the Union, they have lost the right of redress which belongs to nations wholly independent. Whatever claim may be set up, or maintained, to a right of free discussion within their own borders of the institutions and laws of other communities, over which they have no rightful control,

few will maintain that they have a right, unless it be obtained by compact or treaty, to carry on such discussions within those communities, either orally, or by the distribution of printed papers, particularly if it be in violation of their peculiar laws, and at the hazard of their peace and existence. The constitution of the United States provides that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," but this clause cannot confer on the citizens of one State, higher privileges and immunities in another, than the citizens of the latter themselves possess. It is not easy, therefore, to perceive how the citizens of the Northern States can possess or claim the privilege of carrying on discussions within the Southern States, by the distribution of printed papers, which the citizens of the latter are forbidden to circulate by their own laws.

Neither does it appear that the United States acquired, by the constitution, any power whatsoever over this subject except a right to prohibit the importation of slaves after a certain date. On the contrary, that instrument contains evidences, that one object of the Southern States, in adopting it, was to secure to themselves a more perfect control over this interest, and cause it to be respected by the sister States. In the exercise of their reserved rights, and for the purpose of protecting this interest, and ensuring the safety of their people, some of the States have passed laws, prohibiting under heavy penalties, the printing or circulation of papers like those in question, within their respective territories. It has never been alleged that these laws are incompatible with the constitution and laws of the United States. Nor does it seem possible that they can be so, because they relate to a subject over which the United States cannot rightfully assume any control under that constitution, either by law or otherwise. If these principles be sound, it will follow that the State laws on this subject, are, within the scope of their jurisdiction, the supreme laws of the land, obligatory alike on all persons, whether private citizens, officers of the State, or functionaries of the General Government.

The constitution makes it the duty of the United States "to protect each of the States against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence." There is no quarter whence domestic violence is so much to be apprehended, in some of the States, as from the servile population, operated upon by mistaken or designing men. It is to obviate danger from this quarter, that many of the State laws, in relation to the circulation of incendiary papers, have been enacted. Without claiming for

the General Government the power to pass laws prohibiting discussions of any sort, as a means of protecting States from domestic violence, it may safely be assumed, that the United States have no right, through their officers or departments, knowingly to be instrumental in producing within the several states, the very mischief which the constitution commands them to repress. It would be an extraordinary construction of the powers of the general Government, to maintain that they are bound to afford the agency of their mails and post offices, to counteract the laws of the States, in the circulation of papers calculated to produce domestic violence; when it would, at the same time, be one of their most important constitutional duties to protect the States against the natural, if not necessary consequences produced by that very agency.

The position assumed by this Department, is believed to have produced the effect of withholding its agency, generally, in giving circulation to the obnoxious papers in the Southern States. Whether it be necessary more effectually to prevent, by legislative enactments, the use of the mails, as a means of evading or violating the constitutional laws of the States in reference to this portion of their reserved rights, is a question which, it appears to the undersigned, may be submitted to Congress, upon a statement of the facts, and their own knowledge of the public necessities.

"Report of the Postmaster General," *House Documents*, 24th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix 9.

THE GAG RESOLUTIONS (1836)

The main question was then stated, viz: that the House do agree to the resolutions reported by the committee, which are as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this confederacy.

2. *Resolved*, That Congress ought not to interfere, in any way, with slavery in the District of Columbia.

And whereas, it is extremely important and desirable that the agitation of this subject should be finally arrested, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to the public mind, your committee respectfully recommend the adoption of the following additional resolution, viz:

3. *Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery, or the aboli-

tion of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.

Journal of the House of Representatives, 24th Cong., 1st sess. May 25, 1836.

JOHN C. CALHOUN'S "SLAVERY A POSITIVE GOOD" (1837)

February 6, 1837

I do not belong, said Mr. C., to the school which holds that aggression is to be met by concession. Mine is the opposite creed, which teaches that encroachments must be met at the beginning, and that those who act on the opposite principle are prepared to become slaves. In this case, in particular. I hold concession or compromise to be fatal. If we concede an inch, concession would follow concession—compromise would follow compromise, until our ranks would be so broken that effectual resistance would be impossible. We must meet the enemy on the frontier, with a fixed determination of maintaining our position at every hazard. Consent to receive these insulting petitions, and the next demand will be that they be referred to a committee in order that they may be deliberated and acted upon. At the last session we were modestly asked to receive them, simply to lay them on the table, without any view to ulterior action. . . . I then said, that the next step would be to refer the petition to a committee, and I already see indications that such is now the intention. If we yield, that will be followed by another, and we will thus proceed, step by step, to the final consummation of the object of these petitions. We are now told that the most effectual mode of arresting the progress of abolition is, to reason it down; and with this view it is urged that the petitions ought to be referred to a committee. That is the very ground which was taken at the last session in the other House, but instead of arresting its progress it has since advanced more rapidly than ever. The most unquestionable right may be rendered doubtful, if once admitted to be a subject of controversy, and that would be the case in the present instance. The subject is beyond the jurisdiction of Congress—they have no right to touch it in any shape or form, or to make it the subject of deliberation or discussion. . . .

As widely as this incendiary spirit has spread, it has not yet infected this body, or the great mass of the intelligent and business portion of the North; but unless it be speedily stopped, it will spread and work upwards till it brings the two great sections of the Union into

deadly conflict. This is not a new impression with me. Several years since, in a discussion with one of the Senators from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), before this fell spirit had showed itself, I then predicted that the doctrine of the proclamation and the Force Bill—that this Government had a right, in the last resort, to determine the extent of its own powers, and enforce its decision at the point of the bayonet, which was so warmly maintained by that Senator, would at no distant day arouse the dormant spirit of abolitionism. I told him that the doctrine was tantamount to the assumption of unlimited power on the part of the Government, and that such would be the impression on the public mind in a large portion of the Union. The consequence would be inevitable. A large portion of the Northern States believed slavery to be a sin, and would consider it as an obligation of conscience to abolish it if they should feel themselves in any degree responsible for its continuance, and that this doctrine would necessarily lead to the belief of such responsibility. I then predicted that it would commence as it has with this fanatical portion of society, and that they would begin their operations on the ignorant, the weak, the young, and the thoughtless,—and gradually extend upwards till they would become strong enough to obtain political control, when he and others holding the highest stations in society, would, however reluctant, be compelled to yield to their doctrines, or be driven into obscurity. But four years have since elapsed, and all this is already in a course of regular fulfillment.

Standing at the point of time at which we have now arrived, it will not be more difficult to trace the course of future events now than it was then. They who imagine that the spirit now abroad in the North, will die away of itself without a shock or convulsion, have formed a very inadequate conception of its real character; it will continue to rise and spread, unless prompt and efficient measures to stay its progress be adopted. Already it has taken possession of the pulpit, of the schools, and, to a considerable extent, of the press; those great instruments by which the mind of the rising generation will be formed.

However sound the great body of the non-slaveholding States are at present, in the course of a few years they will be succeeded by those who will have been taught to hate the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained towards another. It is easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the two

great nations, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements would burst the Union asunder, powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot coexist. As the friend of the Union I openly proclaim it,—and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events. We of the South will not, cannot, surrender our institutions. To maintain the existing relations between the two races, inhabiting that section of the Union, is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. . . . But let me not be understood as admitting, even by implication, that the existing relations between the two races in the slaveholding States is an evil:—far otherwise; I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to be to both, and will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the fell spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts. Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually.

In the meantime, the white or European race, has not degenerated. It has kept pace with its brethren in other sections of the Union where slavery does not exist. It is odious to make comparison; but I appeal to all sides whether the South is not equal in virtue, intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature.

But I take higher ground. I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two, is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself called upon to speak freely upon the subject where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. Broad and general as is this assertion, it is fully borne out by history. This is not the proper occasion, but, if it were, it would not be difficult to trace the various devices by which the wealth of all civilized communities has been so unequally divided, and to show by what means so small a share has been allotted to those by whose labor it was produced, and so large a share given to the non-producing classes. The devices are almost innumerable, from the brute force and gross superstition of ancient times, to the subtle and artful fiscal contrivances of

modern. I might well challenge a comparison between them and the more direct, simple, and patriarchal mode by which the labor of the African race is, among us, commanded by the European. I may say with truth, that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe—look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poorhouse. But I will not dwell on this aspect of the question; I turn to the political; and here I fearlessly assert that the existing relation between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war, forms the most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions. It is useless to disguise the fact. There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital. The condition of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North. . . .

McLaughlin, Andrew C. 1914. *Readings in the History of the American Nation*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

A SLAVE MAROON IS KILLED (1837)

From the New Orleans Picayune of the 19th.

SQUIRE, THE OUTLAW. This notorious black scoundrel was yesterday killed by a Spaniard in the swamp near the Bayou road. It will be remembered by all our citizens that Squire was the negro who has so long prowled about the marshes in the rear of the city, a terror to the community, and for whose head a reward of two thousand dollars was offered some years ago. The life of this negro has been one of crime and total depravity. The annals of the city furnish records of his cruelty, crime, and murder. He had killed several white men in this place before he fled to the swamp, and has, up to the time of his death, eluded with a dexterity worthy of a more educated villain, all the searching efforts of justice to capture him. He has lived for the last three years an outlaw in the marshes in the rear of the city. Many years since he had his right arm shot off; he is said, notwithstanding this

deprivation, to have been an excellent marksman, but with the use of his left arm. Inured by hardships and exposure to the climate, he has subsisted in the woods, and carried on, until this time, his deeds of robbery and murder with the most perfect impunity—the marshes surrounding the city being almost impenetrable to our citizens. This demi-devil has for a long time ruled as the “Brigand of the Swamp.” A supposition has always found believers that there was an encampment of outlaw negroes near the city, and that Squire was their leader. He has done much mischief in the way of decoying slaves to his camp, and in committing depredation upon the premises of those who live on the outskirts of the city. His destruction is hailed by old and young, as a benefit to society. A Spaniard was yesterday morning in the swamp, and proved the successful enemy of this foe to society. Squire raised his gun to shoot him, but failed, the gun have snapped. Immediately the Spaniard rushed upon him with a big stick—he gave him a blow which brought him to the ground, when his brains were literally beat out by the infuriated man. Proud of his victory, the conqueror came into the city, and reported what he had done. On hearing that Squire was dead, the authorities determined to have his body hauled to the city, and forthwith appointed a guard of men to repair to the swamp and bring it in. About two o’clock yesterday his body was exhibited on the public square of the First Municipality.

The Liberator, August 11, 1837.

ALTON OBSERVER EDITORIAL (1837)

September 11, 1837

To the Friends of the Redeemer in Alton

Dear Brethren, It is at all times important that the friends of truth should be united. It is especially so at the present time, when iniquity is coming in like a flood. I should be false to my covenant vows, and false to every feeling in my heart, were I to refuse making any personal sacrifice to effect so desirable an object. Having learned that there is a division of sentiments among the brethren, as it regards the propriety of my continuing longing to fill the office of Editor of the “*Alton Observer*,” I do not hesitate a moment to submit the question to your decision. Most cheerfully I will resign my post, if in your collective wisdom you think the cause we all profess to love will thereby be promoted. And in coming to a decision on this question, I beseech you as a favour—may I not enjoin it as a duty?—that you act without any regard to my per-

sonal feelings. I should be false to the Master I serve, and of whose gospel I am a minister, should I allow my own interests, (real or supposed,) to be placed in competition with his. Indeed, I have no interest, no wish, at least I think I have none; I know I wrought to have none other than such as are subordinate to his will. Be it yours, brethren, to decide what is best for the cause of truth, most for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, and rest assured—whatever my own private judgment may be—of my cordial acquiescence in your decision.

I had, at first, intended to make an unconditional surrender of the editorship into your hands. But as such a course might be liable to misconstructions, I have, by the advice of a beloved brother, determined to leave the whole matter with you. I am ready to go forward if you say so, and equally ready to yield to a successor, if such be your opinion. Yet let me say, promptly, that in looking back over my past labours as Editor of the “*Observer*,” while I see many imperfections, and many errors and mistakes, I have, nevertheless, done the best I could. This I say in the fear of God; so that if I am to continue [as] the Editor, you must not, on the whole, expect a much better paper than you have had.

Should you decide that I ought to give place to a successor, I shall expect the two following conditions to be fulfilled.

1. That you will assume in its behalf, all my obligations contracted in consequence of my connection with the “*Observer*.” Some of them were contracted immediately on behalf of the “*Observer*,” and some in supporting my family while its Editor.

2. As I have now spent four among the best years of my life in struggling to establish the “*Observer*,” and place it on its present footing, I shall expect you will furnish me with a sum sufficient to enable me to remove myself and family to another field of labour. More I do not ask, and I trust this will not be thought unreasonable. I would not ask even this had I the means myself, but I have not.

3. On these conditions I surrender into your hands the “*Observer*’s” subscription list, now amounting to more than two thousand one hundred names, and constantly increasing, together with all the dues coming to the establishment. A list of both of the debts and credits accompanies this communication.

May the spirit of wisdom, dear brethren, guide you to a wise and unanimous decision—to a decision

which God will approve and ratify, and which shall redound to the glory of his name.

Yours affectionately,
Elijah P. Lovejoy

Alton [IL] *Observer*; September 11, 1837.

WENDELL PHILLIPS EULOGIZES ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY (1837)

“*The Murder of Lovejoy*”

MR. CHAIRMAN:—We have met for the freest discussion of these resolutions, and the events which gave rise to them [Cries of “Question,” “Hear him,” “Go on,” “No gagging,” etc.] I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker, surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have received within these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard it asserted here, in Fanueil Hall, that Great Britain had a right to tax the Colonies, and we have heard the mob at Alton, the drunken murderers of Lovejoy, compared to those patriot fathers who threw the tea overboard! [Great applause.] Fellow-citizens, is this Fanueil Hall doctrine? [“no, no.”] The mob at Alton were met to wrest from a citizen his just rights,—met to resist the laws. We have been told that our fathers did the same; and the glorious mantle of Revolutionary precedent has been thrown over the mobs of our day. To make out their title to such defense, the gentleman says that the British Parliament had a *right* to tax these Colonies. It is manifest that, without this, his parallel falls to the ground; for Lovejoy had stationed himself within constitutional bulwarks. He was not only defending the freedom of the press, but he was under his own roof, in arms with the sanction of the civil authority. The men who assailed him went against and over the laws. The mob, as the gentleman terms it,—mob forsooth! Certainly we sons of the tea-spillers are a marvelously patient generation!—the “orderly mob” which assembled in the Old South to destroy the teat were met to resist, not the laws, but illegal exactions. Shame on the American who calls the tea-tax and stamp-act *laws!* Our fathers resisted, not the King’s prerogative, but the King’s usurpation. To find any other account, you must read our Revolutionary history upside down. Our state archives are loaded with arguments of John Adams to prove the taxes laid by the British Parliament unconstitutional,—beyond its power. It was not till this was made out that the men of New England rushed to

arms. The arguments of the Council Chamber and the House of Representatives preceded and sanctioned the contest. To draw the conduct of our ancestors into a precedent for mobs, for a right to resist laws we ourselves have enacted, is an insult to their memory. The difference between the excitements of those days and our own, which the gentleman in kindness to the latter has overlooked, is simply this: the men of that day went for the right, as secured by the laws. They were the people rising to sustain the laws and constitution of the Province. The rioters of our day go for their own wills, right or wrong. Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips [pointing to the portraits in the Hall] would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American — the slanderer of the dead. [Great applause and counter applause.] The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up.

Fellow-citizens, I cannot take back my words. Surely the Attorney-General, so long and well-known here, needs not the aid of your hisses against one so young as I am,—my voice never before heard within these walls!

Another ground has been taken to excuse the mob, and throw doubt and discredit on the conduct of Lovejoy and his associates. Allusion has been made to what lawyers understand very well,—the “conflict of laws.” We are told that nothing but the Mississippi River rolls between St. Louis and Alton; and the conflict of laws somehow or other gives the citizens of the former a right to find fault with the defender of the press for publishing his opinions so near their limits. Will the gentleman venture that argument before lawyers? How the laws of the two States could be said to come into conflict in such circumstances I question whether any lawyer in this audience can explain or understand. No matter whether the line that divides one sovereign State from another be an imaginary one or ocean-wide, the moment you cross it the State you leave is blotted out of existence, so far as you are concerned. The Czar might as well claim to control the deliberations of Fanueil Hall, as the laws of Missouri demand reverence, or the shadow of obedience, from an inhabitant of Illinois.

I must find some fault with the statement which has been made of the events in Alton. It has been asked why Lovejoy and his friends did not appeal to

the executive,—trust their defense to the police of the city. It has been hinted that, from hasty and ill-judged excitement, the men within the building provoked a quarrel, and that he fell in the course of it, one mob resisting another. Recollect, Sir, that they did act with the approbation and sanction of the Mayor. In strict truth, there was no executive to appeal to for protection. The Mayor acknowledged that he could not protect them. They asked him if it was lawful for them to defend themselves. He told them it was, and sanctioned their assembling in arms to do so. They were not, then, a mob; they were in some sense the *posse comitatus*, adopted for the occasion into the police of the city, acting under the order of a magistrate. It was civil authority resisting lawless violence. Where, then, was the imprudence? Is the doctrine to be sustained here, that it is imprudent for men to aid magistrates in executing the laws?

Men are continually asking each other, Had Lovejoy a right to resist? Sir, I protest against the question, instead of answering it. Lovejoy did not resist, in the sense they mean. He did not throw himself back on the natural right of self-defense. He did not cry anarchy, and let slip the dogs of civil war, careless of the horrors which would follow.

Sir, as I understand this affair, it was not an individual protecting his property; it was not one body of armed men resisting another, and making the streets of a peaceful city run blood with their contentions. It did not bring back the scenes in some old Italian cities, where family met family, and faction met faction, and mutually trampled the laws under foot. No; the men in that house were regularly *enrolled*, under the sanction of the Mayor. These relieved each other every other night. About thirty men were in arms on the night of the sixth, when the press was landed. The next evening, it was not thought necessary to summon more than half that number; among these was Lovejoy. It was, therefore, you perceived, Sir, the police of the city resisting rioters,—civil government breasting itself to the shock of lawless men.

Here is no question about the right of self-defense. It is in fact simply this: Has the civil magistrate a right to put down a riot?

Some persons seem to imagine that anarchy existed at Alton from the commencement of these disputes. Not at all. “No one of us,” says an eyewitness and a comrade of Lovejoy, “has taken up arms during these disturbances but at the command of the Mayor.” Anarchy did not settle down on that devoted city till Lovejoy breathed his last. Till then the law, represented in his person, sustained itself against its foes. When he fell, civil authority was trampled under foot. He had

“planted himself on his constitutional rights,”—appealed to the laws,—claimed the protection of the civil authority,—taken refuge under “the broad shield of the Constitution. When through that he was pierced and fell, he fell but one sufferer in a common catastrophe.” He took refuge under the banner of liberty,—amid its folds; and when he fell, its glorious stars and stripes, the emblem of free institutions, around which cluster so many heart-stirring memories, were blotted out in the martyr’s blood.

It has been stated, perhaps inadvertently, that Lovejoy or his comrades fired first. This is denied by those who have the best means of knowing. Guns were first fired by the mob. After being twice fired on, those within the building consulted together and deliberately returned the fire. But suppose they did fire first. They had a right to do so; not only the right which every citizen has to defend himself, but the further right which every civil officer has to resist violence. Even if Lovejoy fired the first gun, it would not lessen his claim to our sympathy, or destroy his title to be considered a martyr in defense of a free press. The question now is, Did he act within the Constitution and the laws? The men who fell in State Street on the 5th of March, 1770, did more than Lovejoy is charged with. They were the *first* assailants. Upon some slight quarrel they pelted the troops with every missile within reach. Did this bate one jot of the eulogy with which Hancock and Warren hallowed their memory, hailing them as the first martyrs in the cause of American liberty?

If, Sir, I had adopted what are called Peace principles, I might lament the circumstances in this case. But all you who believe, as I do, in the right and duty of magistrates to execute the laws, join with me and brand as base hypocrisy the conduct of those who assemble year after year on the 4th of July, to fight over the battles of the Revolution, and yet “damn with faint praise,” or load with obloquy, the memory of this man, who shed his blood in defense of life, liberty, property, and the freedom of the press!

Throughout that terrible night I find nothing to regret but this, that within the limits of our country, civil authority should have been so prostrated as to oblige a citizen to arm in his own defense, and to arm in vain. The gentleman says Lovejoy was presumptuous and imprudent,—he “died as the fool dieth.” And a reverend clergyman of the city tells us that no citizen has a right to publish opinions disagreeable to the community! If any mob follows such publication, on *him* rests its guilt! He must wait, forsooth, till the people come up to it and agree with him! This libel on liberty goes on to say that the want of right to speak as we think is an evil inseparable from republican institu-

tions! If this be so, what are they worth? Welcome the despotism of the Sultan, where one knows what he may publish and what he may not, rather than the tyranny of this many-headed monster, the mob, where we know not what we may do or say, till some fellow-citizen has tried it, and paid for the lesson with his life. This clerical absurdity chooses as a check for the abuses of the press, not the *law*, but the dread of a mob. By so doing, it deprives not only the individual and the minority of their rights, but the majority also, since the expression of *their* opinion may sometimes provoke disturbance from the minority. A few men may make a mob as well as many. The majority, then, have no right, as Christian men, to utter their sentiments, if by any possibility it may lead to a mob! Shades of Hugh Peters and John Cotton, save us from such pulpits!

Imprudent to defend the liberty of the press! Why? Because the defense was unsuccessful? Does success gild crime into patriotism, and the want of it change heroic self-devotion to imprudence? Was Hampden imprudent when he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard? Yet he, judged by that single hour, was unsuccessful. After a short exile, the race he hated sat again upon the throne.

Imagine yourself present when the first news of Bunker Hill battle reached a New England town. The tale would have to run thus: “The patriots are routed,—the redcoats victorious,—Warren lies dead upon the field.” With what scorn would that *Tory* have been received, who should have charged Warren with *imprudence!* Who should have said that, bred a physician, he was “out of place” in that battled, and “died as the *fool dieth!*” [Great applause.] How would the intimation have been received, that Warren and his associates should have waited a better time? But if success be indeed the only criterion of prudence, *Respice finem*,—wait till the end.

Presumptuous to assert the freedom of the press on American ground! It is the assertion of such freedom before the age? So much before the age as to leave one no right to make it because it displeases the community? Who invents this libel on his country? It is this very thing which entitles Lovejoy to greater praise. The disputed right which provoked the Revolution—taxation without representation—is far beneath that for which he died. [Here there was a strong and general expression of disapprobation.] One word, gentlemen. As much as *thought* is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this Hall when the King did but touch his *pocket*. Imagine, if you can, his indignant elo-

quence, had England offered to put a gag upon his lips. [Great applause.]

The question that stirred the Revolution touched our civil interests. *This* concerns us not only as citizens, but as immortal beings. Wrapped up in its fate, saved or lost with it, are not only the voice of the statesman, but the instructions of the pulpit, and the progress of our faith.

The clergy “marvelously out of place” where free speech is battled for,—liberty of speech on national sins? Does the gentleman remember that freedom to preach was first gained, dragging in its train freedom to print? I thank the clergy here present, as I reverence their predecessors, who did not so far forget their country in their immediate profession as to deem it duty to separate themselves from the struggle of ’76,—the Mayhews and Coopers, who remembered they were citizens before they were clergymen.

Mr. Chairman, from the bottom of my heart I thank that brave little band at Alton for resisting. We must remember that Lovejoy had fled from city to city,—suffered the destruction of three presses patiently. At length he took counsel with friends, men of character, of tried integrity, of wide views, of Christian principle. They thought the crisis had come: it was full time to assert the laws. They saw around them, not a community like our own, of fixed habits, of character moulded and settled, but one “in the gristle, not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.” The people there, children of our older States, seem to have forgotten the blood-ried principles of their fathers the moment they lost sight of our New England hills. Something was to be done to show them the priceless value of the freedom of the press, to bring back and set right their wandering and confused ideas. He and his advisors looked out on a community, staggering like a drunken man, indifferent to their rights and confused in their feelings. Deaf to argument, haply they ought to be stunned into sobriety. They saw that of which we cannot judge, the *necessity* of resistance. Insulted law called for it. Public opinion, fast hastening on the downward course, must be arrested.

Does not the event show they judged rightly? Absorbed in a thousand trifles, how has the nation all at once come to a stand? Men begin, as in 1776 and 1640, to discuss principles, to weigh characters, to find out where they are. Haply we may awake before we are borne over the precipice.

I am glad, Sir, to see this crowded house. It is good for us to be here. When Liberty is in danger, Fanueil Hall has the right, it is her duty, to strike the key-note for these United States. I am glad, for one reason, that remarks such as those to which I have alluded have

been uttered here. The passage of these resolutions, in spite of this opposition, led by the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, will show more clearly, more decisively, the deep indignation with which Boston regards this outrage.

Phillips, Wendell. 1863. *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters*. Boston: James Redpath.

ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATES ENDORSE ADDITIONAL REFORMS (1837)

The termination of the present year will complete the seventh volume of the *Liberator*: we have served, therefore, a regular apprenticeship in the cause of LIBERTY, and are now prepared to advocate it upon a more extended scale.

In commencing this publication, we had but a single object in view—the total abolition of American slavery, and as a just consequence, the complete enfranchisement of our colored countrymen. As the first step towards this sublime result, we found the overthrow of the American Colonization Society to be indispensable—containing, as it did, in its organization, all the elements of prejudice, caste, and slavery.

In entering upon our eighth volume, the abolition of slavery will still be the grand object of our labors, though not, perhaps, so exclusively as heretofore. There are other topics, which, in our opinion, are intimately connected with the great doctrine of inalienable human rights; and which, while they conflict with no religious sect, or political party, as such, are pregnant with momentous consequences to the freedom, equality, and happiness of mankind. These we shall discuss as time and opportunity may permit.

The motto upon our banner has been, from the commencement of our moral warfare, “OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.” We trust that it will be our only epitaph. Another motto we have chosen is, UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Up to this time we have limited its application to those who are held in this country, by Southern taskmasters, as marketable commodities, goods and chattels, and implements of husbandry. Henceforth we shall use it in its widest latitude: the emancipation of our whole race from the dominion of man, from the thralldom of self, from the government of brute force, from the bondage of sin—and bringing them under the dominion of God, the control of an inward spirit, the government of the law of love, and into the obedience and liberty of Christ, who is “*the same*, yesterday, TODAY, and forever.”

It has never been our design, in conducting the

Liberator, to require of the friends of emancipation any political or sectarian shibboleth [specific creed]; though, in consequence of the general corruption of all political parties and religious sects, and of the obstacles which they have thrown into the path of emancipation, we have been necessitated to reprove them all. Nor have we any intention—at least, not while ours professes to be an anti-slavery publication, distinctively and eminently—to assail or give the preference to any sect or party. We are bound by no denominational trammels; we are not political partisans; we have taken upon our lips no human creed: we are guided by no human authority; we cannot consent to wear the livery of any fallible body. The abolition of American slavery we hold to be COMMON GROUND, upon which men of all creeds, complexions and parties, if they have true humanity in their hearts, may meet on amicable and equal terms to effect a common object. But whoever marches on to that ground, loving his creed, or sect, or party, or any worldly interest, or personal reputation or property, or friends, or wife, or children, or life itself, more than the cause of bleeding humanity,—or expecting to promote his political designs, or to enforce his sectarian dogmas, or to drive others from the ranks on account of their modes of faith,—will assuredly prove himself to be unworthy of his abolition profession, and his real character will be made manifest to all, for severe and unerring tests will be applied frequently: it will not be possible for him to make those sacrifices, or to endure those trials, which unbending integrity to the cause will require. For ourselves, we care not who is found upon this broad platform of our common nature: if he will join hands with us, in good faith, to undo the heavy burdens and break the yokes of our enslaved countrymen, we shall not stop to inquire whether he is a Trinitarian or Unitarian, Baptist or Methodist, Catholic or Covenanter, Presbyterian or Quaker, Swedenborgian or Perfectionist. However widely we may differ in our views on other subjects, we shall not refuse to labor with him against slavery, in the same phalanx, if he refuse not to labor with us. Certainly no man can truly affirm that we have sought to bring any other religious or political tests into this philanthropic enterprise than these:—“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself” “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them”—“Remember those in bonds as bound with them.”

Next to the overthrow of slavery, the cause of PEACE will command our attention. The doctrine of non-resistance as commonly received and practiced by Friends, or Quakers, and certain members of other re-

ligious denominations, we conceive to be utterly indefensible in its application to national wars: not that it “goes too far,” but that it does not go far enough. If a nation may not redress its wrongs by physical force, if it may not repel or punish a foreign enemy who comes to plunder, enslave or murder its inhabitants then it may not resort to arms to quell an insurrection, or send to prison or suspend upon a gibbet any transgressors upon its soil. If the slaves of the South have not an undoubted right to resist their masters in the last resort, then no man, or body of men, may appeal to the law of violence in self-defense—for none have ever suffered, or can suffer, more than they. If, when men are robbed of their earnings, their liberties, their personal ownership, their wives and children, they may not resist, in no case can physical resistance be allowable, either in an individual or collective capacity.

Now the doctrine we shall endeavor to inculcate is, that the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; consequently, that they are all to be supplanted, whether they are called despotic, monarchical, or republican, and lie only who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, is to rule in righteousness. The kingdom of God is to be established IN ALL THE EARTH, and it shall never be destroyed, but it shall “BREAK IN PIECES AND CONSUME ALL OTHERS”: its elements are righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whatsoever loveth and maketh a lie. Its government is one of love, not of military coercion or physical restraint: its laws are not written upon parchment, but upon the hearts of its subjects—they are not conceived in the wisdom of man, but framed by the Spirit of God: its weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. Its soldiers are clad in the whole armor of God, having their loins girt, about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; their feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; with the shield of faith they are able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and they wear the helmet of salvation, and wield the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. Hence, when smitten on the one cheek, they turn the other also; being defamed, they entreat; being deviled, they bless; being persecuted, they suffer it; they take joyfully the spoiling of their goods; they rejoice, inasmuch as they are partakers of Christ’s sufferings; they are sheep in the midst of wolves; in no Extremity whatever, even if their enemies are determined to nail them to the cross with Jesus, and if they, like him, could summon legions of angels to their rescue, will they resort to the law of violence.

As to the governments of this world, whatever their titles or forms, we shall endeavor to prove that, in their essential elements, and as at present administered, they are all Anti-Christ; that they can never, by human wisdom, be brought into conformity to the will of God; that they cannot be maintained except by naval and military power; that all their penal enactments, being a dead letter without an army to carry them into effect, are virtually written in human blood; and that the followers of Jesus should instinctively shun their stations of honor, power, and emolument—at the same time “submitting to every ordinance of man, for the Lord’s sake,” and offering no physical resistance to any of their mandates, however unjust or tyrannical. The language of Jesus is, “My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight.” Calling his disciples to him, he said to them, “Ye know that they which are accustomed to rule over the Gentiles, exercise lordship Over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. *But so it SHALL NOT be* among You; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.”

Human governments are to be viewed as judicial punishments. If a people turn the grace of God into lasciviousness, or make their liberty, an occasion for anarchy, or if they refuse to belong to the “one fold and one Shepherd,”—they shall be scourged by governments of their own choosing, and burdened with taxation, and subjected to physical control, and torn by factions, and made to eat the fruit of their evil doings, until they are prepared to receive the liberty and the rest which remain, on earth as well as in heaven, for THE PEOPLE OF GOD. This is in strict accordance with the arrangement of Divine Providence.

So long as men contemn the perfect government of the Most High, persons, just so long will they desire to usurp authority over each other—just so long will they pertinaciously cling to human governments, *fashioned in the likeness and administered in the spirit of their own disobedience*. Now, if the prayer of our Lord be not a mockery; if the Kingdom of God is to come universally, and his will to be alone ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN; and if, in that kingdom, no carnal weapon can be wielded, and swords are beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and there is none to molest or make afraid, and no statute-book but the Bible, and no judge but Christ; then why are not Christians obligated to come out NOW, and be separate from “the kingdoms of this world,” which are all based upon THE PRINCIPLE OF VIO-

LENCE, and which require their officers and servants to govern and be governed by that principle? . . .

These are among the views we shall offer in connection with the heaven-originated cause of PEACE—views which any person is at liberty to controvert in our columns, and for which no man or body of men is responsible but ourselves. If any man shall affirm that the anti-slavery cause, as such, or any anti-slavery society, is answerable for our sentiments on this subject, to him may be justly applied the apostolic declaration, “the truth is not in him.” We regret, indeed, that the principles of abolitionists seem to be quite unsettled upon a question of such vast importance, and so vitally connected with the bloodless overthrow of slavery. It is time for all our friends to know where they stand. If those whose yokes they are endeavoring to break by the fire and hammer of God’s word, would not, in their opinion, be justified in appealing to physical force, how can they justify others of a different complexion in doing the same thing? And if they conscientiously believe that the slaves would be guiltless in shedding the blood of their merciless oppressors, let them say so unequivocally—for there is no neutral ground in this matter, and the time is near when they will be compelled to take sides.

As our object is universal emancipation—to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition—we shall go for the RIGHTS OF WOMAN to their utmost extent.

The Liberator, December 15, 1837.

PRO-SLAVERY MOB ATTACKS ABOLITIONIST MEETING AT PENNSYLVANIA HALL (1838)

*Text of Angelina Grimké Weld’s Speech
at Pennsylvania Hall*

Men, brethren and fathers—mothers, daughters and sisters, what came ye out for to see? A reed shaken with the wind? Is it curiosity merely, or a deep sympathy with the perishing slave, that has brought this large audience together? [A yell from the mob without the building.] Those voices without ought to awaken and call out our warmest sympathies. Deluded beings! “they know not what they do.” They know not that they are undermining their own rights and their own happiness, temporal and eternal. Do you ask, “what has the North to do with slavery?” Hear it—hear it. Those voices without tell us that the spirit of slavery is *here*, and has been roused to wrath by our abolition speeches and conventions: for surely liberty would not

foam and tear herself with rage, because her friends are multiplied daily, and meetings are held in quick succession to set forth her virtues and extend her peaceful kingdom. This opposition shows that slavery has done its deadliest work in the hearts of our citizens. Do you ask, then, "what has the North to do?" I answer, cast out first the spirit of slavery from your own hearts, and then lend your aid to convert the South. Each one present has a work to do, be his or her situation what it may, however limited their means, or insignificant their supposed influence. The great men of this country will not do this work; the church will never do it. A desire to please the world, to keep the favor of all parties and of all conditions, makes them dumb on this and every other unpopular subject. They have become worldly-wise, and therefore God, in his wisdom, employs them not to carry on his plans of reformation and salvation. He hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak to overcome the mighty.

As a Southerner I feel that it is my duty to stand up here to-night and bear testimony against slavery. I have seen it—I have seen it. I know it has horrors that can never be described. I was brought up under its wing: I witnessed for many years its demoralizing influences, and its destructiveness to human happiness. It is admitted by some that the slave is not happy under the *worst* forms of slavery. But I have *never* seen a happy slave. I have seen him dance in his chains, it is true; but he was not happy. There is a wide difference between happiness and mirth. Man cannot enjoy the former while his manhood is destroyed, and that part of the being which is necessary to the making, and to the enjoyment of happiness, is completely blotted out. The slaves, however, may be, and sometimes are, mirthful. When hope is extinguished, they say, "let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." [Just then stones were thrown at the windows,—a great noise without, and commotion within.] What is a mob? What would the breaking of every window be? What would the levelling of this Hall be? Any evidence that we are wrong, or that slavery is a good and wholesome institution? What if the mob should now burst in upon us, break up our meeting and commit violence upon our persons—would this be any thing compared with what the slaves endure? No, no: and we do not remember them "as bound with them," if we shrink in the time of peril, or feel unwilling to sacrifice ourselves, if need be, for their sake. [Great noise.] I thank the Lord that there is yet life left enough to feel the truth, even though it rages at it—that conscience is not so completely seared as to be unmoved by the truth of the living God.

Many persons go to the South for a season, and are hospitably entertained in the parlor and at the table of the slave-holder. They never enter the huts of the slaves; they know nothing of the dark side of the picture, and they return home with praises on their lips of the generous character of those with whom they had tarried. Or if they have witnessed the cruelties of slavery, by remaining silent spectators they have naturally become callous—an insensibility has ensued which prepares them to apologize even for barbarity. Nothing but the corrupting influence of slavery on the hearts of the Northern people can induce them to apologize for it; and much will have been done for the destruction of Southern slavery when we have so reformed the North that no one here will be willing to risk his reputation by advocating or even excusing the holding of men as property. The South know it, and acknowledge that as fast as our principles prevail, the hold of the master must be relaxed. [Another outbreak of mobocratic spirit, and some confusion in the house.]

How wonderfully constituted is the human mind! How it resists, as long as it can, all efforts made to reclaim from error! I feel that all this disturbance is but an evidence that our efforts are the best that could have been adopted, or else the friends of slavery would not care for what we say and do. The South know what we do. I am thankful that they are reached by our efforts. Many times have I wept in the land of my birth, over the system of slavery. I knew of none who sympathized in my feelings—I was unaware that any efforts were made to deliver the oppressed—no voice in the wilderness was heard calling on the people to repent and do works meet for repentance—and my heart sickened within me. Oh, how should I have rejoiced to know that such efforts as these were being made. I only wonder that I had such feelings. I wonder when I reflect under what influence I was brought up that my heart is not harder than the nether millstone. But in the midst of temptation I was preserved, and my sympathy grew warmer, and my hatred of slavery more inveterate, until at last I have exiled myself from my native land because I could no longer endure to hear the wailing of the slave. I fled to the land of Penn; for here, thought I, sympathy for the slave will surely be found. But I found it not. The people were kind and hospitable, but the slave had no place in their thoughts. Whenever questions were put to me as to his condition, I felt that they were dictated by an idle curiosity, rather than by that deep feeling which would lead to effort for his rescue. I therefore shut up my grief in my own heart. I remembered that I was a Carolinian, from a state which framed this iniquity by

law. I knew that throughout her territory was continual suffering, on the one part, and continual brutality and sin on the other. Every Southern breeze wafted to me the discordant tones of weeping and wailing, shrieks and groans, mingled with prayers and blasphemous curses. I thought there was no hope; that the wicked would go on in his wickedness, until he had destroyed both himself and his country. My heart sunk within me at the abominations in the midst of which I had been born and educated. What will it avail, cried I in bitterness of spirit, to expose to the gaze of strangers the horrors and pollutions of slavery, when there is no ear to hear nor heart to feel and pray for the slave. The language of my soul was, "Oh tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon." But how different do I feel now! Animated with hope, nay, with an assurance of the triumph of liberty and good will to man, I will lift up my voice like a trumpet, and show this people their transgression, their sins of omission towards the slave, and what they can do towards affecting Southern mind, and overthrowing Southern oppression.

We may talk of occupying neutral ground, but on this subject, in its present attitude, there is no such thing as neutral ground. He that is not for us is against us, and he that gathereth not with us, scattereth abroad. If you are on what you suppose to be neutral ground, the South look upon you as on the side of the oppressor. And is there one who loves his country willing to give his influence, even indirectly, in favor of slavery—that curse of nations? God swept Egypt with the besom of destruction, and punished Judea also with a sore punishment, because of slavery. And have we any reason to believe that he is less just now?—or that he will be more favorable to us than to his own "peculiar people?" [Shoutings, stones thrown against the windows, &c.]

There is nothing to be feared from those who would stop our mouths, but they themselves should fear and tremble. The current is even now setting fast against them. If the arm of the North had not caused the Bastille of slavery to totter to its foundation, you would not hear those cries. A few years ago, and the South felt secure, and with a contemptuous sneer asked, "Who are the abolitionists? The abolitionists are nothing?"—Ay, in one sense they were nothing, and they are nothing still. But in this we rejoice, that "God has chosen things that are not to bring to nought things that are." [Mob again disturbed the meeting.]

We often hear the question asked, "What shall we do?" Here is an opportunity for doing something now. Every man and every woman present may do some-

thing by showing that we fear not a mob, and, in the midst of threatenings and revilings, by opening our mouths for the dumb and pleading the cause of those who are ready to perish.

To work as we should in this cause, we must know what Slavery is. Let me urge you then to buy the books which have been written on this subject and read them, and then lend them to your neighbors. Give your money no longer for things which pander to pride and lust, but aid in scattering "the living coals of truth" upon the naked heart of this nation,—in circulating appeals to the sympathies of Christians in behalf of the outraged and suffering slave. But, it is said by some, our "books and papers do not speak the truth." Why, then, do they not contradict what we say? They cannot. Moreover the South has entreated, nay commanded us to be silent; and what greater evidence of the truth of our publications could be desired?

Women of Philadelphia! allow me as a Southern woman, with much attachment to the land of my birth, to entreat you to come up to this work. Especially let me urge you to petition. *Men* may settle this and other questions at the ballot-box, but you have no such right; it is only through petitions that you can reach the Legislature. It is therefore peculiarly *your* duty to petition. Do you say, "It does no good?" The South already turns pale at the number sent. They have read the reports of the proceedings of Congress, and there have seen that among other petitions were very many from the women of the North on the subject of slavery. This fact has called the attention of the South to the subject. How could we expect to have done more as yet? Men who hold the rod over slaves, rule in the councils of the nation: and they deny our right to petition and to remonstrate against abuses of our sex and of our kind. We have these rights, however, from our God. Only let us exercise them: and though often turned away unanswered, let us remember the influence of importunity upon the unjust judge, and act accordingly. The fact that the South look with jealousy upon our measures shows that they are effectual. There is, therefore, no cause for doubting or despair, but rather for rejoicing.

It was remarked in England that women did much to abolish Slavery in her colonies. Nor are they now idle. Numerous petitions from them have recently been presented to the Queen, to abolish the apprenticeship with its cruelties nearly equal to those of the system whose place it supplies. One petition two miles and a quarter long has been presented. And do you think these labors will be in vain? Let the history of the past answer. When the women of these States send up

to Congress such a petition, our legislators will arise as did those of England, and say, "When all the maids and matrons of the land are knocking at our doors we must legislate." Let the zeal and love, the faith and works of our English sisters quicken ours—that while the slaves continue to suffer, and when they shout deliverance, we may feel the satisfaction of *having done what we could*.

Webb, Samuel. 1838. *History of Pennsylvania Hall Which was Destroyed by a Mob on the 17th of May, 1838*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn.

THE PLIGHT OF THE *AMISTAD* CAPTIVES (1839)

As much interest and curiosity exist in the community, respecting the Africans now confined at New Haven, we take pleasure in laying before our readers the following letter from a gentleman who was appointed to visit them, and make report of their situation.

To the committee on behalf of the African prisoners at New Haven. Gentlemen—Having been deputed to visit the company of African captives now in confinement at New Haven, I hasten to lay before you a few particulars respecting their situation. I found them occupying four or five apartments, under the care of the U.S. marshal, N. Wilcox, Esq. and his assistant, Mr. Pendleton. They seem to be made as comfortable as is consistent with their situation, excepting that they need opportunities for exercise in the open air.

This, I hope, will be secured as soon as the marshal returns from New London, where he has gone to take an inventory of the slaver and its contents. A faithful and accomplished physician, Charles Hooker, M. D., of New Haven, is devoting to all the professional attention they need. Five or six of them are in the hospital apartment, and some of the rest are slightly affected with bowel complaints. They have all been decently clothed in cotton shirts and trousers by the care of the marshal, and will have flannel provided as soon as the physician shall direct. Care is also taken as to their food.

They were not as destitute of clothing when taken near our shore, as has been represented in the papers, but had clothing, probably found on board the slaver, which they did not wear in consequence of the intolerable heat when confined in the hold of the slaver. Great curiosity is felt to see these victims of the slave-

trade, the first that have been known in Connecticut for a great many years.

Multitudes visit the prison, the keeper charging each one a New York shilling, the avails of which, after a just compensation for his trouble, he purposes to expend for the benefit of the prisoners, or for some other charitable object. Objections have been made to this course, but I found some of the most intelligent and humane of the citizens satisfied that the sympathy produced by it is rather favorable than otherwise to the prisoners, and also useful in raising their spirits, &c.

Joseph Cinquez, the leader, is in the cell with other prisoners; his countenance bears a resemblance to the prints that are hawked about our streets. He is less cheerful than many of the others. They all appear to be persons of quiet minds and a mild and cheerful temper; there are no contentions among them; even the poor children, three girls and one boy, who are in a room by themselves, seem to be uniformly kind and friendly.

I took along with me an old African man, who said he could speak the Congo language, in hopes thereby of attaining the means of communication with them, as the newspapers said they speak the Congo; but they all say they are not Congoes. Many of them say Manding, whence it is supposed they are Mandingoes, though it is not unlikely there are persons of several tribes among them.

Unremitted efforts will be made to obtain the means of communication with these unfortunate persons, who have been committed to prison and bound over to be tried for their lives, without an opportunity to say a word for themselves, and without a word communicated to them explanatory of their situation.

They are detained by the marshal on two processes; one the commitment for trial on a charge of murder; and the other the claim upon them as property by the Spaniards who pretend to be their owners, and by the American captors who have lobbied for salvage.

It is believed there are a number of Africans in this city, or various tribes, some of whom will be able to communicate with them.

Very respectfully,

JOSHUA LEAVITT 143 Nassau street,
Friday evening, September 6th.

P. S. it is expected that some of those native Africans will go to New Haven this evening with a member of the committee.

New York Commercial Advertiser, August 28–September 25, 1839.

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES (1839)

Testimony of Mr. William Poe.

Mr. Poe is a native of Richmond, Virginia, and was formerly a slaveholder. He was for several years a merchant in Richmond, and subsequently in Lynchburg, Virginia. A few years since, he emancipated his slaves, and removed to Hamilton County, Ohio, near Cincinnati, where he is a highly respected ruling elder in the Presbyterian church. He says,—

“I am pained exceedingly, and nothing but my duty to God, to the oppressors, and to the poor down-trodden slaves, who go mourning all their days, could move me to say a word. I will state to you a *few* cases of the abuse of the slaves, but time would fail, if I had language to tell how many and great are the inflictions of slavery even in its mildest form.”

Benjamin James Harris, a wealthy tobacconist of Richmond, Virginia, whipped a slave girl fifteen years old to death. While he was whipping her, his wife heated a smoothing iron, put it on her body in various places, and burned her severely. The verdict of the coroner's inquest was, “Died of excessive whipping.” He was tried in Richmond, and acquitted. I attended the trial. Some years after, this same Harris whipped another slave to death. The man had not done so much work as was required of him. After a number of protracted and violent scourgings, with short intervals between, the slave died under the lash. Harris was tried, and again acquitted, because none but blacks saw it done. The same man afterwards whipped another slave severely, for not doing work to please him. After repeated and severe floggings in quick succession, for the same cause, the slave, in despair of pleasing him, cut off his own hand. Harris soon after became a bankrupt, went to New Orleans to recruit his finances, failed, removed to Kentucky, became a maniac, and died.

A captain in the United States' Navy, who married a daughter of the collector of the port of Richmond, and resided there, became offended with his negro boy, took him into the meat house, put him upon a stool, crossed his hands before him, tied a rope to them, threw it over a joist in the building, drew the boy up so that he could just stand on the stool with his toes, and kept him in that position, flogging him severely at intervals, until the boy became so exhausted that he reeled off the stool, and swung by his hands until he died. The master was tried and acquitted.

In Goochland County, Virginia, an overseer tied a

slave to a tree, flogged him again and again with great severity, then piled brush around him, set it on fire, and burned him to death. The overseer was tried and imprisoned. The whole transaction may be found on the records of the court.

In traveling, one day, from Petersburg to Richmond, Virginia, I heard cries of distress at a distance, on the road. I rode up, and found two white men, beating a slave. One of them had hold of a rope, which was passed under the bottom of a fence; the other end was fastened around the neck of the slave, who was thrown flat on the ground, on his face, with his back bared. The other was beating him furiously with a large hickory.

A slaveholder in Henrico County, Virginia, had a slave who used frequently to work for my father. One morning he came into the field with his back completely *cut up*, and mangled from his head to his heels. The man was so stiff and sore he could scarcely walk. This same person got offended with another of his slaves, knocked him down, and struck out one of his eyes with a maul. The eyes of several of his slaves were injured by similar violence.

In Richmond, Virginia, a company occupied as a dwelling a large warehouse. They got angry with a negro lad, one of their slaves, took him into the cellar, tied his hands with a rope, bored a hole through the floor, and passed the rope up through it. Some of the family drew up the boy, while others whipped. This they continued until the boy died. The warehouse was owned by a Mr. Whitlock, on the site of one formerly owned by a Mr. Philpot.

Joseph Chilton, a resident of Campbell County, Virginia, purchased a quart of tanners' oil, for the purpose, as he said, of putting it on one of his negro's heads, that he had sometime previous pitched or tarred over, for running away.

In the town of Lynchburg, Virginia, there was a negro man put in prison, charged with having pillaged some packages of goods, which he, as head man of a boat, received at Richmond, to be delivered at Lynchburg. The goods belonged to A. B. Nichols, of Liberty, Bedford County, Virginia. He came to Lynchburg, and desired the jailor to permit him to whip the negro, to make him confess, as there was *no proof against him*. Mr. Williams, (I think that is his name,) a pious Methodist man, a great stickler for law and good order, professedly a great friend to the black man, delivered the negro into the hands of Nichols. Nichols told me that he took the slave, tied his wrists together, then drew his arms down so far below his knees as to permit a staff to pass above the arms under the knees, thereby

placing the slave in a situation that he could not move hand or foot. He then commenced his bloody work, and continued, at intervals, until 500 blows were inflicted. I received this statement from Nichols himself, who was, by the way, a *son of the land of "steady habits,"* where there are many like him, if we may judge from their writings, sayings, and doings."

Weld, Theodore Dwight. 1839. *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*. New York: American Anti-Slavery Society.

SLAVES EXECUTED FOR KILLING OVERSEER (1841)

Fruits of Slavery.

From the Opelousas (La.) Gazette. EXECUTION. On Monday last, three slaves belonging to Mrs. Preston of this place, were executed for the murder of John Moore. The circumstances of the murder are these. Mr. Moore, being the overseer of Mrs. Preston, discovered some whiskey in the cabins of the slaves, and threatened to punish them for it the next day (Monday). It seems, however, that three or four of the negroes had previously resolved upon the death of Moore, and in order to avoid the threatened punishment, fixed upon that as a fit occasion to accomplish their hellish designs. Three of them, Zachariah, Jeffrey, and William, (Mrs. P's carriage driver and a confidential servant,) went to the house of Mr. Moore; Jeffrey went in and began to beg off from the promised punishment, while Zachariah pretended to be making a fire, (it being nearly day light,) and William stood at the door. Moore having refused to forgive them their offence, Jeffrey leaped upon him, and began choking him, calling to the others to assist, both of whom did so, holding him while Jeffrey held him by the throat. After they had, as they thought, strangled their victim, they took him out of the house, when he again struggled violently, and Zachariah struck him with a billet of wood, fracturing the skull, causing instant death. After the murder, they saddled Moore's horse, and throwing him across the saddle, carried him about a mile into the woods, and left him near the road, with his coat off and one foot in the stirrup, in order to induce the belief that his horse had thrown him, and had caused his death by dragging, the girth being broken, and the horse standing not far off from his master. All the above facts were elicited on the trial, and were confessed by the criminals after they were convicted. Another negro belonging to the same lady, was put upon his trial for the same offence, and was acquitted, but it

has been ascertained since, that he participated in the crime—his name is Morris—and we regret that he cannot be tried again and hanged.

The Liberator, February 5, 1841.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS DEFENDS THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES (1841)

. . . I appear here on the behalf of thirty-six individuals, the life and liberty of every one of whom depend on the decision of this Court. . . . Three or four of them are female children, incapable, in the judgment of our laws, of the crime of murder or piracy, or, perhaps, of any other crime. Yet, from the day when the vessel was taken possession of by one of our naval officers, they have all been held as close prisoners, now for the period of eighteen long months. . . .

The Constitution of the United States recognizes the slaves, held within some of the States of the Union, only in their capacity of persons—persons held to labor or service in a State under the laws thereof—persons constituting elements of representation in the popular branch of the National Legislature persons, the migration or importation of whom should not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808. The Constitution nowhere recognizes them as property. The words slave and slavery are studiously excluded from the Constitution. Circumlocutions are the fig-leaves under which the parts of the body politic are decently concealed. Slaves, therefore, in the Constitution of the United States are persons, enjoying rights and held to the performance of duties. . . .

The persons aforesaid, described as slaves, are Negroes and persons of color, who have been transported from Africa in violation of the laws of the United States. . . . The Court should enable the United States to send the Negroes home to Africa . . . in pursuance of the law of Congress passed March 3, 1829, entitled "An act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave-trade." . . .

The President . . . signed [an] order for the delivery of MEN to the control of an officer of the navy to be carried beyond sea. . . . The District Judge, contrary to all [the] anticipations of the Executive, decided that the thirty-six Negroes . . . brought before the Court . . . were FREEMEN; that they had been kidnapped in Africa; that they did not own . . . Spanish names; . . . that they were not correctly described in the passport, but were new Negroes . . . fully entitled to their liberty.

Well was it for the country—well was it for the President of the United States himself that he paused

before stepping over this Rubicon! . . . The indignation of the freemen of Connecticut, might not tamely endure the sight, of thirty-six free persons, though Africans, fettered and manacled in their land of freedom, to be transported beyond the seas, to perpetual hereditary servitude or to death, by the servile submission of an American President to the insolent dictation of a foreign minister. . . .

[President Van Buren informed his subordinates that] if the decree of the Judge should be in our favor, and you can steal a march upon the Negroes by foreclosing their right of appeal, ship them off without mercy and without delay: and if the decree should be in their favor, fail not to enter an instantaneous appeal to the Supreme Court where the chances may be more hostile to self-emancipated slaves.

Was ever such a scene of Lilliputian trickery enacted by the rulers of a great, magnanimous, and Christian nation? Contrast it with that act of self-emancipation, by which the savage, heathen barbarians Cinque and Grabeau liberated themselves and their fellow suffering countrymen from Spanish slave traders, and which the Secretary of State . . . denominates lawless violence. . . . Cinque and Grabeau are uncooth and barbarous names. Call them Harmodius and Aristogiton, and go back for moral principle three thousand years to the fierce and glorious democracy of Athens. They too resorted to lawless violence, and slew the tyrant to redeem the freedom of their country. . . .

I said, when I began this plea, that my final reliance for success in this case was on this Court as a court of JUSTICE; and in the confidence this fact inspired, that, in the administration of justice, in a case of no less importance than the liberty and the life of a large number of persons, this Court would not decide but on a due consideration of all the rights, both natural and social, of everyone of these individuals. . . . I have avoided, purposely avoided . . . a recurrence to those first principles of liberty which might well have been invoked in the argument of this cause. I have shown that [the *Amistad's* crew members] . . . were acting at the time in a way that is forbidden by the laws of Great Britain, of Spain and of the United States, and . . . that these Negroes were free and had a right to assert their liberty. . . .

On the of February, 1804, now more than thirty-seven years past, my name was entered, and yet stands recorded, on both the rolls, as one of the Attorneys and Counsellors of this Court. . . . I stand before the same Court, but not before the same judges—nor aided by the same associates—nor resisted by the same opponents. As I cast my eyes along those seats of honor and public trust, now occupied by you, they

seek in vain for one of those honored and honorable persons whose indulgence listened then to my voice. Marshall—Cushing—Chase—Washington—Johnson—Livingston—Todd—Where are they? . . . Gone! Gone! All gone! . . . In taking, then, my final leave of this Bar, and of this Honorable Court, I can only ejaculate a fervent petition to Heaven, that every member of it may go to his final account with as little of earthly frailty to answer for as those illustrious dead. . . .

Adams, John Quincy. 1841. *Argument of John Quincy Adams, before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Case of the United States, Appellants, vs. Cinque, and Others, Africans, Captured in the Schooner Amistad. Delivered on February 24, and March 1, 1841.* New York: S. W. Benedict.

RUMORS OF REVOLT (1841)

From the N. O. Bulletin.

INTENDED REVOLT OF SLAVES. —Intelligence was received yesterday by the packet steamer Clipper from Bayou Sara, of a systematized plan on the part of the negroes to rise up and murder the whites. The news, greatly exaggerated in its repetition, has created quite a sensation in town. The plain truth is certainly sufficient to occasion serious apprehensions. The particulars that we have received are these:

The overseer of the plantation of Robt. J. Barrow, of West Feliciana, having occasion to rise from his bed late, in one of the recent hot nights, heard what he believed to be negroes conversing on one of the quarters. On silently approaching the vicinity, and listening, he overheard two of the slaves discussing the subject of a rising against the whites. This led to the examination the next morning of the two fellows, when they confessed the fact, and gave information that led to the arrest of several others. The alarm was immediately spread abroad, arrests were made in various plantations, and it was found by the confessions that they all agreed in the main facts, that there was to be a general rise, and that the 1st of August was the day agreed upon.

A white man, a carpenter, who had lately done a lot of work for Mr. Barrow, was also arrested on suspicion, and examined. He said he had nothing to do with the plot—that he had never said any thing to the negroes on the subject, but acknowledged that they frequently spoke to him, and informed him all about it.

This white man, with about 40 negroes, all of whom had confessed their knowledge of the intended rising, were in jail at St. Francisville, guarded by a company of volunteers. Their examination by a com-

petent tribunal, was to have commenced yesterday at 10 a.m.

At Woodville, we learn numerous slaves were confined in the jail, having confessed to the same facts as those arrested in Feliciana.

Capt. Laurent states that on stopping at Point Coupee, to communicate information of the situation of the affairs above, several gentlemen recollected occurrences of recent date which tended to confirm the suspicion that the slaves of their section were parties to the wicked plot. Doct.— said he had been asked what day of the month it was, by more negroes, within the last ten days, than in seven years before—and there had been unusual assemblies of the slaves, in rather by-places, for several Sundays past.

Some of the negroes have confessed that the combination was from Bayou Sara to Natchez.

It may not be amiss to remark, that the plantations in Feliciana and Wilkinson county, from which the slaves were taken who are imprisoned, are owned by the most wealthy and respectable planters of the State, whose kind and humane treatment of their slaves is proverbial.

The Liberator, August 6, 1841.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR FUGITIVE SLAVES (1841)

Life in New Orleans.

\$100 Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, on the 10th inst., a negro man, who calls himself MOSES, but will no doubt give himself some other name. Said negro is about 28 years old, of a light black complexion, about 5 feet 5 inches in height, well made; has some of his fore teeth out, both upper and under; has had a small slit in each ear, made with a knife, about three-fourths of an inch from the lower tip; though healed up, it may be discovered on examination; speaks affably, is quite intelligent, and can read well. He is an old hand at running away.

\$25 Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, on the 24th ult., the girl MARY, alias JANE. She is of a griffe color, about 19 years old, full face and large lips, and has the mark of a whip under one of her eyes, and on the back of her neck. The above reward will be paid to any person who will return her to the subscriber.

G. VANDREUL, 213, Poydras St.

\$10 Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, on the

14th inst., a negro man, named ROBERT, but passes frequently under the assumed name of Sam; age 35 years or thereabouts; is five feet 6 or 8 inches in height; thin visage, having been lately sick; of dark complexion, having a dark expression of countenance, with a scar on his left cheek, inclining towards his mouth. He had on when he left, a pair of jans blue pants, a white linen dress coat, and linen shoes with broad plaits.

The above reward will be given for the apprehension of the same Bob or Sam, by application to H. F. Wade, 56 Tchoupitoulas. It is supposed he will endeavor to leave the city; and the captains of vessels are hereby forewarned not to carry him off, under the penalty of the law.

H. F. WADE.

\$5 Reward. Lost, about two weeks ago, a large, black bull dog, with a wound in the right eye, had on a leather collar, with a rope attached to it. The above reward will be given to whoever will return him to

E. STONE, cor. New Levee and
Lafayette sts.

Ran away or stolen, the slave CAROLINE, from my residence in Carrolton, on the 7th inst. Said negress is about 14 years old, slim and delicate made, under lip quite thick, and mark of a burn on one of her arms. I warn all steamboats to be on the lookout, for I believe she will be trying to go up the river. I will pay a reward of \$20 for her delivery in jail in this city, or delivered to me in Carrolton.

G. B. MASON.

Scars—burns—whip marks—teeth knocked out—slit ears!!—behold the march of humanity! The foregoing are copied from the New Orleans Picayune and the Bulletin. —Philanthropist. *The Liberator*, September 3, 1841.

SOLOMON NORTHUP DESCRIBES A SLAVE AUCTION (1841)

In the first place we were required to wash thoroughly, and those with beards to shave. We were then furnished with a new suit each, cheap, but clean. The men had hat, coat, shirt, pants and shoes; the women frocks of calico, and handkerchief to bind about their heads. We were now conducted into a large room in the front part of the building to which the yard was attached, in order to be properly trained, before the ad-

mission of customers. The men were arranged on one side of the room, the women at the other. The tallest was placed at the head of the row, then the next tallest, and so on in the order of their respective heights. Emily was at the foot of the line of women. Freeman [Theophilus Freeman, owner of the slave-pen.] charged us to remember our places; exhorted us to appear smart and lively—sometimes threatening, and again, holding out various inducements. During the day he exercised us in the art of “looking smart,” and of moving to our places with exact precision.

After being fed, in the afternoon, we were again paraded and made to dance. Bob, a colored boy, who had some time belonged to Freeman, played on the violin. Standing near him, I made bold to inquire if he could play the “Virginia Reel.” He answered he could not, and asked me if I could play. Replying in the affirmative, he handed me the violin. I struck up a tune, and finished it. Freeman ordered me to continue playing, and seemed well pleased, telling Bob that I far excelled him—a remark that seemed to grieve my musical companion very much.

Next day many customers called to examine Freeman’s “new lot.” The latter gentleman was very loquacious, dwelling at much length upon our several good points and qualities. He would make us hold up our heads, walk briskly back and forth, while customers would feel of our hands and arms and bodies, turn us about, ask us what we could do, make us open our mouths and show our teeth, precisely as a jockey examines a horse which he is about to barter for or purchase. Sometimes a man or woman was taken back to the small house in the yard, stripped, and inspected more minutely. Scars upon a slave’s back were considered evidence of a rebellious or unruly spirit, and hurt his sale.

An old gentleman, who said he wanted a coachman, appeared to take a fancy to me. From his conversation with Burch [Freeman’s business associate], I learned he was a resident in the city. I very much desired that he would buy me, because I conceived it would not be difficult to make my escape from New Orleans on some northern vessel. Freeman asked him fifteen hundred dollars for me. The old gentleman insisted it was too much as times were very hard. Freeman, however, declared that I was sound of health, of a good constitution, and intelligent. He made it a point to enlarge upon my musical attainments. The old gentleman argued quite adroitly that there was nothing extraordinary about the Negro, and finally, to my regret, went out, saying he would call again. During the day, however, a number of sales were made. David and Caroline were purchased together by a Natchez

planter. They left us, grinning broadly, and in a most happy state of mind, caused by the fact of their not being separated. Sethe was sold to a planter of Baton Rouge, her eyes flashing with anger as she was led away.

The same man also purchased Randall. The little fellow was made to jump, and run across the floor, and perform many other feats, exhibiting his activity and condition. All the time the trade was going on, Eliza was crying aloud, and wringing her hands. She besought the man not to buy him, unless he also bought herself and Emily. She promised, in that case, to be the most faithful slave that ever lived. The man answered that he could not afford it, and then Eliza burst into a paroxysm of grief, weeping plaintively. Freeman turned round to her, savagely, with his whip in his uplifted hand, ordering her to stop her noise, or he would flog her. He would not have such work—such snivelling; and unless she ceased that minute, he would take her to the yard and give her a hundred lashes. Yes, he would take the nonsense out of her pretty quick—if he didn’t, might he be d—d. Eliza shrunk before him, and tried to wipe away her tears, but it was all in vain. She wanted to be with her children, she said, the little time she had to live. All the frowns and threats of Freeman, could not wholly silence the afflicted mother. She kept on begging and beseeching them, most piteously, not to separate the three. Over and over again she told them how she loved her boy. A great many times she repeated her former promises—how very faithful and obedient she would be; how hard she would labor day and night, to the last moment of her life, if he would only buy them all together. But it was of no avail; the man could not afford it. The bargain was agreed upon, and Randall must go alone. Then Eliza ran to him; embraced him passionately; kissed him again and again; told him to remember her—all the while her tears falling in the boy’s face like rain.

Freeman damned her, calling her a blubbering, bawling wench, and ordered her to go to her place, and behave herself, and be somebody. He swore he wouldn’t stand such stuff but a little longer. He would soon give her something to cry about, if she was not mighty careful, and that she might depend upon.

The planter from Baton Rouge, with his new purchase, was ready to depart.

“Don’t cry, mama. I will be a good boy. Don’t cry,” said Randall, looking back, as they passed out of the door.

What has become of the lad, God knows. It was a mournful scene indeed. I would have cried myself if I had dared.

Northup, Solomon. 1975. *Twelve Years a Slave*. Sue Eakin and Joseph Logsdon, eds. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EDUCATION OF SLAVES (1841)

So far from any provision being made for the education of the slaves, it is either entirely prohibited or universally discouraged. In some of the states the education of the slave is expressly forbidden by law, and any attempt made to educate them, whether by whites or black, is severely punished. In some of the less important slaveholding states, instruction in letters is not prohibited by law; but it is effectually prevented by public opinion. Such is the case in Kentucky.

The following are a few specimens of the laws which forbid the education of slaves. *Jay's Inquiry*—p. 136.

“A law of South Carolina passed in 1800, authorizes the infliction of twenty lashes on every slave found in an assembly convened for the purpose of ‘mental instruction,’ held in a confined or secret place, although in the presence of a white. Another law imposes a fine of £100 on any person who may teach a slave to write. An act of Virginia, of 1829, declares every meeting of slaves at any school by day or night, for instruction in reading or writing, an unlawful assembly; and any justice may inflict twenty lashes on each slave found in such school.

“In North Caroline, to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him any book (bible not excepted) or pamphlet, is punished with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment if the offender be a free negro, but if a white, then with a fine of 200 dollars. The reason for this law assigned in its preamble is, that ‘teaching slaves to read and write, tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion.

“In Georgia, if a white teach a free negro or slave to read or write, he is fined 500 dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; if the offender be a colored man, bond or free, he is to be fined or whipped at the discretion of the court. Of course a father may be flogged for teaching his own child. This barbarous law was enacted in 1829.

“In Louisiana, the penalty for teaching slaves to read or write, is one year’s imprisonment.

These are specimens of the efforts made by slave legislatures, to enslave the minds of their victims; and we have surely no reason to hope that their souls are regarded with more compassion.”

The reason honestly assigned in the preamble to the North Carolina law, i.e., that “teaching slaves to read or write tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion,” is doubtless the ground of all these prohibitory enactments. The law of South Carolina in 1740 says, “The allowing of slaves to read would be attended with many inconveniences.” In plain English, education is regarded as positively inconsistent with slavery, and its prohibition as indispensable to the continuance of the system.

But let us see what is the extent of instruction in those states which do not expressly interdict it by statute. We have specified Kentucky as an example of this nature, and she is perhaps the fairest specimen among all the slaveholding states. The following testimony is quoted from the address of the Kentucky Synod already referred to.

“Slavery dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance. Throughout our whole land, so far as we can learn, there is but one school in which, during the week, slaves can be taught. Here and there a family is found, where humanity and religion impel the master, mistress, or children, to the laborious task of private instruction. But after all, what is the utmost amount of instruction given to slaves? Those of the Word, that they may make corn and cotton, and buy and sell, and get gain, meet this cry at the bar of God? and what shall the hundreds of money-making and money-loving masters, who have grown rich by the toil and sweat of their slaves, and left their souls to perish, say when they go with them to the judgment of the great day?”

The following testimony with regard to the slaves in Alabama, is from a letter published in the Southern Religious Telegraph, and is dated June 20, 1836:

“Yesterday afternoon, I attended divine service in this place. The afternoon sermon is always intended especially for the blacks. The number present yesterday was probably over 400. Rev. Mr. Houp informed me that preaching was not kept up regularly in any other Methodist church in Middle Alabama except Montgomery. I have myself visited all the Presbyterian churches belonging to Tuscaloosa and South Alabama Presbyteries, except Mobile and three others, and have found the blacks almost entirely neglected in all but two.”

“The Rev. Mr. Converse, who was at one period an agent of the Colonization Society, and resided for some time in Virginia, states in a discourse before the Vermont Colonization Society, that ‘almost nothing is done to instruct the slaves in the principles and duties of the Christian religion. The laws of the south strictly forbid their being taught to read; and they

make no provision for their being orally instructed. Ministers sometimes preach to them under peculiar and severe restrictions of the law. But with all that has yet been done, the majority are emphatically heathens, and what is very strange, heathens in the midst of a land of sabbaths and of churches, of bibles and of Christians . . . Pious masters (with honorable exceptions) are criminally negligent of giving religious instruction to their slaves . . . They can and do instruct their own children, and perhaps their house servants; while those called 'field hands' live, and labor, and die, without being told by their pious masters (?) that Jesus Christ died to save sinners."

The following is the testimony of Dr. Nelson, late President of Marion College, Missouri, a Presbyterian Clergyman of high respectability, who was born and educated in Tennessee, and till forty years old, a slaveholder.

"I have been asked concerning the religious instruction of slaves; and I feel safe in answering that in general it amounts to little or nothing. Hundreds and thousand never hear of a Saviour; and of those who are familiar with his name, few have any comprehension of its meaning. I remember one grey headed negro, with whom I tried to talk concerning his immortal soul. I pointed to the hills and told him God made them. He said he did not believe any body made the hills. I asked another slave about Jesus Christ. I found he had heard his name, but thought he was the son of the Governor of Kentucky."

To show how masters, even professedly religious ones, often discourage attention to the subject of religion among their slaves, we give the following extract from the "Report on the Condition of the People of Colour in the State of Ohio."

"Said a coloured woman to us the other day, 'When I was little I used to long to read. After prayers, master would often leave the bible and hymn book on the stand, and I would sometimes open them to see if the letters would not tell me something. When he came and caught me looking in them, he would always strike me and sometimes knock me down.'"

Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Committee. 1841. *Slavery and the International Slave Trade in the United States of America*, London: Thomas Ward and Co.

PRIGG V. PENNSYLVANIA (1842)

We have not the slightest hesitation in holding that, under and in virtue of the Constitution, the owner of a slave is clothed with entire authority, in every

State in the Union, to seize and recapture his slave, whenever he can do it without any breach of the peace or any illegal violence. . . .

It is scarcely conceivable that the slaveholding states would have been satisfied with leaving to the legislation of the non-slaveholding states, a power of regulation, in the absence of that of Congress, which would or might practically amount to a power to destroy the rights of the owner. If the argument, therefore, of a concurrent power in the states to act upon the subject-matter in the absence of legislation by Congress, be well founded; then, if Congress had never acted at all, or if the act of Congress should be repealed without providing a substitute, there would be a resulting authority in each of the states to regulate the whole subject at its pleasure; and to dole out its own remedial justice, or withhold it at its pleasure and according to its own views of policy and expediency. Surely such a state of things never could have been intended, under such a solemn guarantee of right and duty. On the other hand, construe the right of legislation as exclusive in Congress, and every evil, and every danger vanishes. The right and the duty are then co-extensive and uniform in remedy and operation throughout the whole Union. The owner has the same security, and the same remedial justice, and the same exemption from state regulation and control, through however many states he may pass with his fugitive slave in his possession, in transitu, to his own domicile. But, upon the other supposition, the moment he passes the state line, he becomes amenable to the laws of another sovereignty, whose regulations may greatly embarrass or delay the exercise of his rights, and even be repugnant to those of the state where he first arrested the fugitive. Consequences like these show that the nature and objects of the provision imperiously require, that, to make it effectual, it should be construed to be exclusive of state authority. We adopt the language of this Court in *Sturgis v. Crowninshield*, 4 Wheat. Rep. 193, and say, that "it has never been supposed that the concurrent power of legislation extended to every possible case in which its exercise by the states has not been expressly prohibited. The confusion of such a practice would be endless." And we know no case in which the confusion and public inconvenience and mischiefs thereof, could be more completely exemplified than the present.

These are some of the reasons, but by no means all, upon which we hold the power of legislation on this subject to be exclusive in Congress. To guard, however, against any possible misconstruction of our views, it is proper to state, that we are by no means to

be understood in any manner whatsoever to doubt or to interfere with the police power belonging to the states in virtue of their general sovereignty. That police power extends over all subjects within the territorial limits of the states; and has never been conceded to the United States. It is wholly distinguishable from the right and duty secured by the provision now under consideration; which is exclusively derived from and secured by the Constitution of the United States, and owes its whole efficacy thereto. We entertain no doubt whatsoever, that the states, in virtue of their general police power, possess full jurisdiction to arrest and restrain runaway slaves, and remove them from their borders, and otherwise to secure themselves against their depredations and evil example, as they certainly may do in cases of idlers, vagabonds, and paupers. The rights of the owners of fugitive slaves are in no just sense interfered with, or regulated by such a course; and in many cases, the operations of this police power, although designed essentially for other purposes, for the protection, safety, and peace of the state, may essentially promote and aid the interests of the owners. But such regulations can never be permitted to interfere with or to obstruct the just rights of the owner to reclaim his slave, derived from the Constitution of the United States; or with the remedies prescribed by Congress to aid and enforce the same.

Upon these grounds, we are of opinion that the act of Pennsylvania upon which this indictment is founded, is unconstitutional and void. It purports to punish as a public offence against that state, the very act of seizing and removing a slave by his master, which the Constitution of the United States was designed to justify and uphold. The special verdict finds this fact, and the State Courts have rendered judgment against the plaintiff in error upon that verdict. That judgment must, therefore, be reversed, and the cause remanded to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; with directions to carry into effect the judgment of this Court rendered upon the special verdict in favour of the plaintiff in error.

26 Pet. 539 (1842).

AN ACCOUNT OF SLAVE SUICIDE (1843)

The following anecdote was related to us on last Monday by a gentleman recently from Georgia, now in this city: George, a slave, belonged to a family in the State of Georgia, near the Ochmulgee River whom he served faithfully. He was an excellent mechanic and during the life of his owners or claimants (for he never had an owner) they would take no money for him, and

in consequence of his faithfulness to them, at their death, George was willed a freeman!

Poor George then looked upon himself as one of the lords, even of the accursed soil of Georgia. But George was doomed to disappointment. The unjust heirs broke the will, seized his person, and thrust him into the dark caverns of slavery again! Bound for a new residence, they started down the Ochmulgee. George was on board the steamboat bound for his destination, but the vicious robbers of his liberty knew not where. George looked sad, and talked but little.

The steamer glided along, with a crowd of guests, unconscious of their weary fellow passenger. In the night a splash was heard which awakened the attention of boatmen, passengers; all looked with anxiety, but seeing all appeared to be safe, it was just a conclusion, that this must have been the noise occasioned by the falling in of the bank of the river. Morning came, the grindstone of the boat was missed, information was given, and search being made, George was gone, they knew not where.

The river was ordered to be scoured by the eager master, thirsting after the blood of the mechanic. It was scoured and George was found with the grindstone tied to his neck. Reposing in the depth of the Ochmulgee, preferring as a man, Death before slavery! George had tasted liberty!!!

The Liberator, October 20, 1843.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE CORRESPONDS WITH HIS FORMER MASTER (1844)

March 23, 1844, Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Sir:—I am happy to inform you that you are not mistaken in the man whom you sold as property, and received pay for as such. But I thank God that I am not property now, but am regarded as a man like yourself, and although I live far north, I am enjoying a comfortable living by my own industry. If you should ever chance to be traveling this way, and will call on me, I will use you better than you did me while you held me as a slave. Think not that I have any malice against you, for the cruel treatment which you inflicted on me while I was in your power. As it was the custom of your country, to treat your fellow men as you did me and my little family, I can freely forgive you.

I wish to be remembered in love to my aged mother, and friends; please tell her that if we should never meet again in this life, my prayer shall be to God that we may meet in Heaven, where parting shall be no more.

You wish to be remembered to King and Jack. I am pleased, sir, to inform you that they are both here, well, and doing well. They are both living in Canada West. They are now the owners of better farms than the men are who once owned them.

You may perhaps think hard of us for running away from slavery, but as to myself, I have but one apology to make for it, which is this: I have only to regret that I did not start at an earlier period. I might have been free long before I was. I think it is very probable that I should have been a toiling slave on your property today, if you had treated me differently.

To be compelled to stand by and see you whip and slash my wife without mercy, when I could afford her no protection, not even by offering myself to suffer the lash in her place, was more than I felt it to be the duty of a slave husband to endure, while the way was open to Canada. My infant child was also frequently flogged by Mrs. Gatewood, for crying, until its skin was bruised literally purple. This kind of treatment was what drove me from home and family, to seek a better home for them. But I am willing to forge the past. I should be pleased to hear from you again, on the reception of this and should also be very happy to correspond with you often, if it should be agreeable to yourself. I subscribe myself a friend to the oppressed, and Liberty forever.

HENRY BIBB.

Bibb, Henry. 1849. *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. New York: Author.

EDITORIAL SUPPORTING MANUMISSION (1844)

“Cassius M. Clay has announced his determination to emancipate all his slaves in the course of the present year. Mr. Clay is a very large slave-holder, and is said to be the richest man in Kentucky.”

The right spirit in Kentucky. It seems by the above that C. M. Clay is about to liberate his slaves, we suppose he don't believe that negro slavery is sanctified by two hundred years legislation, neither does he believe that he ought to have black or white slaves, it is somewhat strange to us to see that these Clays differ so widely, there must be some difference in the Clay they are made of, we hope the mantle of C. M. C. will fall on H. Clay. We might also add, and that the mantle of Birney and Brisbane may fall on the Clay so to change the temper of this monster as to make it useful to those that wish to use it for emancipation. This Clay has been a slave-holder for forty years, certainly this

period is long enough to convince him of the great evil of holding human beings in slavery, we think that he has reaped the cost of these 60 slaves before this, if he has not in the length of time we have stated his being a slave-holder. In speaking of Slavery we don't intend to array ourselves against any particular party, Whig or Democrat, but intend as far as our abilities extend to dig at the root of the evil.

Palladium of Liberty, 1:9 (March 27, 1844).

MURDER IN OHIO (1844)

“Outrage and Death”

On Wednesday the 6th of March, a colored man was attacked on the east end of the lower bridge at Zanesville, by three unhung ruffians who beat him so that he died on the 16th. We ask, where is the hand of justice? Is this bareface murder to go unnoticed, and these prowling wolves to go unpunished? If so the very ground will cry out against it, and the voice will be justice, justice.

This man had one of his own color with him but what does this avail when we are deprived of justice in the courts of law and equity, therefore, the scape gallow and midnight assassin, can, and does attack us and take our lives, rob our houses, defile our wives and daughters, at the same time the law protects them by the color of the skin, and they under this very act, passed in 1807, shelter themselves, and say here is nothing but negroes, we can do just as we please. Law-makers, look at this and give us our testimony that we may be able to protect ourselves when our lives are at stake.

Palladium of Liberty, 1:10 (April 3, 1844).

ANTI-ABOLITION RIOTING IN PHILADELPHIA (1844)

July 18, 1844.

“**Pennsylvania Hall**”. This riotous and bloody city has just completed another terrible tragedy, which will probably beget another and another, till even ruffianism itself shall grow weary and sick of its dreadful deeds, and mobocracy be sated with human carnage.

The immediate cause of these frightful outbreaks is unquestionably to be attributed to the formation of the Native American Party—a party which should be discountenanced by every friend of human brotherhood, which is animated by a spirit hostile to our

race, which is anti-republican and tyrannical in its purposes, which makes hatred of one particular class of our fellow countrymen an act of patriotism, and which occupies a position that, sooner or later, if it be not abandoned, will assuredly spread a civil war throughout the country, and lead to scenes of desolation and horror too awful even for the imagination to contemplate.

In the present instance, the blame is as usual, thrown upon the Irish population; and no doubt they are very much to blame. But, insulted, proscribed and denounced as they are by the party to which we have alluded, is it surprising that they have been goaded to deeds of madness, which, but for the provocation given to them, they never would have committed? However justly, therefore, they deserve to be censured, let the weight of censure rest the most heavily on the party which arrogantly styles itself the Native American party. There will be no safety, no repose, no end to mobocratic excesses, until that party every where be resolved into its original elements, and cease to wound the heart and vex the ear of the suffering humanity.

But the primary cause of these sanguinary conflicts finds its root in southern slavery, which fosters the spirit of caste, tramples all law and order under foot, and revels in human blood. It was in Louisiana, among slaveholders, that this native party originated. They were fearful that the warm appeals of Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew to the Irish in this country, to join with the abolitionists for the overthrow of slavery, and vote for no candidate known to be a slaveholder or an apologist for slavery, would be heartily responded to by them; and therefore they contrived this scheme to exclude them from office and the ballot box. But the Irish have disregarded the noble entreaties of their countrymen at home, and instead of aiding the anti-slavery movement, have basely turned their backs upon it; and verily, they have their reward.

Philadelphia has endeavored (and most successfully) to surpass all other places in murderous opposition to the cause of negro emancipation. To propitiate southern slavemongers, and secure southern trade, she has treated abolitionists as outlaws, broken up their meetings by mobocratic assaults, burnt the dwellings and brutally maltreated the persons of many of her colored inhabitants, given Pennsylvania Hall to the consuming fire, &c. &c; and her reward has been, the loss of seventy million of dollars at the South, the blackning of her character with infamy throughout the civilized world, incendiary and bloody riots, and fiendish anarchy. Behold how awful, how just, and how swift has

been the retribution of Heaven! Alleluia! For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!! Truly, they who sow the wind, shall reap the whirlwind; and what shall be the end of these things!

Pennsylvania Freeman, 14:18 (July 1844)

A PLEA FOR TOLERANCE (1844)

"Prejudice"

This evil is as much with the people of color as almost any thing that exists. We see it every day, without turning to the right or the left. Every man and woman wants to be heard, or else nothing at all; for instance, if any project is got up, Mr. A. or B. wants to lead, in doing this they must of course get up an excitement for the purpose of carrying their point and instead of doing this manfully as they should, as good citizens, and as one that loves union and harmony with his fellow men, and to secure peace in the community. We go for perfect union among our people without which nothing can be done. We may labor, we may write, print, and do any thing pertaining to our welfare, and it will all be abortive. We at most give up the ship at times, when we see such a contrary spirit existing among our people. We take the liberty to name some of the several creeds, as they think they had better be out of the world, than out of the fashion.

Whig, democrat, abolitionist, pro-slavery conventionist, anti-conventionist, district school, anti-district school, lofer, anti-lofer, and so on we are afraid till time shall end. In making this enumeration we have some exceptions to this rule, we have as true hearts among us as any party, sect or denomination. All these misrule men cry out we don't want disunion and at the same time are the very ones that's guilty of sowing discord among men, and will say oh how I hate party strife, I would not have it for the world, even if we have an election for this that or the other, some one of these people loving men will commence this discord and continue it till they are met in public by a discided disapprobation. In this state society goes on among our colored people, to a greater or less extent, we say to such to cease this rousing or we cannot do any thing in the great cause of humanity, we say this because we know that there are other things of more importance, for us to engage in, we say to such with all good feeling that nothing can be done while this spirit exists amongst us as a people.

Palladium of Liberty, 1:28 (August 21, 1844).

A FORMER SLAVE DESCRIBES PUNISHMENT METHODS (1845)

There were four house-slaves in this family, including myself, and though we had not, in all respects, so hard work as the field hands, yet in many things our condition was much worse. We were constantly exposed to the whims and passions of every member of the family; from the least to the greatest their anger was wreaked upon us. Nor was our life an easy one, in the hours of our toil or in the amount of labor performed. We were always required to sit up until all the family had retired; then we must be up at early dawn in summer, and before day in winter. If we failed, through weariness or for any other reason, to appear at the first morning summons, we were sure to have our hearing quickened by a severe chastisement. Such horror has seized me, lest I might not hear the first shrill call, that I have often in dreams fancied I heard that unwelcome call, and have leaped from my couch and walked through the house and out of it before I awoke. I have gone and called the other slaves, in my sleep, and asked them if they did not hear master call. Never, while I live, will the remembrance of those long, bitter nights of fear pass from my mind.

But I want to give you a few specimens of the abuse which I received. During the ten years that I lived with Mrs. Banton, I do not think there were as many days, when she was at home, that I, or some other slave, did not receive some kind of beating or abuse at her hands. It seemed as though she could not live nor sleep unless some poor back was smarting, some head beating with pain, or some eye filled with tears, around her. Her tender mercies were indeed cruel. She brought up her children to imitate her example. Two of them manifested some dislike to the cruelties taught them by their mother, but they never stood high in favor with her; indeed, any thing like humanity or kindness to a slave, was looked upon by her as a great offence.

Her instruments of torture were ordinarily the raw hide, or a bunch of hickory-sprouts seasoned in the fire and tied together. But if these were not at hand, nothing came amiss. She could relish a beating with a chair, the broom, tongs, shovel, shears, knife-handle, the heavy heel of her slipper; her zeal was so active in these barbarous inflictions, that her invention was wonderfully quick, and some way of inflicting the requisite torture was soon found out.

One instrument of torture is worthy of particular description. *This was an oak club, a foot and a half in length and an inch and a half square.* With this delicate weapon she would beat us upon the hands and upon

the feet until they were blistered. This instrument was carefully preserved for a period of four years. Every day, for that time, I was compelled to see that hated tool of cruelty lying in the chair by my side. The least degree of delinquency either in not doing all the appointed work, or in look or behavior, was visited with a beating from this oak club. That club will always be a prominent object in the picture of horrors of my life of more than twenty years of bitter bondage.

When about nine years old I was sent in the evening to catch and kill a turkey. They were securely sleeping in a tree—their accustomed resting place for the night. I approached as cautiously as possible, selected the victim I was directed to catch, but just as I grasped him in my hand, my foot slipped and he made his escape from the tree and fled beyond my reach. I returned with a heavy heart to my mistress with the story of my misfortune. She was enraged beyond measure. She determined at once that I should have a whipping of the worst kind, and she was bent upon adding all the aggravations possible. Master had gone to bed drunk, and was now as fast asleep as drunkards ever are. At any rate he was filling the house with the noise of his snoring and with the perfume of his breath. I was ordered to go and call him—wake him up—and ask him to be *kind* enough to give me fifty good smart lashes. To be *whipped* is bad enough—to *ask* for it is worse—to ask a drunken man to whip you is too bad. I would sooner have gone to a nest of rattlesnakes, than to the bed of this drunkard. But go I must. Softly I crept along, and gently shaking his arm, said with a trembling voice, “Master, Master, Mistress wants you to wake up.” This did not go the extent of her command, and in a great fury she called out—“What, you wont ask him to whip you, will you?” I then added “Mistress wants you to give me fifty lashes.” A bear at the smell of a lamb, was never roused quicker. “Yes, yes, that I will; I’ll give you such a whipping as you will never want again.” And sure enough so he did. He sprang from the bed, seized me by the hair, lashed me with a handful of switches, threw me my whole length upon the floor, beat, kicked and cuffed me worse than he would a dog, and then threw me, with all his strength out of the door more dead than alive. There I lay for a long time scarcely able and not daring to move, till I could hear no sound of the furies within, and then crept to my couch, longing for death to put an end to my misery. I had no friend in the world to whom I could utter one word of complaint, or to whom I could look for protection.

Clarke, Lewis Garrard and Joseph C. Lovejoy. 1845. *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke During a Captivity*

of More than Twenty-Five Years, Among the Algerines of Kentucky, One of the So Called Christian States of North America. Boston: D. H. Ela.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS DESCRIBES HIS LIFE IN SLAVERY (1845)

I had left Master Thomas's house, and went to live with Mr. Covey, on the 1st of January, 1833. I was now, for the first time in my life, a field hand. In my new employment, I found myself even more awkward than a country boy appeared to be in a large city. I had been at my new home but one week before Mr. Covey gave me a very severe whipping, cutting my back, causing the blood to run, and raising ridges on my flesh as large as my little finger. The details of this affair are as follows: Mr. Covey sent me, very early in the morning of one of our coldest days in the month of January, to the woods, to get a load of wood. He gave me a team of unbroken oxen. He told me which was the in-hand ox, and which the off-hand one. He then tied the end of a large rope around the horns of the in-hand ox, and gave me the other end of it, and told me, if the oxen started to run, that I must hold on upon the rope. I had never driven oxen before, and of course I was very awkward. I, however, succeeded in getting to the edge of the woods with little difficulty; but I had got a very few rods into the woods, when the oxen took fright, and started full tilt, carrying the cart against trees, and over stumps, in the most frightful manner. I expected every moment that my brains would be dashed out against the trees. After running thus for a considerable distance, they finally upset the cart, dashing it with great force against a tree, and threw themselves into a dense thicket. How I escaped death, I do not know. There I was, entirely alone, in a thick wood, in a place new to me. My cart was upset and shattered, my oxen were entangled among the young trees, and there was none to help me. After a long spell of effort, I succeeded in getting my cart righted, my oxen disentangled, and again yoked to the cart. I now proceeded with my team to the place where I had, the day before, been chopping wood, and loaded my cart pretty heavily, thinking in this way to tame my oxen. I then proceeded on my way home. I had now consumed one half of the day. I got out of the woods safely, and now felt out of danger. I stopped my oxen to open the woods gate; and just as I did so, before I could get hold of my oxrope, the oxen again started, rushed through the gate, catching it between the wheel and the body of the cart, tearing it to pieces, and coming within a few inches of crushing me against the gate-post. Thus

twice, in one short day, I escaped death by the merest chance. On my return, I told Mr. Covey what had happened, and how it happened. He ordered me to return to the woods again immediately. I did so, and he followed on after me. Just as I got into the woods, he came up and told me to stop my cart, and that he would teach me how to trifle away my time, and break gates. He then went to a large gum-tree, and with his axe cut three large switches, and, after trimming them up neatly with his pocket-knife, he ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with my clothes on. He repeated his order. I still made him no answer, nor did I move to strip myself. Upon this he rushed at me with the fierceness of a tiger, tore off my clothes, and lashed me till he had worn out his switches, cutting me so savagely as to leave the marks visible for a long time after. This whipping was the first of a number just like it, and for similar offences.

I lived with Mr. Covey one year. During the first six months, of that year, scarce a week passed without his whipping me. I was seldom free from a sore back. My awkwardness was almost always his excuse for whipping me. We were worked fully up to the point of endurance. Long before day we were up, our horses fed, and by the first approach of day we were off to the field with our hoes and ploughing teams. Mr. Covey gave us enough to eat, but scarce time to eat it. We were often less than five minutes taking our meals. We were often in the field from the first approach of day till its last lingering ray had left us; and at saving-fodder time, midnight often caught us in the field binding blades.

Covey would be out with us. The way he used to stand it, was this. He would spend the most of his afternoons in bed. He would then come out fresh in the evening, ready to urge us on with his words, example, and frequently with the whip. Mr. Covey was one of the few slaveholders who could and did work with his hands. He was a hardworking man. He knew by himself just what a man or a boy could do. There was no deceiving him. His work went on in his absence almost as well as in his presence; and he had the faculty of making us feel that he was ever present with us. This he did by surprising us. He seldom approached the spot where we were at work openly, if he could do it secretly. He always aimed at taking us by surprise. Such was his cunning, that we used to call him, among ourselves, "the snake." When we were at work in the cornfield, he would sometimes crawl on his hands and knees to avoid detection, and all at once he would rise nearly in our midst, and scream out, "Ha, ha! Come, come! Dash on, dash on!" This being his mode of attack, it was never safe to stop a single minute. His

comings were like a thief in the night. He appeared to us as being ever at hand. He was under every tree, behind every stump, in every bush, and at every window, on the plantation. He would sometimes mount his horse, as if bound to St. Michael's, a distance of seven miles, and in half an hour afterwards you would see him coiled up in the corner of the wood-fence, watching every motion of the slaves. He would, for this purpose, leave his horse tied up in the woods. Again, he would sometimes walk up to us, and give us orders as though he was upon the point of starting on a long journey, turn his back upon us, and make as though he was going to the house to get ready; and, before he would get half way thither, he would turn short and crawl into a fence-corner, or behind some tree, and there watch us till the going down of the sun.

Mr. Covey's FORTE consisted in his power to deceive. His life was devoted to planning and perpetrating the grossest deceptions. Every thing he possessed in the shape of learning or religion, he made conform to his disposition to deceive. He seemed to think himself equal to deceiving the Almighty. He would make a short prayer in the morning, and a long prayer at night; and, strange as it may seem, few men would at times appear more devotional than he. The exercises of his family devotions were always commenced with singing; and, as he was a very poor singer himself, the duty of raising the hymn generally came upon me. He would read his hymn, and nod at me to commence. I would at times do so; at others, I would not. My non-compliance would almost always produce much confusion. To show himself independent of me, he would start and stagger through with his hymn in the most discordant manner. In this state of mind, he prayed with more than ordinary spirit. Poor man! such was his disposition, and success at deceiving, I do verily believe that he sometimes deceived himself into the solemn belief, that he was a sincere worshipper of the most high God; and this, too, at a time when he may be said to have been guilty of compelling his woman slave to commit the sin of adultery. The facts in the case are these: Mr. Covey was a poor man; he was just commencing in life; he was only able to buy one slave; and, shocking as is the fact, he bought her, as he said, for A BREEDER. This woman was named Caroline. Mr. Covey bought her from Mr. Thomas Lowe, about six miles from St. Michael's. She was a large, able-bodied woman, about twenty years old. She had already given birth to one child, which proved her to be just what he wanted. After buying her, he hired a married man of Mr. Samuel Harrison, to live with him one year; and him he used to fasten up with her every night! The result was, that, at the end of the year, the

miserable woman gave birth to twins. At this result Mr. Covey seemed to be highly pleased, both with the man and the wretched woman. Such was his joy, and that of his wife, that nothing they could do for Caroline during her confinement was too good, or too hard, to be done. The children were regarded as being quite an addition to his wealth.

If at any one time of my life more than another, I was made to drink the bitterest dregs of slavery, that time was during the first six months of my stay with Mr. Covey. We were worked in all weathers. It was never too hot or too cold; it could never rain, blow, hail, or snow, too hard for us to work in the field. Work, work, work, was scarcely more the order of the day than of the night. The longest days were too short for him, and the shortest nights too long for him. I was somewhat unmanageable when I first went there, but a few months of this discipline tamed me. Mr. Covey succeeded in breaking me. I was broken in body, soul, and spirit. My natural elasticity was crushed, my intellect languished, the disposition to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me; and behold a man transformed into a brute!

Sunday was my only leisure time. I spent this in a sort of beast-like stupor, between sleep and wake, under some large tree. At times I would rise up, a flash of energetic freedom would dart through my soul, accompanied with a faint beam of hope, that flickered for a moment, and then vanished. I sank down again, mourning over my wretched condition. I was sometimes prompted to take my life, and that of Covey, but was prevented by a combination of hope and fear. My sufferings on this plantation seem now like a dream rather than a stern reality.

Our house stood within a few rods of the Chesapeake Bay, whose broad bosom was ever white with sails from every quarter of the habitable globe. Those beautiful vessels, robed in purest white, so delightful to the eye of freemen, were to me so many shrouded ghosts, to terrify and torment me with thoughts of my wretched condition. I have often, in the deep stillness of a summer's Sabbath, stood all alone upon the lofty banks of that noble bay, and traced, with saddened heart and tearful eye, the countless number of sails moving off to the mighty ocean. The sight of these always affected me powerfully. My thoughts would compel utterance; and there, with no audience but the Almighty, I would pour out my soul's complaint, in my rude way, with an apostrophe to the moving multitude of ships:—

“You are loosed from your moorings, and are free; I am fast in my chains, and am a slave! You move mer-

rily before the gentle gale, and I sadly before the bloody whip! You are freedom's swift-winged angels, that fly round the world; I am confined in bands of iron! O that I were free! O, that I were on one of your gallant decks, and under your protecting wing! Alas! betwixt me and you, the turbid waters roll. Go on, go on. O that I could also go! Could I but swim! If I could fly! O, why was I born a man, of whom to make a brute! The glad ship is gone; she hides in the dim distance. I am left in the hottest hell of unending slavery. O God, save me! God, deliver me! Let me be free! Is there any God? Why am I a slave? I will run away. I will not stand it. Get caught, or get clear, I'll try it. I had as well die with ague as the fever. I have only one life to lose. I had as well be killed running as die standing. Only think of it; one hundred miles straight north, and I am free! Try it? Yes! God helping me, I will. It cannot be that I shall live and die a slave. I will take to the water. This very bay shall yet bear me into freedom. The steamboats steered in a northeast course from North Point. I will do the same; and when I get to the head of the bay, I will turn my canoe adrift, and walk straight through Delaware into Pennsylvania. When I get there, I shall not be required to have a pass; I can travel without being disturbed. Let but the first opportunity offer, and, come what will, I am off. Meanwhile, I will try to bear up under the yoke. I am not the only slave in the world. Why should I fret? I can bear as much as any of them. Besides, I am but a boy, and all boys are bound to some one. It may be that my misery in slavery will only increase my happiness when I get free. There is a better day coming. "

Douglass, Frederick and William Lloyd Garrison. 1845. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. Boston: Anti-Slavery Office.

THE NORTH STAR EDITORIAL (1847)

We are now about to assume the management of the editorial department of a newspaper, devoted to the cause of Liberty, Humanity and Progress. The position is one which, with the purest motives, we have long desired to occupy. It has long been our anxious wish to see, in this slave-holding, slave-trading, and Negro-hating land, a printing-press and paper, permanently established, under the complete control and direction of the immediate victims of slavery and oppression.

Animated by this intense desire, we have pursued our object, till on the threshold of obtaining it. Our press and printing materials are bought, and paid for. Our office secured, and is well situated, in the centre of business, in this enterprising city. Our office Agent,

an industrious and amiable young man, thoroughly devoted to the interests of humanity, has already entered upon his duties. Printers well recommended have offered their services, and are ready to work as soon as we are prepared for the regular publication of our paper. Kind friends are rallying round us, with words and deeds of encouragement. Subscribers are steadily, if not rapidly coming in, and some of the best minds in the country are generously offering to lend us the powerful aid of their pens. The sincere wish of our heart, so long and so devoutly cherished seems now upon the eve of complete realization.

It is scarcely necessary for us to say that our desire to occupy our present position at the head of an Anti-slavery Journal, has resulted from no unworthy distrust or ungrateful want of appreciation of the zeal, integrity, or ability of the noble band of white laborers, in this department of our cause; but, from a sincere and settled conviction that such a Journal, if conducted with only moderate skill and ability, would do a most important and indispensable work, which it would be wholly impossible for our white friends to do for us.

It is neither a reflection on the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow-laborers, to assert what "common sense affirms and only folly denies," that the man who has *suffered the wrong* is the man to *demand redress*,—that the man STRUCK is the man to CRY OUT—and that he who has *endured the cruel pangs of Slavery* is the man to *advocate Liberty*. It is evident we must be our own representatives and advocates, not exclusively, but peculiarly—not distinct from, but in connection with our white friends. In the grand struggle for liberty and equality now waging, it is meet, right and essential that there should arise in our ranks authors and editors, as well as orators, for it is in these capacities that the most permanent good can be rendered to our cause.

Hitherto the immediate victims of slavery and prejudice, owing to various causes, have had little share in this department of effort: they have frequently undertaken, and almost as frequently failed. This latter fact has often been urged by our friends against our engaging in the present enterprise; but, so far from convincing us of the impolicy of our course, it serves to confirm us in the necessity, if not the wisdom of our undertaking. That others have failed, is a reason for OUR earnestly endeavoring to succeed. Our race must be vindicated from the embarrassing imputations resulting from former non-success. We believe that what *ought* to be done, *can* be done. We say this, in no self-confident or boastful spirit, but with a full sense of our

weakness and unworthiness, relying upon the Most High for wisdom and strength to support us in our righteous undertaking. We are not wholly unaware of the duties, hardships and responsibilities of our position. We have easily imagined some, and friends have not hesitated to inform us of others. Many doubtless are yet to be revealed by that infallible teacher, experience. A view of them solemnize, but do not appal us. We have counted the cost. Our mind is made up, and we are resolved to go forward.

In aspiring to our present position, the aid of circumstances has been so strikingly apparent as to almost stamp our humble aspirations with the solemn sanctions of a Divine Providence. Nine years ago, as most of our readers are aware, we were held as a slave, shrouded in the midnight ignorance of that infernal system—sunken in the depths of senility and degradation—registered with four footed beasts and creeping things—regarded as property—compelled to toil without wages—with a heart swollen with bitter anguish—and a spirit crushed and broken. By a singular combination of circumstances we finally succeeded in escaping from the grasp of the man who claimed us as his property, and succeeded in safely reaching New Bedford, Mass. In this town we worked three years as a daily laborer on the wharves. Six years ago we became a Lecturer on Slavery. Under the apprehension of being re-taken into bondage, two years ago we embarked for England. During our stay in that country, kind friends, anxious for our safety, ransomed us from slavery, by the payment of a large sum. The same friends, as unexpectedly as generously, placed in our hands the necessary means of purchasing a printing press and printing materials. Finding ourself now in a favorable position for aiming an important blow at slavery and prejudice, we feel urged on in our enterprise by a sense of duty to God and man, firmly believing that our effort will be crowned with entire success.

The North Star, December 3, 1847.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S "SPOT RESOLUTIONS" (1847)

Presented to the United States House of Representatives, on December 22, 1847.

Whereas the President of the United States, in his message of May 11, 1846, has declared that "the Mexican Government not only refused to receive him, [the envoy of the United States,] or listen to his propositions, but, after a long-continued series of menaces, has at

last invaded *our territory* and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our *own soil*:"

And again, in his message of December 8, 1846, that "we had ample cause of war against Mexico long before the breaking out of hostilities; but even then we forbore to take redress into our own hands until Mexico herself became the aggressor, by invading *our soil* in hostile array, and shedding the blood of our citizens:"

And yet again, in his message of December 7, 1847, that "the Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he [our minister of peace] was authorized to propose, and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow, and shedding the blood of our citizens on *our own soil*."

And whereas this House is desirous to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot on which the blood of our citizens was so shed was or was not at that time *our own soil*: Therefore,

Resolved By the House of Representatives, That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House—

1st. Whether the spot on which the blood of our citizens was shed, as in his messages declared, was or was not within the territory of Spain, at least after the treaty of 1819, until the Mexican revolution.

2d. Whether that spot is or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary Government of Mexico.

3d. Whether that spot is or is not within a settlement of people, which settlement has existed ever since long before the Texas revolution, and until its inhabitants fled before the approach of the United States army.

4th. Whether that settlement is or is not isolated from any and all other settlements by the Gulf and the Rio Grande on the south and west, and by wide uninhabited regions on the north and east.

5th. Whether the people of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, have ever submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas or the United States, by consent or compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying tax, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any other way.

6th. Whether the people of that settlement did or did not flee from the approach of the United States army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, *before* the blood was shed, as in the messages stated; and whether the first blood, so shed, was or was

not shed within the enclosure of one of the people who had thus fled from it.

7th. Whether our *citizens*, whose blood was shed, as in his message declared, were or were not, at that time, armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President, through the Secretary of War.

8th. Whether the military force of the United States was or was not sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defence or protection of Texas.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1847–1848. December 22, 1847.

JONES V. VAN ZANDT (1847)

MR. JUSTICE WOODBURY delivered the opinion of the court.

This case comes here on a division of opinion in the Circuit Court of Ohio. The subject matter of the original suit was debt for a penalty of \$500, under the act of Congress of February 12th, 1793, for concealing and harbouring a fugitive slave belonging to the plaintiff. . . .

It remains to consider the fifth and sixth divisions of opinion under this head. They are, whether the act of Congress, under which the action is brought, is repugnant either to the constitution, or the ordinance “for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio.”

This court has already, after much deliberation, decided that the act of February 12th, 1793, was not repugnant to the constitution. The reasons for their opinion are fully explained by Justice Story in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, 16 Pet. 611.

In coming to that conclusion they were fortified by the idea, that the constitution itself, in the clause before cited, flung its shield, for security, over such property as is in controversy in the present case, and the right to pursue and reclaim it within the limits of another State.

This was only carrying out, in our confederate form of government, the clear right of every man at common law to make fresh suit and recapture of his own property within the realm. . . .

But the power by national law to pursue and regain most kinds of property, in the limits of a foreign government, is rather an act of comity than strict right; and hence, as the property in persons might not thus be recognized in some of the States in the Union, and

its reclamation not be allowed through either courtesy or right, this clause was undoubtedly introduced into the constitution, as one of its compromises, for the safety of that portion of the Union which did permit such poverty, and which otherwise might often be deprived of it entirely by its merely crossing the line of an adjoining State. 3 Madison Papers, 1569, 1589.

This was thought to be too harsh a doctrine in respect to any title to property—of a friendly neighbour, not brought nor placed in another State, under its laws, by the owner himself, but escaping there against his consent, and often forthwith pursued in order to be reclaimed.

The act of Congress, passed only four years after the constitution was adopted, was therefore designed merely to render effective the guaranty of the constitution itself; and a course of decisions since, in the courts of the States and general government, has for half a century exhibited great uniformity in favor of the validity as well as expediency of the act. . . .

That this act of Congress, then, is not repugnant to the constitution, must be considered as among the settled adjudications of this court.

The last question on which a division is certified relates to the ordinance of 1787, and the supposed repugnancy to it of the act of Congress of 1793.

The ordinance prohibited the existence of slavery in the territory northwest of the river Ohio among only its own people. Similar prohibitions have from time to time been introduced into many of the old States. But this circumstance does not affect the domestic institution of slavery, as other States may choose to allow it among their people, nor impair their rights of property under it, when their slaves happen to escape to other States. These other States, whether northwest of the river Ohio, or on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, if out of the Union, would not be bound to surrender fugitives, even for crimes, it being, as before remarked, an act of comity, or imperfect obligation. *Holmes v. Jennison et al.*, 14 Pet. 540 . . .

But in relation to inhabitants of other States, if they escape into the limits of States within the ordinance, and if the constitution allow them, when fugitives from labor, to be reclaimed, this does not interfere with their own laws as to their own people, nor do acts of Congress interfere with them, which are rightfully passed to carry these constitutional rights into effect there, as fully as in other portions of the Union.

Before concluding, it may be expected by the defendant that some notice should be taken of the argument, urging on us a disregard of the constitution and the act of Congress in respect to this subject, on account of the supposed inexpediency and invalidity of

all laws recognizing slavery or any right of property in man. But that is a political question, settled by each State for itself; and the federal power over it is limited and regulated by the people of the States in the constitution itself, as one of its sacred compromises, and which we possess no authority as a judicial body to modify or overrule.

Whatever may be the theoretical opinions of any as to the expediency of some of those compromises, or of the right of property in persons which they recognize, this court has no alternative, while they exist, but to stand by the constitution and laws with fidelity to their duties and their oaths. Their path is a strait and narrow one, to go where that constitution and the laws lead, and not to break both by traveling without or beyond them. . . .

5 How. 215 (1847).

"THE RUNAWAY SLAVE AT PILGRIM'S POINT" (1848)

By Elizabeth Barrett Browning

I.

I STAND on the mark beside the shore
Of the first white pilgrim's bended knee,
Where exile turned to ancestor,
And God was thanked for liberty.
I have run through the night, my skin is as dark,
I bend my knee down on this mark . . .
I look on the sky and the sea.

II.

O pilgrim-souls, I speak to you!
I see you come out proud and slow
From the land of the spirits pale as dew . . .
And round me and round me ye go!
O pilgrims, I have gasped and run
All night long from the whips of one
Who in your names works sin and woe.

III.

And thus I thought that I would come
And kneel here where I knelt before,
And feel your souls around me hum
In undertone to the ocean's roar;
And lift my black face, my black hand,
Here, in your names, to curse this land
Ye blessed in freedom's evermore.

IV.

I am black, I am black;

And yet God made me, they say.
But if He did so, smiling back
He must have cast His work away
Under the feet of His white creatures,
With a look of scorn,—that the dusky features
Might be trodden again to clay.

V.

And yet He has made dark things
To be glad and merry as light.
There's a little dark bird sits and sings;
There's a dark stream ripples out of sight;
And the dark frogs chant in the safe morass,
And the sweetest stars are made to pass
O'er the face of the darkest night.

VI.

But we who are dark, we are dark!
Ah, God, we have no stars!
About our souls in care and cark
Our blackness shuts like prison bars:
The poor souls crouch so far behind,
That never a comfort can they find
By reaching through the prison-bars.

VII.

Indeed, we live beneath the sky, . . .
That great smooth Hand of God, stretched out
On all His children fatherly,
To bless them from the fear and doubt,
Which would be, if, from this low place,
All opened straight up to His face
Into the grand eternity.

VIII.

And still God's sunshine and His frost,
They make us hot, they make us cold,
As if we were not black and lost:
And the beasts and birds, in wood and fold,
Do fear and take us for very men!
Could the weep-poor-will or the cat of the glen
Look into my eyes and be bold?

IX.

I am black, I am black!—
But, once, I laughed in girlish glee;
For one of my colour stood in the track
Where the drivers drove, and looked at me—
And tender and full was the look he gave:
Could a slave look so at another slave?—
I look at the sky and the sea.

X.

And from that hour our spirits grew
 As free as if unsold, unbought:
 Oh, strong enough, since we were two
 To conquer the world, we thought!
 The drivers drove us day by day;
 We did not mind, we went one way,
 And no better a liberty sought.

XI.

In the sunny ground between the canes,
 He said "I love you" as he passed:
 When the shingle-roof rang sharp with the rains,
 I heard how he vowed it fast:
 While others shook, he smiled in the hut
 As he carved me a bowl of the cocoa-nut,
 Through the roar of the hurricanes.

XII.

I sang his name instead of a song;
 Over and over I sang his name—
 Upward and downward I drew it along
 My various notes; the same, the same!
 I sang it low, that the slave-girls near
 Might never guess from aught they could hear,
 It was only a name.

XIII.

I look on the sky and the sea—
 We were two to love, and two to pray,—
 Yes, two, O God, who cried to Thee,
 Though nothing didst Thou say.
 Coldly Thou sat'st behind the sun!
 And now I cry who am but one,
 How wilt Thou speak to-day?—

XIV.

We were black, we were black!
 We had no claim to love and bliss:
 What marvel, if each turned to lack?
 They wrung my cold hands out of his,—
 They dragged him . . . where? . . . I crawled to
 touch
 His blood's mark in the dust! . . . not much,
 Ye pilgrim-souls, . . . though plain as this!

XV.

Wrong, followed by a deeper wrong!
 Mere grief's too good for such as I.
 So the white men brought the shame ere long
 To strangle the sob of my agony.
 They would not leave me for my dull

Wet eyes!—it was too merciful
 To let me weep pure tears and die.

XVI.

I am black, I am black!—
 I wore a child upon my breast
 An amulet that hung too slack,
 And, in my unrest, could not rest:
 Thus we went moaning, child and mother,
 One to another, one to another,
 Until all ended for the best:

XVII.

For hark! I will tell you low . . . low . . .
 I am black, you see,—
 And the babe who lay on my bosom so,
 Was far too white . . . too white for me;
 As white as the ladies who scorned to pray
 Beside me at church but yesterday;
 Though my tears had washed a place for my knee.

XVIII.

My own, own child! I could not bear
 To look in his face, it was so white.
 I covered him up with a kerchief there;
 I covered his face in close and tight:
 And he moaned and struggled, as well might be,
 For the white child wanted his liberty—
 Ha, ha! he wanted his master right.

XIX.

He moaned and beat with his head and feet,
 His little feet that never grew—
 He struck them out, as it was meet,
 Against my heart to break it through.
 I might have sung and made him mild—
 But I dared not sing to the white-faced child
 The only song I knew.

XX.

I pulled the kerchief very close:
 He could not see the sun, I swear,
 More, then, alive, than now he does
 From between the roots of the mango . . . where
 . . . I know where. Close! a child and mother
 Do wrong to look at one another,
 When one is black and one is fair.

XXI.

Why, in that single glance I had
 Of my child's face, . . . I tell you all,
 I saw a look that made me mad . . .

The master's look, that used to fall
On my soul like his lash . . . or worse!
And so, to save it from my curse,
I twisted it round in my shawl.

XXII.

And he moaned and trembled from foot to head,
He shivered from head to foot;
Till, after a time, he lay instead
Too suddenly still and mute.
I felt, beside, a stiffening cold, . . .
I dared to lift up just a fold . . .
As in lifting a leaf of the mango-fruit.

XXIII.

But my fruit . . . ha, ha!—there, had been
(I laugh to think on't at this hour! . . .)
Your fine white angels, who have seen
Nearest the secret of God's power, . . .
And plucked my fruit to make them wine,
And sucked the soul of that child of mine,
As the humming-bird sucks the soul of the flower.

XXIV.

Ha, ha, for the trick of the angels white!
They freed the white child's spirit so.
I said not a word, but, day and night,
I carried the body to and fro;
And it lay on my heart like a stone . . . as chill.
—The sun may shine out as much as he will:
I am cold, though it happened a month ago.

XXV.

From the white man's house, and the black man's hut,
I carried the little body on,
The forest's arms did round us shut,
And silence through the trees did run:
They asked no question as I went,—
They stood too high for astonishment,—
They could see God sit on His throne.

XXVI.

My little body, kerchiefed fast,
I bore it on through the forest . . . on:
And when I felt it was tired at last,
I scooped a hole beneath the moon.
Through the forest-tops the angels far,
With a white sharp finger from every star,
Did point and mock at what was done.

XXVII.

Yet when it was all done aright, . . .

Earth, 'twixt me and my baby, strewed,
All, changed to black earth, . . . nothing white, . . .
A dark child in the dark,—ensued
Some comfort, and my heart grew young:
I sate down smiling there and sung
The song I learnt in my maidenhood.

XXVIII.

And thus we two were reconciled,
The white child and black mother, thus:
For, as I sang it, soft and wild
The same song, more melodious,
Rose from the grave whereon I sate!
It was the dead child singing that,
To join the souls of both of us.

XXIX.

I look on the sea and the sky!
Where the pilgrims' ships first anchored lay,
The free sun rideth gloriously;
But the pilgrim-ghosts have slid away
Through the earliest streaks of the morn.
My face is black, but it glares with a scorn
Which they dare not meet by day.

XXX.

Ah!—in their 'stead, their hunter sons!
Ah, ah! they are on me—they hunt in a ring—
Keep off! I brave you all at once—
I throw off your eyes like snakes that sting!
You have killed the black eagle at nest, I think:
Did you never stand still in your triumph, and shrink
From the stroke of her wounded wing?

XXXI.

(Man, drop that stone you dared to lift!—)
I wish you, who stand there five a-breast,
Each, for his own wife's joy and gift,
A little corpse as safely at rest
As mine in the mangos!—Yes, but she
May keep live babies on her knee,
And sing the song she liketh best.

XXXII.

I am not mad: I am black.
I see you staring in my face—
I know you, staring, shrinking back—
Ye are born of the Washington-race:
And this land is the free America:
And this mark on my wrist . . . (I prove what I say)
Ropes tied me up here to the flogging-place.

XXXIII.

You think I shrieked then? Not a sound!
 I hung, as a gourd hangs in the sun.
 I only cursed them all around,
 As softly as I might have done
 My very own child!—From these sands
 Up to the mountains, lift your hands,
 O slaves, and end what I begun!

XXXIV.

Whips, curses; these must answer those!
 For in this UNION, you have set
 Two kinds of men in adverse rows,
 Each loathing each: and all forget
 The seven wounds in Christ's body fair;
 While HE sees gaping everywhere
 Our countless wounds that pay no debt.

XXXV.

Our wounds are different. Your white men
 Are, after all, not gods indeed,
 Nor able to make Christs again
 Do good with bleeding. We who bleed . . .
 (Stand off!) we help not in our loss!
 We are too heavy for our cross,
 And fall and crush you and your seed.

XXXVI.

I fall, I swoon! I look at the sky:
 The clouds are breaking on my brain;
 I am floated along, as if I should die
 Of liberty's exquisite pain—
 In the name of the white child, waiting for me
 In the death-dark where we may kiss and agree,
 White men, I leave you all curse-free
 In my broken heart's disdain!

The Liberty Bell, January 20, 1848.

CALHOUN'S EXPOSITION ON THE SOUTHERN ETHOS (1849)

Excerpts from "The Southern Address"
 by John C. Calhoun

The conflict commenced not long after the acknowledgment of our independence, and has gradually increased until it has arrayed the great body of the North against the South on this most vital subject. In the progress of this conflict, aggression has followed aggression, and encroachment encroachment, until they have reached a point when a regard for your peace and safety will not permit us to remain longer silent. The

object of this address is to give you a clear, correct, but brief account of the whole series of aggression and encroachments on your rights, with a statement of the dangers to which they expose you. Our object in making it is not to cause excitement, but to put you in full possession of all the facts and circumstances necessary to a full and just conception of a deep-seated disease, which threatens great danger to you and the whole body politic. We act on the impression, that in a popular government like ours, a true conception of the actual character and state of a disease is indispensable to effecting a cure.

Not to go further back, the difference of opinion and feeling in reference to the relation between the two races, disclosed itself in the Convention that framed the Constitution, and constituted one of the greatest difficulties in forming it. After many efforts, it was overcome by a compromise, which provided in the first place, that representative and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers; and that, in ascertaining the number of each, five slaves shall be estimated as three. In the next, that slaves escaping into States where slavery does not exist, shall not be discharged from servitude, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom their labor or service is due. In the third place, that Congress shall not prohibit the importation of slaves before the year 1808; but a tax not exceeding ten dollars may be imposed on each imported. And finally, that no capitation or direct tax shall be laid, but in proportion to federal numbers; and that no amendment of the Constitution, prior to 1808, shall affect this provision, nor that relating to the importation of slaves.

So satisfactory were these provisions, that the second, relating to the delivering up of fugitive slaves, was adopted unanimously, and all the rest, except the third, relative to the importation of slaves until 1808, with almost equal unanimity. They recognize the existence of slavery, and make a specific provision for its protection where it was supposed to be the most exposed. They go further, and incorporate it, as an important element, in determining the relative weight of the several States in the Government of the Union, and the respective burden they should bear in laying capitation and direct taxes. It was well understood at the time, that without them the Constitution would not have been adopted by the Southern States, and of course that they constituted elements so essential to the system that it never would have existed without them. The Northern States, knowing all this, ratified the Constitution, thereby pledging their faith, in the most solemn manner, sacredly to observe them. How

that faith has been kept and that pledge redeemed we shall next proceed to show.

With few exceptions of no great importance, the South had no cause to complain prior to the year 1819—a year, it is to be feared, destined to mark a train of events, bringing with them many, and great, and fatal disasters, on the country and its institutions. With it commenced the agitating debate on the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union. We shall pass by for the present this question, and others of the same kind, directly growing out of it, and shall proceed to consider the effects of that spirit of discord, which it roused up between the two sections. It first disclosed itself in the North, by hostility to that portion of the Constitution which provides for the delivering up of fugitive slaves. In its progress it led to the adoption of hostile acts, intended to render it of non-effect, and with so much success that it may be regarded now as practically expunged from the Constitution. How this has been effected will be next explained.

After a careful examination, truth constrains us to say, that it has been by a clear and palpable evasion of the Constitution. It is impossible for any provision to be more free from ambiguity or doubt. It is in the following words: “No person held to service, or labor, in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.” All is clear. There is not an uncertain or equivocal word to be found in the whole provision. What shall not be done, and what shall be done, are fully and explicitly set forth. The former provides that the fugitive slave shall not be discharged from his servitude by any law or regulation of the State wherein he is found; and the latter, that he shall be delivered up on claim of his owner.

We do not deem it necessary to undertake to refute the sophistry and subterfuges by which so plain a provision of the Constitution has been evaded, and, in effect, annulled. It constitutes an essential part of the constitutional compact, and of course the supreme law of the land. As such it is binding on all, the Federal and State Governments, the States and the individuals composing them. The sacred obligation of compact, and the solemn injunction of the supreme law, which legislators and judges, both Federal and State, are bound by oath to support, all unite to enforce its fulfilment, according to its plain meaning and true intent. What that meaning and intent are, there was no diversity of opinion in the better days of the Republic, prior to 1819. Congress, State Legislatures, State and Federal

Judges and Magistrates, and people, all spontaneously placed the same interpretation on it. During that period none interposed impediments in the way of the owner seeking to recover his fugitive slave; nor did any deny his right to have every proper facility to enforce his claim to have him delivered up. It was then nearly as easy to recover one found in a Northern State, as one found in a neighboring Southern State. But this has passed away, and the provision is defunct, except perhaps in two States. [Indiana and Illinois.]

These are grave and solemn and admonitory words, from a high source. They confirm all for which the South has ever contended, as to the clearness, importance, and fundamental character of this provision, and the disastrous consequences which would inevitably follow from its violation. But in spite of these solemn warnings, the violation, then commenced, and which they were intended to rebuke, has been full and perfectly consummated. The citizens of the South, in their attempt to recover their slaves, now meet, instead of aid and co-operation, resistance in every form; resistance from hostile acts of legislation, intended to baffle and defeat their claims by all sorts of devices, and by interposing every description of impediment—resistance from judges and magistrates—and finally, when all these fail, from mobs, composed of whites and blacks, which, by threats or force, rescue the fugitive slave from the possession of his rightful owner. The attempt to recover a slave, in most of the Northern States, cannot now be made without the hazard of insult, heavy pecuniary loss, imprisonment, and even of life itself. Already has a worthy citizen of Maryland lost his life [Mr. Kennedy, of Hagerstown, Maryland.] in making an attempt to enforce his claim to a fugitive slave under this provision.

But a provision of the Constitution may be violated indirectly as well as directly; by doing an act in its nature inconsistent with that which is enjoined to be done. Of the form of violation, there is a striking instance connected with the provision under consideration. We allude to secret combinations which are believed to exist in many of the Northern States, whose object is to entice, decoy, entrap, inveigle, and seduce slaves to escape from their owners, and to pass them secretly and rapidly, by means organized for the purpose, into Canada, where they will be beyond the reach of the provision. That to entice a slave, by whatever artifice, to abscond from his owner, into a non-slaveholding State, with the intention to place him beyond the reach of the provision, or prevent his recovery, by concealment or otherwise, is as completely repugnant to it, as its open violation would be, is too clear to admit of doubt or to require illustration.

And yet, as repugnant as these combinations are to the true intent of the provision, it is believed, that, with the above exception, not one of the States, within whose limits they exist, has adopted any measure to suppress them, or to punish those by whose agency the object for which they were formed is carried into execution. On the contrary, they have looked on, and witnessed with indifference, if not with secret approbation, a great number of slaves enticed from their owners, and placed beyond the possibility of recovery, to the great annoyance and heavy pecuniary loss of the bordering Southern States.

There remains to be noticed another class of aggressive acts of a kindred character, but which instead of striking at an express and specific provision of the Constitution, aims directly at destroying the relation between the two races at the South, by means subversive in their tendency of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established. We refer to the systematic agitation of the question by the Abolitionists, which, commencing about 1835, is still continued in all possible forms. Their avowed intention is to bring about a state of things that will force emancipation on the South. To unite the North in fixed hostility to slavery in the South, and to excite discontent among the slaves with their condition, are among the means employed to effect it. With a view to bring about the former, every means are resorted to in order to render the South, and the relation between the two races there, odious and hateful to the North. For this purpose societies and newspapers are everywhere established, debating clubs opened, lecturers employed, pamphlets and other publications, pictures and petitions to Congress, resorted to, and directed to that single point, regardless of truth or decency; while the circulation of incendiary publications in the South, the agitation of the subject of abolition in Congress, and the employment of emissaries are relied on to excite discontent among the slaves. This agitation, and the use of these means, have been continued with more or less activity for a series of years, not without doing much towards effecting the object intended. We regard both object and means to be aggressive and dangerous to the rights of the South, and subversive, as stated, of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established. Slavery is a domestic institution. It belongs to the States, each for itself to decide, whether it shall be established or not; and if it be established, whether it should be abolished or not. Such being the clear and unquestionable right of the States, it follows necessarily that it would be a flagrant act of aggression on a State, destructive of its rights, and subversive of its independence, for the Federal Government, or one or more

States, or their people, to undertake to force on it the emancipation of its slaves. But it is a sound maxim in politics, as well as law and morals, that no one has a right to do that indirectly what he cannot do directly, and it may be added with equal truth, to aid, abet, or countenance another in doing it. And yet the Abolitionists of the North, openly avowing their intention, and resorting to the most efficient means for the purpose, have been attempting to bring about a state of things to force the Southern States to emancipate their slaves, without any act on the part of any Northern State to arrest or suppress the means by which they propose to accomplish it. They have been permitted to pursue their object, and to use whatever means they please, if without aid or countenance, also without resistance or disapprobation. What gives a deeper shade to the whole affair, is the fact, that one of the means to effect their object, that of exciting discontent among our slaves, tends directly to subvert what its preamble declares to be one of the ends for which the Constitution was ordained and established: "to ensure domestic tranquillity," and that in the only way in which domestic tranquillity is likely ever to be disturbed in the South. Certain it is, that an agitation so systematic—having such an object in view, and sought to be carried into execution by such means—would, between independent nations, constitute just cause of remonstrance by the party against which the aggression was directed, and if not heeded, an appeal to arms for redress. Such being the case where an aggression of the kind takes place among independent nations, how much more aggravated must it be between confederated States, where the Union precludes an appeal to arms, while it affords a medium through which it can operate with vastly increased force and effect? That it would be perverted to such a use, never entered into the imagination of the generation which formed and adopted the Constitution, and, if it had been supposed it would, it is certain that the South never would have adopted it.

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HENRY BIBB DESCRIBES SLAVE SUPERSTITION AND CONJURING (1849)

There is much superstition among the slaves. Many of them believe in what they call "conjuraton," tricking, and witchcraft; and some of them pretend to understand the art, and say that by it they can prevent their masters from exercising their will over their slaves. Such are often applied to by others, to give them power to prevent their masters from flogging them.

The remedy is most generally some kind of bitter root; they are directed to chew it and spit towards their masters when they are angry with their slaves. At other times they prepare certain kinds of powders, to sprinkle about their masters dwellings. This is all done for the purpose of defending themselves in some Peaceable manner, although I am satisfied that there is no virtue at all in it. I have tried it to perfection when I was a slave at the South. I was then a young man, full of life and vigor, and was very fond of visiting our neighbors slaves, but had no time to visit only Sundays, when I could get a permit to go, or after night, when I could slip off without being seen. If it was found out, the next morning I was called up to give an account of myself for going off without permission, and would very often get a flogging for it.

I got myself into a scrape at a certain times, by going off in this way, and I expected to be severely punished for it. I had a strong notion of running off, to escape being flogged, but was advised by a friend to go to one of those conjurers, who could prevent me from being flogged. I went and informed him of the difficulty. He said if I would pay him a small sum, he would prevent my being flogged. After I had paid him, he mixed up some alum, salt and other stuff into a powder, and said I must sprinkle it about my master, if he should offer to strike me; this would prevent him. He also gave me some kind of bitter root to chew, and spit towards him, which would certainly prevent my being flogged. According to order I used his remedy, and for some cause I was let pass without being flogged that time.

I had then great faith in conjuration and witchcraft, I was led to believe that I could do almost as, I pleased, without being flogged. So on the next Sabbath my conjuration was fully tested by my going off, and staying away until Monday morning, without permission. When I returned home, my master declared that he would punish me for going off; but I did not believe that he could do it, while I had this root and dust; and as he approached me, I commenced talking saucy to him. But he soon convinced me that there was no virtue in them. He soon became so enraged at me for saucing him, that he grasped a handful of switches and punished me severely, in spite of all my roots and powders.

But there was another old slave in that neighborhood, who professed to understand all about conjuration, and I thought I would try his skill. He told me that the first one was only a quack, and if I would only pay him a certain amount in cash, that he would tell me how to prevent any person from striking me. After I had paid him his charge, he told me to go to the cow-

pen after night, and get some fresh cow manure, and mix it with red pepper and white people's hair, all to be put into a pot over the fire, and scorched until it could be ground into snuff. I was then to sprinkle it about my master's bedroom, in his hat and boots, and it would prevent him from ever abusing me in any way. After I got it all ready prepared, the smallest pinch of it scattered over a room, was enough to make a horse sneeze from the strength of it; but it did no good. I tried it to my satisfaction. It was my business to make fires in my master's chamber, night and morning. Whenever I could get a chance, I sprinkled a Little of this dust about the linen of the bed, where they would breathe it on retiring. This was to act upon them as what is called a kind of love powder, to change their sentiments of anger, to those of love, towards me, but this all proved to be vain imagination. The old man had my money, and I was treated no better for it.

One night when I went in to make a fire, I availed myself of the opportunity of sprinkling a very heavy charge of this powder about my master's bed. Soon after their going to bed, they began to cough and sneeze. Being close around the house, watching and listening, to know what the effect would be, I heard them ask each other what in the world it could be, that made them cough and sneeze so. All the while, I was trembling with fear, expecting every moment I should be called and asked if I knew any thing about it. After this, for fear they might find me out in my dangerous experiments upon them, I had to give them up, for the time being. I was then convinced that running away was the most effectual way by which a slave could escape cruel punishment.

As all the instrumentalities which I as a slave, could bring to bear upon the system, had utterly failed to palliate my sufferings, all hope and consolation fled. I must be a slave for life, and suffer under the lash or die. The influence which this had only tended to make me more unhappy. I resolved that I would be free if running away could make me so. I had heard that Canada was a land of liberty, somewhere in the North; and every wave of trouble that rolled across my breast, caused me to think more and more about Canada, and liberty. But more especially after having been flogged, I have fled to the highest hills of the forest, pressing my way to the North for refuge; but the river Ohio was my limit. To me it was an impassable gulf. I had no rod wherewith to smite the stream, and thereby divide the waters. I had no Moses to go before me and lead the way from bondage to a promised land. Yet I was in a far worse state than Egyptian bondage; for they had houses and land; I had none; they had oxen and sheep; I had none; they had a wise counsel, to tell them what

to do, and where to go, and even to go with them; I had none. I was surrounded by opposition on every hand. My friends were few and far between. I have often felt when running away as if I had scarcely a friend on earth.

Bibb, Henry. 1849. *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. New York: Author.

SEWARD'S "HIGHER LAW" SPEECH (1850)

*Excerpts from William H. Seward's
"Higher Law" Speech*

Mr. SEWARD: I mean to say that Congress can hereafter decide whether any states, slave or free, can be framed out of Texas. If they should never be framed out of Texas, they never could be admitted.

How is the original equality of the states proved? It rests on a syllogism of Vattel, as follows: All men are equal by the law of nature and of nations. But states are only lawful aggregations of individual men, who severally are equal. Therefore, states are equal in natural rights. All this is just and sound. But assuming the same premises, to wit, that all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground; for one who is equal to another cannot be the owner or property of that other. But you answer, that the Constitution recognizes property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply, that this constitutional recognition must be void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations. But I deny that the Constitution recognizes property in man. I submit, on the other hand, most respectfully, that the Constitution not merely does not affirm that principle, but, on the contrary, altogether excludes it.

The Constitution does not *expressly* affirm anything on the subject; all that it contains is two incidental allusions to slaves. These are, first, in the provision establishing a ratio of representation and taxation; and secondly, in the provision relating to fugitives from labor. In both cases, the Constitution designedly mentions slaves, not as slaves, much less as chattels, but as *persons*. That this recognition of them as persons was designed is historically known, and I think was never denied. . . .

I deem it established, then, that the Constitution does not recognize property in man, but leaves that question, as between the states, to the law of nature and of nations. That law, as expounded by Vattel, is founded on the reason of things. When God had created the earth, with its wonderful adaptations, He gave dominion over it to man, absolute human do-

minion. The title of that dominion, thus bestowed, would have been incomplete, if the lord of all terrestrial things could himself have been the property of his fellow-man.

The right to *have* a slave implies the right in some one to *make* the slave; that right must be equal and mutual, and this would resolve society into a state of perpetual war. But if we grant the original equality of the states, and grant also the constitutional recognition as slaves as property, still the argument we are considering fails. Because the states are not parties to the Constitution as states; it is the Constitution of the people of the United States.

But even if the states continue under the constitution as states, they nevertheless surrendered their equality as states, and submitted themselves to the sway of the numerical majority, with qualifications or checks; first, of the representation of three-fifths of slaves in the ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, of the equal representation of states in the Senate.

The proposition of an established classification of states as *slave states* and *free states*, as insisted on by some, and into *northern* and *southern*, as maintained by others, seems to me purely imaginary, and of course the supposed equilibrium of those classes a mere conceit. This must be so, because, when the Constitution was adopted, twelve of the thirteen states were slave states, and so there was no equilibrium. And so as to the classification of states as northern states and southern states. It is the maintenance of slavery by law in a state, not parallels of latitude, that makes it a southern state; and the absence of this, that makes it a northern state. And so all the states, save one, were southern states, and there was no equilibrium. But the Constitution was made not only for southern and northern states, but for states neither northern nor southern, namely, the western states, their coming being foreseen and provided for.

It needs no argument to show that the idea of a joint stock association, or a copartnership, as applicable even by its analogies to the United States, is erroneous, with all the consequences fancifully deduced from it. The United States are a political state, or organized society, whose end is government, for the security, welfare, and happiness of all who live under its protection. The theory I am combating reduces the objects of government to the mere spoils of conquest. Contrary to a theory so debasing, the preamble of the Constitution not only asserts the sovereignty to be, not in the states, but in the people, but also promulgates the objects of the Constitution:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to

form a *more perfect union*, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the *common defence*, promote the GENERAL WELFARE, and secure the *blessings of liberty*, do ordain and establish this Constitution. "

Objects sublime and benevolent! They exclude the very idea of conquests, to be either divided among states or even enjoyed by them, for the purpose of securing, not the blessings of liberty, but the evils of slavery. There is a novelty in the principle of the proposed compromise which condemns it. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Constitution, Virginia ceded to the United States her domain, which then extended to the Mississippi, and was even claimed to extend to the Pacific Ocean. Congress accepted it, and unanimously devoted the domain to freedom, in the language from which the ordinance now so severely condemned was borrowed. Five states have already been organized on this domain, from all of which, in pursuance of that ordinance, slavery is excluded. How did it happen that this theory of the equality of states, of the classification of states, of the equilibrium of states, of the title of the states, to common enjoyment of the domain, or to an equitable and just partition between them, was never promulgated, nor even dreamed of, by the slave states, when they unanimously consented to that ordinance?

There is another aspect of the principle of compromise which deserves consideration. It assumes that slavery, if not the only institution in a slave state, is at least a ruling institution, and that this characteristic is recognized by the Constitution. But *slavery* is only *one* of many institutions there. Freedom is equally an institution there. Slavery is only a temporary, accidental, partial, and incongruous one. Freedom on the contrary, is a perpetual, organic, universal one, in harmony with the Constitution of the United States. The slaveholder himself stands under the protection of the latter, in common with all the free citizens of the state. But it is, moreover, an indispensable institution. You may separate slavery from South Carolina, and the state will still remain; but if you subvert freedom there, the state will cease to exist. But the principle of this compromise gives complete ascendancy in the slave states, and in the Constitution of the United States, to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous institution, over its paramount antagonist. To reduce this claim of slavery to an absurdity, it is only necessary to add that there are only two states in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which the slaveholders are not a very disproportionate minority.

But there is yet another aspect in which this principle must be examined. It regards the domain only as a

possession, to be enjoyed either in common or by partition by the citizens of the old states. It is true, indeed, that the national domain is ours. It is true it was acquired by the valor and with the wealth of the whole nation. But we hold, nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We hold no arbitrary authority over anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The Congress regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty.

But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness. How momentous that trust is, we may learn from the instructions of the founder of modern philosophy:

Slavery has never obtained anywhere by express legislative authority, but always by trampling down laws higher than any mere municipal laws—the laws of nature and of nations. There can be no oppression in superadding the sanction of Congress to the authority which is so weak and so vehemently questioned. And there is some possibility, if not probability, that the institution may obtain a foothold surreptitiously, if it shall not be absolutely forbidden by our own authority.

Sir, those who would alarm us with the terrors of revolution have not well considered the structure of this government, and the organization of its forces. It is a democracy of property and persons, with a fair approximation towards universal education, and operating by means of universal suffrage. The constituent members of this democracy are the only persons who could subvert it; and they are not the citizens of a metropolis like Paris, or of a region subjected to the influences of a metropolis like France; but they are husbandmen, dispersed over this broad land, on the mountain and on the plain, and on the prairie, from the ocean to the Rocky Mountains, and from the great lakes to the gulf; and this people are now, while we are discussing their imaginary danger, at peace and in their happy homes, as unconcerned and uninformed of their peril as they are of events occurring in the moon. Nor have the alarmists made due allowance in their calculations for the influence of conservative reaction, strong in any government, and irresistible in a rural republic, operating by universal suffrage. That principle of reaction is due to the force of the habits of acquiescence and loyalty among the people. No man better

understood this principle than MACHIAVELLI, who has told us, in regard to factions, that “no safe reliance can be placed in the force of nature and the bravery of words, except it be corroborated by custom.” Do the alarmists remember that this government has stood sixty years already without exacting one drop of blood?—that this government has stood sixty years, and yet treason is an obsolete crime? That day, I trust, is far off when the fountains of popular contentment shall be broken up; but whenever it shall come, it will bring forth a higher illustration than has ever yet been given of the excellence of the democratic system; for then it will be seen how calmly, how firmly, how nobly, a great people can act in preserving their Constitution; whom “love of country moveth, example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, and glory exalteth.”

Seward, William H. 1853. *The Works of William H. Seward*. George E. Baker, ed. New York: Redfield.

FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT (1850)

Section 1

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the persons who have been, or may hereafter be, appointed commissioners, in virtue of any act of Congress, by the Circuit Courts of the United States, and Who, in consequence of such appointment, are authorized to exercise the powers that any justice of the peace, or other magistrate of any of the United States, may exercise in respect to offenders for any crime or offense against the United States, by arresting, imprisoning, or bailing the same under and by the virtue of the thirty-third section of the act of the twenty-fourth of September seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, entitled “An Act to establish the judicial courts of the United States” shall be, and are hereby, authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this act.

Section 2

And be it further enacted, That the Superior Court of each organized Territory of the United States shall have the same power to appoint commissioners to take acknowledgments of bail and affidavits, and to take depositions of witnesses in civil causes, which is now possessed by the Circuit Court of the United States; and all commissioners who shall hereafter be appointed for such purposes by the Superior Court of any organized Territory of the United States, shall possess all the powers, and exercise all the duties, con-

ferred by law upon the commissioners appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States for similar purposes, and shall moreover exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this act.

Section 3

And be it further enacted, That the Circuit Courts of the United States shall from time to time enlarge the number of the commissioners, with a view to afford reasonable facilities to reclaim fugitives from labor, and to the prompt discharge of the duties imposed by this act.

Section 4

And be it further enacted, That the commissioners above named shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, in their respective circuits and districts within the several States, and the judges of the Superior Courts of the Territories, severally and collectively, in term-time and vacation; shall grant certificates to such claimants, upon satisfactory proof being made, with authority to take and remove such fugitives from service or labor, under the restrictions herein contained, to the State or Territory from which such persons may have escaped or fled.

Section 5

And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant, or other process, when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of such claimant, on the motion of such claimant, by the Circuit or District Court for the district of such marshal; and after arrest of such fugitive, by such marshal or his deputy, or whilst at any time in his custody under the provisions of this act, should such fugitive escape, whether with or without the assent of such marshal or his deputy, such marshal shall be liable, on his official bond, to be prosecuted for the benefit of such claimant, for the full value of the service or labor of said fugitive in the State, Territory, or District whence he escaped: and the better to enable the said commissioners, when thus appointed, to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States and of this act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing under

their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; with authority to such commissioners, or the persons to be appointed by them, to execute process as aforesaid, to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or posse comitatus of the proper county, when necessary to ensure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution referred to, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required, as aforesaid, for that purpose; and said warrants shall run, and be executed by said officers, any where in the State within which they are issued.

Section 6

And be it further enacted, That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, duly authorized, by power of attorney, in writing, acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or court of the State or Territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the courts, judges, or commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive, where the same can be done without process, and by taking, or causing such person to be taken, forthwith before such court, judge, or commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner; and upon satisfactory proof being made, by deposition or affidavit, in writing, to be taken and certified by such court, judge, or commissioner, or by other satisfactory testimony, duly taken and certified by some court, magistrate, justice of the peace, or other legal officer authorized to administer an oath and take depositions under the laws of the State or Territory from which such person owing service or labor may have escaped, with a certificate of such magistracy or other authority, as aforesaid, with the seal of the proper court or officer thereto attached, which seal shall be sufficient to establish the competency of the proof, and with proof, also by affidavit, of the identity of the person whose service or labor is claimed to be due as aforesaid, that the person so arrested does in fact owe service or labor to the person or persons claiming him

or her, in the State or Territory from which such fugitive may have escaped as aforesaid, and that said person escaped, to make out and deliver to such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, a certificate setting forth the substantial facts as to the service or labor due from such fugitive to the claimant, and of his or her escape from the State or Territory in which he or she was arrested, with authority to such claimant, or his or her agent or attorney, to use such reasonable force and restraint as may be necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take and remove such fugitive person back to the State or Territory whence he or she may have escaped as aforesaid. In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first [fourth] section mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

Section 7

And be it further enacted, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given and declared; or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States for the district in which such offence may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States; and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of

debt, in any of the District or Territorial Courts aforesaid, within whose jurisdiction the said offence may have been committed.

Section 8

And be it further enacted, That the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said District and Territorial Courts, shall be paid, for their services, the like fees as may be allowed for similar services in other cases; and where such services are rendered exclusively in the arrest, custody, and delivery of the fugitive to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or where such supposed fugitive may be discharged out of custody for the want of sufficient proof as aforesaid, then such fees are to be paid in whole by such claimant, his or her agent or attorney; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a commissioner, he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, upon the delivery of the said certificate to the claimant, his agent or attorney; or a fee of five dollars in cases where the proof shall not, in the opinion of such commissioner, warrant such certificate and delivery, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination, to be paid, in either case, by the claimant, his or her agent or attorney. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such commissioner for the arrest and detention of fugitives from service or labor as aforesaid, shall also be entitled to a fee of five dollars each for each person he or they may arrest, and take before any commissioner as aforesaid, at the instance and request of such claimant, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such commissioner for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them; such as attending at the examination, keeping the fugitive in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such commissioners; and, in general, for performing such other duties as may be required by such claimant, his or her attorney or agent, or commissioner in the premises, such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid by such claimants, their agents or attorneys, whether such supposed fugitives from service or labor be ordered to be delivered to such claimant by the final determination of such commissioner or not.

Section 9

And be it further enacted, That, upon affidavit made by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has rea-

son to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or their possession before he can be taken beyond the limits of the State in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the State whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent, or attorney. And to this end, the officer aforesaid is hereby authorized and required to employ so many persons as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his service so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants, while so employed, to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses, as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States.

Section 10

And be it further enacted, That when any person held to service or labor in any State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia, shall escape therefrom, the party to whom such service or labor shall be due, his, her, or their agent or attorney, may apply to any court of record therein, or judge thereof in vacation, and make satisfactory proof to such court, or judge in vacation, of the escape aforesaid, and that the person escaping owed service or labor to such party. Whereupon the court shall cause a record to be made of the matters so proved, and also a general description of the person so escaping, with such convenient certainty as may be; and a transcript of such record, authenticated by the attestation of the clerk and of the seal of the said court, being produced in any other State, Territory, or district in which the person so escaping may be found, and being exhibited to any judge, commissioner, or other office, authorized by the law of the United States to cause persons escaping from service or labor to be delivered up, shall be held and taken to be full and conclusive evidence of the fact of escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned. And upon the production by the said party of other and further evidence if necessary, either oral or by affidavit, in addition to what is contained in the said record of the identity of the person escaping, he or she shall be delivered up to the claimant, And the said court, commissioner, judge, or other person authorized by this act to grant certificates to claimants or fugitives, shall, upon the production of the record and other evidences aforesaid, grant to such claimant a certificate of his right to take any such person identified and proved to be owing service or labor as aforesaid, which certificate shall authorize such

claimant to seize or arrest and transport such person to the State or Territory from which he escaped: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring the production of a transcript of such record as evidence as aforesaid. But in its absence the claim shall be heard and determined upon other satisfactory proofs, competent in law.

Approved, September 18, 1850.

TYPICAL WORK PRACTICES OF SLAVE LABORERS (1850)

It is expected that servants should rise early enough to be at work by the time it is light. In sections of country that are sickly, it will be found conducive to health in the fall to make the hands eat their breakfast before going into the dew. In winter, as the days are short and nights long, it will be no encroachment upon their necessary rest to make them eat breakfast before daylight. One properly taken care of, and supplied with good tools, is certainly able to do more work than under other circumstances. While at work, they should be brisk. If one is called to you or sent from you, and he does not move briskly, chastise him at once. If this does not answer, repeat the dose and double the quantity. When at work, I have no objection to their whistling or singing some lively tune, but no drawling tunes are allowed in the field, for their motions are almost certain to keep time with the music.

In winter, a hand may be pressed all day, but not so in summer. In the first of the spring, a hand need not be allowed any more time at noon than is sufficient to eat. As the days get longer and warmer, a longer rest is necessary. In May, from one and a half to two hours; in June, two and a half; in July and August, three hours at noon. If the day is unusually sultry, a longer time is better. When the weather is oppressive, it is best for all hands to take a nap at noon. It is refreshing, and they are better able to stand pressing the balance of the day. Hands by being kept out of the sun during the hottest of the day have better health and can do more work through the season than those who take what they call a good steady gait and work regularly from morning till night. They will certainly last much longer.

If the corn for feeding is in the shuck, the husking should be done at noon; and all corn for milling should, during summer, be shelled at noon, that as the nights are short the hands may be ready for bed at an early hour.

If water be not convenient in the field where the hands are at work, instead of having it brought from a distance in buckets, it will be found more convenient

to have a barrel fixed on wheels and carried full of water to some convenient place, and let a small boy or girl with a bucket supply the hands from the barrel. Some persons make each negro carry a jug or large gourd full of water to the field every morning, and this has to serve for the day.

During the fall and winter, hands may be made to pack at night what cotton has been ginned in the day. The women may be required to spin what little roping will be necessary for plough lines and to make some heavy bed-quilts for themselves. Besides this, there is very little that can properly be done of nights.

Tattler. "Management of Negroes," *Southern Cultivator* 8 (November 1850).

EDITORIAL FROM *THE SOUTH CAROLINA HERALD OF FAIRFIELD, SOUTH CAROLINA* (1851)

We have been frequently charged with being hostile to the present Federal Government. We are so, and for the following very satisfactory reasons, among many others.

Because, for the last thirty years, it has proven a withering and unmitigated curse upon the South, having robbed us during this period of not less than one thousand millions, to build up Northern interests and institutions.

Because it has, by its late action, destroyed the sovereignty and equality of fifteen States of this Confederacy, and degraded them to the condition of colonial dependencies.

Because it has ceased to afford us protection in any particular, its whole aim being to break down and destroy the South.

Because it is an Abolition Government, striking directly at the institutions and domestic policy of the section in which we live, its whole legislation being shaped to this end, and having this only for its object.

Because in fine, it has most signally failed, as an experiment of the capacity of the people for self-government, inasmuch as the rights of one section has been trampled under foot, to gratify the fanaticism and lust for power of the other.

We are in favour of its dissolution or disunion—

Because it will bring wealth and greatness to the south, under a Southern Confederacy, which must inevitably arise from dissolution.

Because it will afford us protection in our persons, property, &c.

Because it will kill off the foul spirit of abolition, by taking away the food it feeds on.

Because it will put an end to kidnapping and border thieving, and restore peace and security to the frontier States.

Because it will promote the case of religion, morality, and civilisation, in the South.

Because it will build up a system of internal improvements, increase the number of schools, colleges, &c.

Because it will destroy entirely pauperism, by enabling every man, not physically diseased, to earn his daily bread, and accumulate, from the abundance of our prosperity, a fortune for himself in a short time.

Because it will renew and perpetuate the experiment of the capability of the people for self-government.

Because, even if the Slavery Question is settled, the seeds of discord have been too deeply sown by the North, ever to bring forth any other fruit than hostility, and constant wrangling between the two sections.

Because the Union is too large, and composed of too various interests, ever to harmonise together.

Because we honestly believe the Almighty never intended that the generous and noble Southerner should constitute one people, with the cold, calculating, plundering Yankee.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter (New Series), 6:61
(January 1, 1851)

SOUTHERN ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT (1851)

The following article is taken from the Charleston Mercury:—

If it is true that thirty thousand fugitive slaves are in the non-slaveholding States, there cannot be much difficulty in applying the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of Congress, in a sufficient number of cases, to test effectually the force of the Federal Government in every anti-slavery State in the Union. The following suggestions are respectfully submitted:—

1. In each Southern State the several District Southern Rights Associations may combine, by constituting a general committee for each State.

2. Every slave-owner, from whom any slaves have run away within the last ten years, should report their names and descriptions of their personal appearance, together with any information which might aid in the discovery of their present location.

3. These reports should be laid before the general committee of the State.

4. Each general State Committee should appoint an agent, with instructions to travel through the non-slaveholding States, and collect all the information to be there found concerning the fugitive slaves. Reports, showing their names, personal appearance, location, and history, should be made by these agents to the general committee appointing them.

5. By comparing the reports of the owners with those of the agents, many fugitive slaves would soon be identified, and their owners, advised and aided by the Associations, could proceed to reclaim them according to the forms of the Act of Congress.

6. The enforcement of this law, with the restoration of Southern property, or the rendering of society at the North, by the persevering resolution to test the strength of the United States Government in a conflict with fanaticism, is an alternative worthy of those who associate for the protection of Southern rights.

7. Whenever the issue is made, those who have an interest in the preservation of property, by the maintenance of law, will have to defend property in slavery, or abandon the law and peril their own security.

8. Faction and insurrection will probably conquer the Federal Government, whose officers, from President Fillmore and his Cabinet to the United States Marshal of New York, are shrinking from their sworn duty; and the impotence of the Union, except against the South, will be manifested.

9. The selfish politicians, and their parties, who have coaxed and patted Abolitionists for their votes, will find, like Actæon, the dogs at their own throats.

10. Seward and Hale must either lead the revolution, or be its victims. Anti-Slavery, being only the present war-cry of the party opposed to law and social order, will be forgotten, when once disorder and the reign of terror begin.

11. From the North will come disunion and civil war, and the people of Massachusetts and New York, who scoff at the state sovereignty, must have the insurrectionary Government of triumphant mobs.

12. Against those will “the Star Spangled Banner of the Union” in Southern hands be waved, sustained by the cannon and the sword; or far from their intestine anarchy and civil broils will the South pursue the prosper-

ous path of peace, under the flag which will float over their “glorious Union.”—SCIPPIO.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter (New Series), 6:61
(January 1, 1851).

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM
JOHN G. WHITTIER TO JOSEPH STURGE,
DATED AMESBURY, JAN. 7, 1851,
ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Since I last wrote, we have been greatly distressed by the operation of the wicked Fugitive Slave Law upon our poor coloured fellow-citizens. I have never felt so keenly the shame, and sin, and cruelty of slavery, as for the last few months; and in labouring to awaken the popular feeling against this terrible enactment, I have found it exceedingly difficult to speak and act with the moderation and prudence which should characterise the efforts of a Christian reformer. In my weak state of health the excitement has been very trying to me. I felt bound, in the interim, on the occasion of declining the nomination of Senator in the State by the democratic party, to declare that *I could not obey the law, that I should treat it as null and void, and open my door to the hunted fugitive in spite of its cruel provisions.* It cannot be obeyed by any man who professes to be a Christian or a friend of his kind; and it is a sad thing to have morality and justice on one side, and law on the other. But so it is; and while I deprecate with my whole heart any virulent resistance, I see no way left for us than to disobey the unrighteous act, and bear the penalty of fine and prison.

A case has just occurred in Philadelphia which shows, in a true light, the character of this law. A coloured man was seized by constables, under a false pretence, dragged before the slave commissioner, and although he produced two witnesses to prove him a free man, he was pronounced a slave, on the oath of a wretch who was then awaiting his trial for kidnapping, and hurried off to Maryland. Happily an officer of respectability accompanied the kidnappers and their victim to his pretended owner, who, on seeing him, had to honesty to declare *that the man was not his slave!*

Since writing the above, a poor young coloured man has been sent back into slavery from New York. Our noble friend, Lewis Tappan, made strenuous, but unavailing, efforts to save him; thou wilt doubtless get from him a full account of the case.

Our State legislature is now in session, and it is

pretty certain that Charles Sumner—the true friend of peace and freedom, and every good word and work—will be chosen U.S. Senator, for six years from the 1st of 3d month next. He will, if elected, take the place which Daniel Webster has dishonoured.

Thou wilt be sorry to hear that the *Non-Slaveholder* has ceased to exist. Our dear friends, Samuel Richards and A. L. Pannock, sustained it a very long time, almost unaided. Nevertheless, the concern to avoid, as far as practicable, the use of slave products, is increasing, especially in our Society.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter (New Series), 6:62 (February 1, 1851)

PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC THEORIES OF
SLAVE BEHAVIOR (1851)

“Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race,” by
Dr. Samuel Cartwright.

Drapetomania, or the Disease Causing Negroes to Run Away. Drapetomania is from *δραπετηζ* [*drapetes*], a runaway slave, and *μανια* [mania], *mad or crazy*. It is unknown to our medical authorities, although its diagnostic symptom, the absconding from service, is well known to our planters and overseers, as it was to the ancient Greeks who expressed, by the single word *δραπετηζ*, the fact of the absconding, and the relation that the fugitive held to the person he fled from. I have added to the word meaning runaway slave, another Greek term, to express the disease of the mind causing him to abscond. In noticing a disease not heretofore classed among the long list of maladies that man is subject to, it was necessary to have a new term to express it. The cause in the most of cases, that induces the negro to run away from service, is as much a disease of the mind as any other species of mental alienation, and much more curable, as a general rule. With the advantages of proper medical advice, strictly followed, this troublesome practice that many negroes have of running away, can be almost entirely prevented, although the slaves be located on the borders of a free state, within a stone’s throw of the abolitionists. I was born in Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge, where negroes were numerous, and studied medicine some years in Maryland, a slave state, separated from Pennsylvania, a free state, by Mason & Dixon’s line—a mere air line, without wall or guard. I long ago observed that some persons considered as very good, and others as very bad masters, often lost their negroes by their absconding from service; while the slaves of an-

other class of persons, remarkable for order and good discipline, but not praised or blamed as either good or bad masters, never ran away, although no guard or forcible means were used to prevent them. The same management which prevented them from walking over a mere nominal, unguarded line, will prevent them from running away anywhere.

To ascertain the true method of governing negroes, so as to cure and prevent the disease under consideration, we must go back to the Pentateuch, and learn the true meaning of the untranslated term that represents the negro race. In the name there given to that race, is locked up the true art of governing negroes in such a manner that they cannot run away. The correct translation of that term declares the Creator's will in regard to the negro; it declares him to be the submissive knee-bender. In the anatomical conformation of his knees, we see "*genu flexit*" written in his physical structure, being more flexed or bent, than any other kind of man. If the white man attempts to oppose the Deity's will, by trying to make the negro anything else than "the submissive knee-bender," (which the Almighty declared he should be,) by trying to raise him to a level with himself, or by putting himself on an equality with the negro; or if he abuses the power which God has given him over his fellow-man, by being cruel to him, or punishing him in anger, or by neglecting to protect him from the wanton abuses of his fellow-servants and all others, or by denying him the usual comforts and necessities of life, the negro will run away; but if he keeps him in the position that we learn from the Scriptures he was intended to occupy, that is, the position of submission; and if his master or overseer be kind and gracious in his hearing towards him, without condescension, and at the same time ministers to his physical wants, and protects him from abuses, the negro is spell-bound, and cannot run away. . . .

According to my experience, the "*genu flexit*"—the awe and reverence, must be exacted from them, or they will despise their masters, become rude and ungovernable, and run away. On Mason and Dixon's line, two classes of persons were apt to lose their negroes: those who made themselves too familiar with them, treating them as equals, and making little or no distinction in regard to color; and, on the other hand, those who treated them cruelly, denied them the common necessities of life, neglected to protect them against the abuses of others, or frightened them by a blustering manner of approach, when about to punish them for misdemeanors. Before the negroes run away, unless they are frightened or panic-struck, they become sulky and dissatisfied. The cause of this sulkiness

and dissatisfaction should be inquired into and removed, or they are apt to run away or fall into the negro consumption. When sulky and dissatisfied without cause, the experience of those on the line and elsewhere, was decidedly in favor of whipping them out of it, as a preventive measure against absconding, or other bad conduct. It was called whipping the devil out of them.

If treated kindly, well fed and clothed, with fuel enough to keep a small fire burning all night—separated into families, each family having its own house—not permitted to run about at night to visit their neighbors, to receive visits or use intoxicating liquors, and not overworked or exposed too much to the weather, they are very easily governed—more so than any other people in the world. When all this is done, if any one of more of them, at any time, are inclined to raise their heads to a level with their master or overseer, humanity and their own good require that they should be punished until they fall into that submissive state which it was intended for them to occupy in all after-time, when their progenitor received the name of Canaan or "submissive knee-bender." They have only to be kept in that state and treated like children, with care, kindness, attention and humanity, to prevent and cure them from running away.

Dysaesthesia Aethiopica, or Hebetude of Mind and Obtuse Sensibility of Body—a Disease Peculiar to Negroes—Called by Overseers, "Rascality."

Dysaesthesia Aethiopica is a disease peculiar to negroes, affecting both mind and body in a manner as well expressed by dysaesthesia, the name I have given it, as could be by a single term. There is both mind and sensibility, but both seem to be difficult to reach by impressions from without. There is a partial insensibility of the skin, and so great a hebetude of the intellectual faculties, as to be like a person half asleep, that is with difficulty aroused and kept awake. It differs from every other species of mental disease, as it is accompanied with physical signs or lesions of the body discoverable to the medical observer, which are always present and sufficient to account for the symptoms. It is much more prevalent among free negroes living in clusters by themselves, than among slaves on our plantations, and attacks only such slaves as live like free negroes in regard to diet, drinks, exercise, etc. It is not my purpose to treat of the complaint as it prevails among free negroes, nearly all of whom are more or less afflicted with it, that have not got some white person to direct and to take care of them. To narrate its symptoms and effects among them would be to write a history of the ruins and dilapidation of Hayti, and every spot of earth they have

ever had uncontrolled possession over for any length of time. I propose only to describe its symptoms among slaves.

From the careless movements of the individuals affected with the complaint, they are apt to do much mischief, which appears as if intentional, but is mostly owing to the stupidity of mind and insensibility of the nerves induced by the disease. Thus, they break, waste and destroy everything they handle,—abuse horses and cattle,—tear, burn or rend their own clothing, and, paying no attention to the rights of property, steal others, to replace what they have destroyed. They wander about at night, and keep in a half nodding sleep during the day. They slight their work,—cut up corn, cane, cotton or tobacco when hoeing it, as if for pure mischief. They raise disturbances with their overseers and fellow-servants without cause or motive, and seem to be insensible to pain when subjected to punishment. The fact of the existence of such a complaint, making man like an automaton or senseless machine, having the above or similar symptoms, can be clearly established by the most direct and positive testimony. That it should have escaped the attention of the medical profession, can only be accounted for because its attention has not been sufficiently directed to the maladies of the negro race. Otherwise a complaint of so common an occurrence on badly-governed plantations, and so universal among free negroes, or those who are not governed at all,—a disease radicated in physical lesions and having its peculiar and well marked symptoms and its curative indications, would not have escaped the notice of the profession. The northern physicians and people have noticed the symptoms, but not the disease from which they spring. They ignorantly attribute the symptoms to the debasing influence of slavery on the mind without considering that those who have never been in slavery, or their fathers before them, are the most afflicted, and the latest from the slave-holding South the least. The disease is the natural offspring of negro liberty—the liberty to be idle, to wallow in filth, and to indulge in improper food and drinks.

Cartwright, Samuel A. "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," *DeBow's Review*. Vol. XI (July, August, September, and November 1851).

"ELIZA'S DRAMATIC ESCAPE," FROM
UNCLE TOM'S CABIN (1852)

Chapter VII—The Mother's Struggle

It is impossible to conceive of a human creature more

wholly desolate and forlorn than Eliza, when she turned her footsteps from Uncle Tom's cabin.

Her husband's suffering and dangers, and the danger of her child, all blended in her mind, with a confused and stunning sense of the risk she was running, in leaving the only home she had ever known, and cutting loose from the protection of a friend whom she loved and revered. Then there was the parting from every familiar object,—the place where she had grown up, the trees under which she had played, the groves where she had walked many an evening in happier days, by the side of her young husband,—everything, as it lay in the clear, frosty starlight, seemed to speak reproachfully to her, and ask her whither could she go from a home like that?

But stronger than all was maternal love, wrought into a paroxysm of frenzy by the near approach of a fearful danger. Her boy was old enough to have walked by her side, and, in an indifferent case, she would only have led him by the hand; but now the bare thought of putting him out of her arms made her shudder, and she strained him to her bosom with a convulsive grasp, as she went rapidly forward.

The frosty ground creaked beneath her feet, and she trembled at the sound; every quaking leaf and fluttering shadow sent the blood backward to her heart, and quickened her footsteps. She wondered within herself at the strength that seemed to be come upon her; for she felt the weight of her boy as if it had been a feather, and every flutter of fear seemed to increase the supernatural power that bore her on, while from her pale lips burst forth, in frequent ejaculations, the prayer to a Friend above—"Lord, help! Lord, save me!"

If it were *your* Harry, mother, or your Willie, that were going to be torn from you by a brutal trader, tomorrow morning,—if you had seen the man, and heard that the papers were signed and delivered, and you had only from twelve o'clock till morning to make good your escape,—how fast could *you* walk? How many miles could you make in those few brief hours, with the darling at your bosom,—the little sleepy head on your shoulder,—the small, soft arms trustingly holding on to your neck?

For the child slept. At first, the novelty and alarm kept him waking; but his mother so hurriedly repressed every breath or sound, and so assured him that if he were only still she would certainly save him, that he clung quietly round her neck, only asking, as he found himself sinking to sleep,

"Mother, I don't need to keep awake, do I?"

"No, my darling; sleep, if you want to."

"But, mother, if I do get asleep, you won't let him get me?"

"No! so may God help me!" said his mother, with a paler cheek, and a brighter light in her large dark eyes.

"You're *sure*, an't you, mother?"

"Yes, *sure!*" said the mother, in a voice that startled herself; for it seemed to her to come from a spirit within, that was no part of her; and the boy dropped his little weary head on her shoulder, and was soon asleep. How the touch of those warm arms, the gentle breathings that came in her neck, seemed to add fire and spirit to her movements! It seemed to her as if strength poured into her in electric streams, from every gentle touch and movement of the sleeping, confiding child. Sublime is the dominion of the mind over the body, that, for a time, can make flesh and nerve impregnable, and string the sinews like steel, so that the weak become so mighty.

The boundaries of the farm, the grove, the woodlot, passed by her dizzily, as she walked on; and still she went, leaving one familiar object after another, slacking not, pausing not, till reddening daylight found her many a long mile from all traces of any familiar objects upon the open highway.

She had often been, with her mistress, to visit some connections, in the little village of T—, not far from the Ohio river, and knew the road well. To go thither, to escape across the Ohio river, were the first hurried outlines of her plan of escape; beyond that, she could only hope in God.

When horses and vehicles began to move along the highway, with that alert perception peculiar to a state of excitement, and which seems to be a sort of inspiration, she became aware that her headlong pace and distracted air might bring on her remark and suspicion. She therefore put the boy on the ground, and, adjusting her dress and bonnet, she walked on at as rapid a pace as she thought consistent with the preservation of appearances. In her little bundle she had provided a store of cakes and apples, which she used as expedients for quickening the speed of the child, rolling the apple some yards before them, when the boy would run with all his might after it; and this ruse, often repeated, carried them over many a half-mile.

After a while, they came to a thick patch of woodland, through which murmured a clear brook. As the child complained of hunger and thirst, she climbed over the fence with him; and, sitting down behind a large rock which concealed them from the road, she gave him a breakfast out of her little package. The boy wondered and grieved that she could not eat; and when, putting his arms round her neck, he tried to wedge some of his cake into her mouth, it seemed to her that the rising in her throat would choke her.

"No, no, Harry darling! mother can't eat till you are safe! We must go on—on—till we come to the river!" And she hurried again into the road, and again constrained herself to walk regularly and composedly forward.

She was many miles past any neighborhood where she was personally known. If she should chance to meet any who knew her, she reflected that the well-known kindness of the family would be of itself a blind to suspicion, as making it an unlikely supposition that she could be a fugitive. As she was also so white as not to be known as of colored lineage, without a critical survey, and her child was white also, it was much easier for her to pass on unsuspected.

On this presumption, she stopped at noon at a neat farmhouse, to rest herself, and buy some dinner for her child and self; for, as the danger decreased with the distance, the supernatural tension of the nervous system lessened, and she found herself both weary and hungry.

The good woman, kindly and gossiping, seemed rather pleased than otherwise with having somebody come in to talk with; and accepted, without examination, Eliza's statement, that she "was going on a little piece, to spend a week with her friends,"—all which she hoped in her heart might prove strictly true.

An hour before sunset, she entered the village of T—, by the Ohio river, weary and foot-sore, but still strong in heart. Her first glance was at the river, which lay, like Jordan, between her and the Canaan of liberty on the other side.

It was now early spring, and the river was swollen and turbulent; great cakes of floating ice were swinging heavily to and fro in the turbid waters. Owing to the peculiar form of the shore on the Kentucky side, the land bending far out into the water, the ice had been lodged and detained in great quantities, and the narrow channel which swept round the bend was full of ice, piled one cake over another, thus forming a temporary barrier to the descending ice, which lodged, and formed a great, undulating raft, filling up the whole river, and extending almost to the Kentucky shore.

Eliza stood, for a moment, contemplating this unfavorable aspect of things, which she saw at once must prevent the usual ferry-boat from running, and then turned into a small public house on the bank, to make a few inquiries.

The hostess, who was busy in various fizzing and stewing operations over the fire, preparatory to the evening meal, stopped, with a fork in her hand, as Eliza's sweet and plaintive voice arrested her.

"What is it?" she said.

"Isn't there any ferry or boat, that takes people over to B—, now?" she said.

"No, indeed!" said the woman; "the boats has stopped running."

Eliza's look of dismay and disappointment struck the woman, and she said, inquiringly,

"May be you're wanting to get over?—anybody sick? Ye seem mighty anxious?"

"I've got a child that's very dangerous," said Eliza. "I never heard of it till last night, and I've walked quite a piece today, in hopes to get to the ferry."

"Well, now, that's onlucky," said the woman, whose motherly sympathies were much aroused; "I'm re'lly consarned for ye. Solomon!" she called, from the window, towards a small back building. A man, in leather apron and very dirty hands, appeared at the door.

"I say, Sol," said the woman, "is that ar man going to tote them bar'ls over tonight?"

"He said he should try, if 't was any way prudent," said the man.

"There's a man a piece down here, that's going over with some truck this evening, if he durs' to; he'll be in here to supper tonight, so you'd better set down and wait. That's a sweet little fellow," added the woman, offering him a cake.

But the child, wholly exhausted, cried with weariness. "Poor fellow! he isn't used to walking, and I've hurried him on so," said Eliza.

"Well, take him into this room," said the woman, opening into a small bed-room, where stood a comfortable bed. Eliza laid the weary boy upon it, and held his hands in hers till he was fast asleep. For her there was no rest. As a fire in her bones, the thought of the pursuer urged her on; and she gazed with longing eyes on the sullen, surging waters that lay between her and liberty.

Here we must take our leave of her for the present, to follow the course of her pursuers.

Though Mrs. Shelby had promised that the dinner should be hurried on table, yet it was soon seen, as the thing has often been seen before, that it required more than one to make a bargain. So, although the order was fairly given out in Haley's hearing, and carried to Aunt Chloe by at least half a dozen juvenile messengers, that dignitary only gave certain very gruff snorts, and tosses of her head, and went on with every operation in an unusually leisurely and circumstantial manner.

For some singular reason, an impression seemed to reign among the servants generally that Missis would not be particularly disobliged by delay; and it was wonderful what a number of counter accidents oc-

curred constantly, to retard the course of things. One luckless wight contrived to upset the gravy; and then gravy had to be got up *de novo*, with due care and formality, Aunt Chloe watching and stirring with dogged precision, answering shortly, to all suggestions of haste, that she "warn't a going to have raw gravy on the table, to help nobody's catchings." One tumbled down with the water, and had to go to the spring for more; and another precipitated the butter into the path of events; and there was from time to time giggling news brought into the kitchen that "Mas'r Haley was mighty oneasy, and that he couldn't sit in his cheer no ways, but was a walkin' and stalkin' to the winders and through the porch."

"Sarves him right!" said Aunt Chloe, indignantly. "He'll get wus nor oneasy, one of these days, if he don't mend his ways. *His* master'll be sending for him, and then see how he'll look!"

"He'll go to torment, and no mistake," said little Jake.

"He desarves it!" said Aunt Chloe, grimly, "he's broke a many, many, many hearts,—I tell ye all!" she said, stopping, with a fork uplifted in her hands, "it's like what Mas'r George reads in Ravelations,—souls a callin' under the altar! and a callin' on the Lord for vengeance on sich!—and by and by the Lord he'll hear 'em—so he will!"

Aunt Chloe, who was much revered in the kitchen, was listened to with open mouth; and, the dinner being now fairly sent in, the whole kitchen was at leisure to gossip with her, and to listen to her remarks.

"Sich'll be burnt up forever, and no mistake, won't ther?" said Andy.

"I'd be glad to see it, I'll be boun'," said little Jake.

"Chil'en!" said a voice, that made them all start. It was Uncle Tom, who had come in, and stood listening to the conversation at the door.

"Chil'en!" he said, "I'm afeard you don't know what ye're sayin'. Forever is a *dre'ful* word, chil'en; it's awful to think on 't. You oughtenter wish that ar to any human crittur."

"We wouldn't to anybody but the soul-drivers," said Andy; "nobody can help wishing it to them, they's so awful wicked."

"Don't natur herself kinder cry out on 'em?" said Aunt Chloe. "Don't dey tear der suckin' baby right off his mother's breast, and sell him, and der little children as is crying and holding on by her clothes,—don't dey pull 'em off and sells 'em? Don't dey tear wife and husband apart?" said Aunt Chloe, beginning to cry, "when it's jest takin' the very life on 'em?—and all the while does they feel one bit, don't dey drink and smoke, and

take it uncommon easy? Lor, if the devil don't get them, what's he good for?" And Aunt Chloe covered her face with her checked apron, and began to sob in good earnest.

"Pray for them that spitefully use you, the good book says," says Tom.

"Pray for 'em!" said Aunt Chloe; "Lor, it's too tough! I can't pray for 'em."

"It's natur, Chloe, and natur 's strong," said Tom, "but the Lord's grace is stronger; besides, you oughter think what an awful state a poor crittur's soul 's in that'll do them ar things,—you oughter thank God that you an't *like* him, Chloe. I'm sure I'd rather be sold, ten thousand times over, than to have all that ar poor crittur's got to answer for."

"So 'd I, a heap," said Jake. "Lor, *shouldn't* we cotch it, Andy?"

Andy shrugged his shoulders, and gave an acquiescent whistle.

"I'm glad Mas'r didn't go off this morning, as he looked to," said Tom; "that ar hurt me more than sellin', it did. Mebbe it might have been natural for him, but 't would have come desp't hard on me, as has known him from a baby; but I've seen Mas'r, and I begin ter feel sort o' reconciled to the Lord's will now. Mas'r couldn't help hisself; he did right, but I'm feared things will be kinder goin' to rack, when I'm gone Mas'r can't be spected to be a pryin' round everywhar, as I've done, a keepin' up all the ends. The boys all means well, but they 's powerful car'less. That ar troubles me."

The bell here rang, and Tom was summoned to the parlor.

"Tom," said his master, kindly, "I want you to notice that I give this gentleman bonds to forfeit a thousand dollars if you are not on the spot when he wants you; he's going today to look after his other business, and you can have the day to yourself. Go anywhere you like, boy."

"Thank you, Mas'r," said Tom.

"And mind yourself," said the trader, "and don't come it over your master with any o' yer nigger tricks; for I'll take every cent out of him, if you an't thar. If he'd hear to me, he wouldn't trust any on ye—slippery as eels!"

"Mas'r," said Tom,—and he stood very straight,—“I was jist eight years old when ole Missis put you into my arms, and you wasn't a year old. 'Thar,' says she, 'Tom, that's to be *your* young Mas'r; take good care on him,' says she. And now I jist ask you, Mas'r, have I ever broke word to you, or gone contrary to you, 'specially since I was a Christian?"

Mr. Shelby was fairly overcome, and the tears rose to his eyes.

"My good boy," said he, "the Lord knows you say but the truth; and if I was able to help it, all the world shouldn't buy you."

"And sure as I am a Christian woman," said Mrs. Shelby, "you shall be redeemed as soon as I can any bring together means. Sir," she said to Haley, "take good account of who you sell him to, and let me know."

"Lor, yes, for that matter," said the trader, "I may bring him up in a year, not much the wuss for wear, and trade him back."

"I'll trade with you then, and make it for your advantage," said Mrs. Shelby.

"Of course," said the trader, "all 's equal with me; li'ves trade 'em up as down, so I does a good business. All I want is a livin', you know, ma'am; that's all any of us wants, I, s'pose."

Mr. and Mrs. Shelby both felt annoyed and degraded by the familiar impudence of the trader, and yet both saw the absolute necessity of putting a constraint on their feelings. The more hopelessly sordid and insensible he appeared, the greater became Mrs. Shelby's dread of his succeeding in recapturing Eliza and her child, and of course the greater her motive for detaining him by every female artifice. She therefore graciously smiled, assented, chatted familiarly, and did all she could to make time pass imperceptibly.

At two o'clock Sam and Andy brought the horses up to the posts, apparently greatly refreshed and invigorated by the scamper of the morning.

Sam was there new oiled from dinner, with an abundance of zealous and ready officiousness. As Haley approached, he was boasting, in flourishing style, to Andy, of the evident and eminent success of the operation, now that he had "farly come to it."

"Your master, I s'pose, don't keep no dogs," said Haley, thoughtfully, as he prepared to mount.

"Heaps on 'em," said Sam, triumphantly; "thar's Bruno—he's a roarer! and, besides that, 'bout every nigger of us keeps a pup of some natur or uther."

"Poh!" said Haley,—and he said something else, too, with regard to the said dogs, at which Sam muttered,

"I don't see no use cussin' on 'em, no way."

"But your master don't keep no dogs (I pretty much know he don't) for trackin' out niggers."

Sam knew exactly what he meant, but he kept on a look of earnest and desperate simplicity.

"Our dogs all smells round considerable sharp. I spect they's the kind, though they han't never had no prac-

tice. They's *far* dogs, though, at most anything, if you'd get 'em started. Here, Bruno," he called, whistling to the lumbering Newfoundland, who came pitching tumultuously toward them.

"You go hang!" said Haley, getting up. "Come, tumble up now."

Sam tumbled up accordingly, dexterously contriving to tickle Andy as he did so, which occasioned Andy to split out into a laugh, greatly to Haley's indignation, who made a cut at him with his riding-whip.

"I 's 'stonished at yer, Andy," said Sam, with awful gravity. "This yer's a seris bisness, Andy. Yer mustn't be a makin' game. This yer an't no way to help Mas'r."

"I shall take the straight road to the river," said Haley, decidedly, after they had come to the boundaries of the estate. "I know the way of all of 'em,—they makes tracks for the underground."

"Sartin," said Sam, "dat's de idee. Mas'r Haley hits de thing right in de middle. Now, der's two roads to de river,—de dirt road and der pike,—which Mas'r mean to take?"

Andy looked up innocently at Sam, surprised at hearing this new geographical fact, but instantly confirmed what he said, by a vehement reiteration.

"Course," said Sam, "I'd rather be 'clined to 'agine that Lizy 'd take de dirt road, bein' it's the least travelled."

Haley, notwithstanding that he was a very old bird, and naturally inclined to be suspicious of chaff, was rather brought up by this view of the case.

"If yer warn't both on yer such cussed liars, now!" he said, contemptively as he pondered a moment.

The pensive, reflective tone in which this was spoken appeared to amuse Andy prodigiously, and he drew a little behind, and shook so as apparently to run a great risk of failing off his horse, while Sam's face was immovably composed into the most doleful gravity.

"Course," said Sam, "Mas'r can do as he'd ruther, go de straight road, if Mas'r thinks best,—it's all one to us. Now, when I study 'pon it, I think de straight road de best, *deridedly*."

"She would naturally go a lonesome way," said Haley, thinking aloud, and not minding Sam's remark.

"Dar an't no sayin'," said Sam; "gals is peculiar; they never does nothin' ye thinks they will; mose gen'lly the contrary. Gals is nat'lly made contrary; and so, if you thinks they've gone one road, it is sartin you'd better go t' other, and then you'll be sure to find 'em. Now, my private 'pinion is, Lizy took der road; so I think we'd better take de straight one."

This profound generic view of the female sex did not seem to dispose Haley particularly to the straight

road, and he announced decidedly that he should go the other, and asked Sam when they should come to it.

"A little piece ahead," said Sam, giving a wink to Andy with the eye which was on Andy's side of the head; and he added, gravely, "but I've studded on de matter, and I'm quite clar we ought not to go dat ar way. I nebber been over it no way. It's despit lonesome, and we might lose our way,—whar we'd come to, de Lord only knows."

"Nevertheless," said Haley, "I shall go that way."

"Now I think on 't, I think I hearn 'em tell that dat ar road was all fenced up and down by der creek, and thar, an't it, Andy?"

Andy wasn't certain; he'd only "hearn tell" about that road, but never been over it. In short, he was strictly noncommittal.

Haley, accustomed to strike the balance of probabilities between lies of greater or lesser magnitude, thought that it lay in favor of the dirt road aforesaid. The mention of the thing he thought he perceived was involuntary on Sam's part at first, and his confused attempts to dissuade him he set down to a desperate lying on second thoughts, as being unwilling to implicate Liza.

When, therefore, Sam indicated the road, Haley plunged briskly into it, followed by Sam and Andy.

Now, the road, in fact, was an old one, that had formerly been a thoroughfare to the river, but abandoned for many years after the laying of the new pike. It was open for about an hour's ride, and after that it was cut across by various farms and fences. Sam knew this fact perfectly well,—indeed, the road had been so long closed up, that Andy had never heard of it. He therefore rode along with an air of dutiful submission, only groaning and vociferating occasionally that 't was "desp't rough, and bad for Jerry's foot."

"Now, I jest give yer warning," said Haley, "I know yer; yer won't get me to turn off this road, with all yer fussin'—so you shet up!"

"Mas'r will go his own way!" said Sam, with rueful submission, at the same time winking most portentously to Andy, whose delight was now very near the explosive point.

Sam was in wonderful spirits,—professed to keep a very brisk lookout,—at one time exclaiming that he saw "a gal's bonnet" on the top of some distant eminence, or calling to Andy "if that thar wasn't 'Lizy' down in the hollow;" always making these exclamations in some rough or craggy part of the road, where the sudden quickening of speed was a special inconvenience to all parties concerned, and thus keeping Haley in a state of constant commotion.

After riding about an hour in this way, the whole party made a precipitate and tumultuous descent into a barn-yard belonging to a large farming establishment. Not a soul was in sight, all the hands being employed in the fields; but, as the barn stood conspicuously and plainly square across the road, it was evident that their journey in that direction had reached a decided finale.

“Wan’t dat ar what I telled Mas’r?” said Sam, with an air of injured innocence. “How does strange gentleman spect to know more about a country dan de natives born and raised?”

“You rascal!” said Haley, “you knew all about this.”

“Didn’t I tell yer I *knowd*, and yer wouldn’t believe me? I telled Mas’r ’t was all shet up, and fenced up, and I didn’t spect we could get through,—Andy heard me.”

It was all too true to be disputed, and the unlucky man had to pocket his wrath with the best grace he was able, and all three faced to the right about, and took up their line of march for the highway.

In consequence of all the various delays, it was about three-quarters of an hour after Eliza had laid her child to sleep in the village tavern that the party came riding into the same place. Eliza was standing by the window, looking out in another direction, when Sam’s quick eye caught a glimpse of her. Haley and Andy were two yards behind. At this crisis, Sam contrived to have his hat blown off, and uttered a loud and characteristic ejaculation, which startled her at once; she drew suddenly back; the whole train swept by the window, round to the front door.

A thousand lives seemed to be concentrated in that one moment to Eliza. Her room opened by a side door to the river. She caught her child, and sprang down the steps towards it. The trader caught a full glimpse of her just as she was disappearing down the bank; and throwing himself from his horse, and calling loudly on Sam and Andy, he was after her like a hound after a deer. In that dizzy moment her feet to her scarce seemed to touch the ground, and a moment brought her to the water’s edge. Right on behind they came; and, nerved with strength such as God gives only to the desperate, with one wild cry and flying leap, she vaulted sheer over the turbid current by the shore, on to the raft of ice beyond. It was a desperate leap—impossible to anything but madness and despair; and Haley, Sam, and Andy, instinctively cried out, and lifted up their hands, as she did it.

The huge green fragment of ice on which she alighted pitched and creaked as her weight came on it, but she staid there not a moment. With wild cries and desperate energy she leaped to another and still an-

other cake; stumbling—leaping—slipping—springing upwards again! Her shoes are gone—her stockings cut from her feet—while blood marked every step; but she saw nothing, felt nothing, till dimly, as in a dream, she saw the Ohio side, and a man helping her up the bank.

“Yer a brave gal, now, whoever ye ar!” said the man, with an oath.

Eliza recognized the voice and face for a man who owned a farm not far from her old home.

“O, Mr. Symmes!—save me—do save me—do hide me!” said Eliza.

“Why, what’s this?” said the man. “Why, if ’tan’t Shelby’s gal!”

“My child!—this boy!—he’d sold him! There is his Mas’r,” said she, pointing to the Kentucky shore. “O, Mr. Symmes, you’ve got a little boy!”

“So I have,” said the man, as he roughly, but kindly, drew her up the steep bank. “Besides, you’re a right brave gal. I like grit, wherever I see it.”

When they had gained the top of the bank, the man paused.

“I’d be glad to do something for ye,” said he; “but then there’s nowhar I could take ye. The best I can do is to tell ye to go *thar*,” said he, pointing to a large white house which stood by itself, off the main street of the village. “Go thar; they’re kind folks. Thar’s no kind o’ danger but they’ll help you,—they’re up to all that sort o’ thing.”

“The Lord bless you!” said Eliza, earnestly.

“No ’casion, no ’casion in the world,” said the man. “What I’ve done’s of no ’count.”

“And, oh, surely, sir, you won’t tell any one!”

“Go to thunder, gal! What do you take a feller for? In course not,” said the man. “Come, now, go along like a likely, sensible gal, as you are. You’ve arnt your liberty, and you shall have it, for all me.”

The woman folded her child to her bosom, and walked firmly and swiftly away. The man stood and looked after her.

“Shelby, now, mebbe won’t think this yer the most neighborly thing in the world; but what’s a feller to do? If he catches one of my gals in the same fix, he’s welcome to pay back. Somehow I never could see no kind o’ critter a strivin’ and pantin’, and trying to clar theirselves, with the dogs arter ’em and go agin ’em. Besides, I don’t see no kind of ’casion for me to be hunter and catcher for other folks, neither.”

So spoke this poor, heathenish Kentuckian, who had not been instructed in his constitutional relations, and consequently was betrayed into acting in a sort of Christianized manner, which, if he had been better situated and more enlightened, he would not have been left to do.

Haley had stood a perfectly amazed spectator of the scene, till Eliza had disappeared up the bank, when he turned a blank, inquiring look on Sam and Andy.

"That ar was a tolable fair stroke of business," said Sam.

"The gal 's got seven devils in her, I believe!" said Haley. "How like a wildcat she jumped!"

"Wal, now," said Sam, scratching his head, "I hope Mas'r'll 'scuse us trying dat ar road. Don't think I feel spry enough for dat ar, no way!" and Sam gave a hoarse chuckle.

"*You* laugh!" said the trader, with a growl.

"Lord bless you, Mas'r, I couldn't help it now," said Sam, giving way to the long pent-up delight of his soul. "She looked so curi's, a leapin' and springin'—ice a crackin'—and only to hear her,—plump! ker chunk! ker splash! Spring! Lord! how she goes it!" and Sam and Andy laughed till the tears rolled down their cheeks.

"I'll make ye laugh t' other side yer mouths!" said the trader, laying about their heads with his riding-whip.

Both ducked, and ran shouting up the bank, and were on their horses before he was up.

"Good-evening, Mas'r!" said Sam, with much gravity. "I berry much spect Missis be anxious 'bout Jerry. Mas'r Haley won't want us no longer. Missis wouldn't hear of our ridin' the critters over Lizy's bridge tonight;" and, with a facetious poke into Andy's ribs, he started off, followed by the latter, at full speed,—their shouts of laughter coming faintly on the wind.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. 1852. *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*. Cleveland, OH: Jewett, Proctor and Worthington.

ABOLITIONIST CRITICISM OF *UNCLE TOM'S CABIN* (1852)

The appalling liabilities which constantly impend over such slaves as have "kind and indulgent masters" are thrillingly illustrated in various personal narratives; especially in that of "Uncle Tom," over whose fate every reader will drop the scalding tear, and for whose character the highest reverence will be felt. No insult, no outrage, no suffering could ruffle the Christ-like meekness of his spirit, and shake the steadfastness of his faith. Towards his merciless oppressors, he cherished no animosity, and breathed nothing of retaliation. Like his Lord and Master, he was willing to be "led as a lamb to the slaughter," returning blessing for cursing, and anxious only for the salvation of his enemies. His character is sketched with great power and

rare religious perception. It triumphantly exemplifies the nature, tendency and results of CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE. We are curious to know whether Mrs. Stowe is a believer in the duty of non-resistance for the white man, under all possible outrage and peril, as well as for the black man; whether she is for self-defense on her own part, or that of her husband or friends or country, in case of malignant assault, or whether she impartially disarms all mankind in the name of Christ, be the danger or suffering what it may. We are curious to know this, because our opinion of her, as a religious teacher, would be greatly strengthened or lessened, as the inquiry might terminate. That all the slaves at the South ought, "if smitten on the one cheek, to turn the other also"—to repudiate all carnal weapons, shed no blood, "be obedient to their masters," wait for a peaceful deliverance, and abstain for all insurrectionary movements—is every where taken for granted, because the VICTIMS ARE BLACK. They cannot be animated by a Christian spirit, and yet return blow for blow, or conspire for the destruction of their oppressors. They are required by the Bible to put away all wrath, to submit to every conceivable outrage without resistance, to suffer with Christ if they would reign with him. None of their advocates may seek to inspire them to imitate the example of the Greeks, the Poles, the Hungarians, our Revolutionary sires; for such teaching would evince a most unchristian and blood-thirsty disposition. For them there is no hope of heaven, unless they give the most liberal interpretations to the non-resisting injunctions contained in the Sermon on the Mount, touching the treatment of enemies. It is for them, though despoiled of all their rights and deprived of all protection, to "threaten not, but to commit the keeping of their souls to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator." Nothing can be plainer than that such conduct is obligatory upon them; and when, through the operations of divine grace, they are enabled to manifest a spirit like this, it is acknowledged to be worthy of great commendation, as in the case of "Uncle Tom." But, for those whose skin is of a different complexion, the case is materially altered. When they are spit upon and buffeted, outraged and oppressed, talk not then of a non-resisting Saviour—it is fanaticism! Talk not of overcoming evil with good—it is madness! Talk not of peacefully submitting to chains and stripes—it is base servility! Talk not of servants being obedient to their masters—let the blood of tyrants flow! How is this to be explained or reconciled? Is there one law of submission and non-resistance for the black man, and another law of rebellion and conflict for the white man? When it is the whites who are trodden in the dust,

does Christ justify them in taking up arms to vindicate their rights? And when it is the blacks who are thus treated, does Christ require them to be patient, harmless, long-suffering, and forgiving? And are there two Christs?

The Liberator, March 26, 1852.

FREE SOIL PARTY PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES (1852)

Having assembled in National Convention as the delegates of the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain rights against wrongs, and freedom against slavery—confiding in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people—putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavours to advance it—we now submit, for the candid judgment of all men, the following declaration of principles and measures:—

First.—That Governments, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

Second.—That the true mission of Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discrimination, of the fundamental principles of equal rights, strict justice, and economical administration.

Third.—That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

Fourth.—That the early history of the Government clearly shows the settled policy to have been, not to extend, nationalise, and encourage, but to limit, localise, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought forthwith to return.

Fifth.—That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government any power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and therefore the Government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibilities for the extension of slavery, wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extension.

Sixth.—That to the preserving and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave territories, and the nationalisation of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—No more slave states, no slave territories, no nationalised slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

Seventh.—That the Act of Congress, known as the Compromise measures of 1850—by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures, demanded by the special interest of slavery—by their omission to guarantee freedom in free territories—by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations of the power of Congress and the people to admit new States—by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more and the cession of a large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim—and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people, through the enactments of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, are proved to be incompatible with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

Eighth.—That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national—by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom—and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

[The next five resolutions have reference to the general politics of the country; we, therefore, pass them over,

and proceed to others having reference to the anti-slavery cause.]

Fourteenth.—That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, the enormity of which no law nor usage can sanction or mitigate, and that Christianity and humanity alike demand its abolition.

Fifteenth.—That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilised world—we therefore deny its binding force upon the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

Sixteenth.—That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of our people.

Seventeenth.—That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognised by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favoured nations.

Eighteenth.—That it is the imperative duty of the General Government to protect all persons, of whatever colour, visiting any of the United States, from unjust and illegal imprisonment, or any other infringement of their rights.

Nineteenth.—That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration.

Twentieth.—That the Free Democratic party is not organised to aid either the Whig or the Democratic section of the great slave Compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that, repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt, and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government, and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

Twenty-first.—That we inscribe on our banner, Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labour, and Free Men, and under it will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter (New Series), 7:81 (September 1, 1852).

SLAVE KINSHIP NETWORKS (1852)

“Genealogy”

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead”. I was born in Charleston, South Carolina in the year 1852. The place of my birth and the conditions under which I was born are matters over which, of course, I had no control. If I had, I should have altered the conditions, but I should not have changed the place; for it is a grand old city, and I have always felt proud of my citizenship. My father and my grandfather were born there, and there they died—my grandfather at the age of seventy-two, my father at seventy-six. My great grandfather came, or rather was brought, from Africa. It is said he bore the distinguishing marks of royalty on his person and was a fine looking man—fine looking for a Negro I believe is the usual qualification—at least that is what an old lady once told my own father who had inherited the good looks of his grandsire.

I do not know the name my great grandfather bore in Africa, but when he arrived in this country he was given the name, Clement, and when he found he needed a surname—something he was not accustomed to in his native land—he borrowed that of the man who bought him. It is a very good name, and as we have held the same for more than a hundred and fifty years, without change or alteration, I think, therefore, we are legally entitled to it. His descendants up to the close of the Civil War, seemed with rare good fortune under the Providence of God, to have escaped many of the more cruel hardships incident to American slavery.

I may be permitted to add that on the arrival of my progenitor in this country he was not allowed to enter into negotiation with the Indians, and thereby acquire a large tract of land. Instead, an axe was placed in his hands and he therefore became in some sort, a pioneer of American civilization.

My father and my mother were both under the “yoke,” but were held by different families. They made their home with my father’s people who were, of all slave holders, the very best; and it was here that I spent the first years of my life.

My mother went to her work early each morning, and came home after the day’s work was done. My brother, older than I, accompanied her, but I being too young to be of practical service, was left to the care of my grandmother—and what a dear old christian she was! At this time her advanced age and past faithful

service, rendered her required duties light, so that she had ample time to care for me. Her patient endeavor to impress upon my youthful mind the simple principles of a christian life shall never be forgotten, and I trust her efforts have not been altogether in vain. She was born in the hands of the family where she passed her entire life; and it would be a revelation to many of the present day to know to what extent her counsel and advice was sought and heeded by the household—white and black.

Our household was large; beside the owners, three maiden ladies (sisters) there were a dozen servants, some like my father, worked out and paid wages, but all:

*Claimed kindred here
And had their claims allowed.*

For there never was a better ordered establishment, nor were there ever better examples of christian womanhood than that of the three ladies who presided over it; and it is especially worthy of note that all the servants who were old enough, could read, and some of them had mastered the three “R’s,” having been taught by these ladies or their predecessors. Before the beginning of the Civil War these kind ladies liberated all their slaves, and it is no reflection on the Negro that many of the liberated ones refused to leave them. There were many considerations that prompted them to decline their proffered freedom; in some cases husband and wife were not fellow-servants, and one was unwilling to leave the other. All those who accepted their liberty were sent to Liberia. I know of one who returned after the war to visit relatives and friends. He had been quite successful in his new home, and he gave good account of those who had left Charleston with him. Some had died, others were doing well. He found one of the good ladies still living and had the great pleasure of relating his story to her. When, after a brief stay in the city, he took his departure, he carried with him many tokens of remembrance from their kind benefactress for himself and those at home.

Aleckson, Sam. 1929. *Before the War, and After the Union. An Autobiography*. Boston: Gold Mind Publishing Co.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE WRITES TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON (1853)

Cabin, Dec. 19

Mr. Garrison. Dear Sir:. After seeing you, I enjoyed the pleasure of a personal interview with Mr.

Douglass and I feel bound in justice to say that the impression was far more satisfactory than I had anticipated.

There does not appear to be any deep underlying stratum of bitterness—he did not seem to me malignant or revengeful. I think that it was only a temporary excitement and one which he will outgrow.

I was much gratified with the growth and development both of his mind and heart. I am satisfied that his change of sentiments was not a mere political one but a genuine growth of his own conviction. A vigorous reflective mind like his cast among those holding new sentiments is naturally led to modified views.

At all events, he holds no opinion which he cannot defend, with a variety and richness of thought and expression and an aptness of illustration which show it to be a growth from the soil of this own mind with a living root and not a twig broken off other men’s thoughts and stuck down to subserve a temporary purpose.

His plans for the elevation of his own race, are manly, sensible, comprehensive, he has evidently observed carefully and thought deeply and will I trust act efficiently.

You speak of him as an apostate—I cannot but regard this language as unjustly severe—Why is he any more to be called an apostate for having spoken ill tempered things of former friends than they for having spoken severely and cruelly as they have of him?—Where is this work of excommunication to end—Is there but one true anti-slavery church and all others infidels?—Who shall declare which it is.

I feel bound to remonstrate with this—for the same reason that I do with slavery—because I think it, an injustice. I must say still further, that if the first allusion to his family concerns was unfortunate this last one is more unjustifiable still—I am utterly surprised at it—as a friend to you, and to him I view it with the deepest concern and regret.

What Douglass is really, time will show—I trust that he will make no further additions to the already unfortunate controversial literature of the cause. Silence in this case will be eminently—golden.

I must indulge the hope you will reason at some future time to alter your opinion and that what you now cast aside as worthless shall yet appear to be a treasure.

There is abundant room in the antislavery field for him to perform a work without crossing the track or impeding the movement of his old friends and perhaps in some future time meeting each other from opposite quarters of a victorious field you may yet shake hands together.

I write this letter because in the conversation I had

with you, and also with Miss Weston I admitted so much that was unfavorable to Mr. Douglass that I felt bound in justice to state the more favorable views which had arisen to my mind.

Very sincerely your friend,
H. B. Stowe

Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Francis Jackson Garrison. 1885–1889. *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879; The Story of His Life Told by His Children*, vol. 3. New York: The Century Co.

THE ROLE OF THE OVERSEER (1853)

Chapter XV: Of the Delegated Power of Overseers.

All the Power of the owner over his Slave is held and exercised also by Overseers and Agents. We have, thus far, considered chiefly the power of the slave owner. It has been seen, likewise, that essentially the same power is lodged in the *hirer* of a slave. Incidentally, the power of *overseers and agents* has been alluded to. But we must now take a more distinct view of this feature of slavery. It has been expressed thus:

“All the power of the master over the slave may be exercised, not by himself only, in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.” (Stroud’s Sketch, p. 44.)

Considering the judicial authority vested in the slave owner, whoever he may be, (drunk or sober,) and the duty of the “sheriffs” and public negro whippers to execute his decisions, (as already noticed,) this *additional* power of delegating his magisterial dignity and authority to whomsoever (drunk or sober) he may think proper, becomes a very remarkable one. Irresponsible himself, and absolute, he commits the same authority over the slave to a subordinate despot, responsible solely to himself.

LOUISIANA, by express statute, enacts as follows “The *condition of a slave* BEING MERELY A PASSIVE ONE, his subordination to his master, AND ALL WHO REPRESENT HIM, *is not susceptible of any modification or restriction*, (except in what can excite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner that he owes to his master and to *all his family* a respect WITHOUT BOUNDS and an ABSOLUTE OBEDIENCE, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him or from them.” (1 Martin’s Digest, 616.)

Thus does “the innocent legal relation” of slave ownership confer on every slave owner a power which no magistrate or government holds over *him*, or over any subject or citizen; and, not content with this, it clothes him with the prerogative of transferring this

authority, not only *by the sale* of the slave, but by verbal commission while he yet owns him. His wife, his housekeeper, his overseer, and even his young children share his unlimited power and authority over the slave, though at the age of threescore! Instead of controlling his own children, the slave is controlled by the children of his master, and by hired overseers.

The *exception*, in the statute just cited, informs us that when the slave is “incited to crime” by the commands of his tyrant, whom he may not resist, he may nevertheless be held responsible for the crime! In its practical bearings, the law can effect nothing else, unless it be the martyrdom of the slave. Whatever crime he may be commanded to commit, he can lodge no information against his master, he can bear no testimony against him. If he persists in refusing to assist in the commission of the crime, his master may lawfully “chastise” him with the “moderate correction” that may cause his death, and then, if he “offers” resistance, he may be lawfully killed!

Louisiana is said to be the only State with an express statute on the topic of the master’s delegated authority, but the usage, recognized by the Courts as law, universally exists. “In the other slave States,” says Stroud, (p. 44,) the subjoined extract from Mr. Stephen’s delineation of Slavery in the West Indies will, it is believed, accurately express the law and the practice:

“The slave is liable to be coerced or punished by the whip, *and to be tormented by every species of personal ill-treatment*, subject only to the exceptions already mentioned, (i.e., the deprivation of life and limb,) *by the attorney, manager, overseer, driver, and every other person to whose government and control* the owner may choose to subject him, as fully as by the owner himself. Nor is any special mandate or express general power necessary for this purpose; *it is enough that the infictor of the violence is set over the slave for the moment, or by the owner or by any of his delegates or sub-delegates, of whatever rank or character.*” (Stephen’s Slavery, p. 46.) This power of deputation by the master is one of the degrading and distinguishing features of *negro* slavery. It was not permitted by the laws of villeinage.” (Stroud, p. 45. See 9 Coke’s Reports, 76 A, &c. See Stephen, supra.)

The following description of “*overseers*” is from William Wirt’s *Life of Patrick Henry*: “Last and lowest, (i.e., of the different classes of society in Virginia,) a *feculum* of beings called *overseers*; the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race, always cap in hand to the Dons who employed them, and furnishing materials for the exercise of their pride, insolence, and spirit of domination.”

The great majority of slaves, male and female, labor

on plantations, under the charge of these “overseers.” The “house servants,” as already seen by the statute of Louisiana, are under absolute subjection to every member of the family. Slaves hired out, waiters at hotels, &c., are, in this particular, in no better condition. Almost every where, they are controlled by others, in addition to the direct control of their owners.

Goodell, William. 1853. *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice: Its Distinctive Features Shown by Its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts*. New York: American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE AS A HEROIC FIGURE (1855)

Liberty; Or Jim Bow-Legs.

In 1855 a trader arrived with the above name, who, on examination, was found to possess very extraordinary characteristics. As a hero and adventurer, some passages of his history were most remarkable. His schooling had been such as could only be gathered on plantations under brutal overseers, or while fleeing, or in swamps, in prisons, or on the auction-block, in which conditions he was often found. Nevertheless, in these circumstances, his mind got well-stored with vigorous thoughts, neither books nor friendly advisers being at his command, yet his native intelligence, as it regarded human nature, was extraordinary. His resolution and perseverance never faltered. In all respects he was a remarkable man. He was a young man, weighing about 180 pounds, of uncommon muscular strength. He was born in the State of Georgia, Oglethorpe county, and was owned by Dr. Thomas Stephens, of Lexington. On reaching the vigilance committee in Philadelphia, his story was told, many times over, to one and another. Taking all of the facts into consideration respecting the courageous career of this successful adventurer for freedom, his case is by far more interesting than any that I have yet referred to. Indeed, for the good of the cause, and the honor of one who gained his liberty by periling his life so frequently, being shot several times, making six unsuccessful attempts to escape from the South, numberless times chased by bloodhounds, captured, sold and imprisoned repeatedly, living for months in the woods, swamps and caves, subsisting mainly on parched corn and berries. His narrative ought, by all means, to be published, though I doubt very much whether many could be found who could persuade themselves to believe one-tenth part of this story.

His master, finding him not available on account of

his absconding propensities, would gladly have offered him for sale. He was once taken to Florida for that purpose, but, generally, traders being wide awake, on inspecting him, would almost invariably pronounce him a damn rascal, because he would never fail to eye them sternly as they inspected him. The obedient and submissive slave is always recognized by hanging his head, and looking on the ground when looked at by a slaveholder. This lesson Jim Hall never learned. Hence he was not trusted. His head and chest, and, indeed, his entire structure, as solid as a rock, indicated that physically he was no ordinary man, and not being under the influence of non-resistance, he had occasionally been found to be rather a formidable customer. His father was a full-blooded Indian, brother to the noted Chief Billy Bow-Legs. His mother was quite black, and of unmixed blood. For five or six years, the greater part of Jim's time was occupied in trying to escape, and being in prison for sale, to punish him for running away.

His mechanical genius was excellent, so was his geographical abilities. He could make shoes, or do carpenter work handily, though he had never had the chance to learn. As to traveling by night or day, he was always road-ready, and having an uncommon memory, could give exceedingly good accounts of what he saw. When he entered a swamp, and had occasion to take a nap, he took care, first, to decide upon the posture he must take, so that if come upon unexpectedly by the hounds and slave-hunters, he might know, in an instant, which way to steer to defeat them. He always carried a liquid, which he had prepared, to prevent hounds from scenting him, which he said had never failed him. As soon as the hounds came to the spot where he had rubbed his legs and feet with said liquid, they could follow him no further, but howled and turned immediately. A large number of friends of the slave saw this man, and would sit long, and listen with the most undivided attention to his narrative, none doubting for a moment its entire truthfulness. Strange as his story was, there was so much natural simplicity in his manners and countenance, one could not refrain from believing him.

Williams, James. 1893. *Life and Adventures of James Williams, a Fugitive Slave, with a Full Description of the Underground Railroad*. Philadelphia: Sickler.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE (C. 1855)

When the day came for them to leave, some, who seemed to have been willing to go at first, refused, and

were handcuffed together and guarded on their way to the cars by white men. The women and children were driven to the depot in crowds, like so many cattle, and the sight of them caused great excitement among master's negroes. Imagine a mass of uneducated people shedding tears and yelling at the tops of their voices in anguish and grief.

The victims were to take the cars from a station called Clarkson turnout, which was about four miles from master's place. The excitement was so great that the overseer and driver could not control the relatives and friends of those that were going away, as a large crowd of both old and young went down to the depot to see them off. Louisiana was considered by the slaves as a place of slaughter, so those who were going did not expect to see their friends again. While passing along, many of the negroes left their masters' fields and joined us as we marched to the cars; some were yelling and wringing their hands, while others were singing little hymns that they were accustomed to for the consolation of those that were going away, such as

*"When we all meet in heaven,
There is no parting there;
When we all meet in heaven,
There is parting no more."*

We arrived at the depot and had to wait for the cars to bring the others from the Sumterville Jail, but they soon came in sight, and when the noise of the cars died away we heard wailing and shrieks from those in the cars. While some were weeping, others were fiddling, picking banjo, and dancing as they used to do in their cabins on the plantations. Those who were so merry had very bad masters, and even though they stood a chance of being sold to one as bad or even worse, yet they were glad to be rid of the one they knew.

While the cars were at the depot, a large crowd of white people gathered, and were laughing and talking about the prospect of negro traffic; but when the cars began to start and the conductor cried out, "all who are going on this train must get on board without delay," the colored people cried out with one voice as though the heavens and earth were coming together, and it was so pitiful, that those hard hearted white men who had been accustomed to driving slaves all their lives, shed tears like children. As the cars moved away we heard the weeping and wailing from the slaves as far as human voice could be heard; and from that time to the present I have neither seen nor heard from my two sisters, nor any of those who left Clarkson depot on that memorable day.

Stroyer, Jacob. 1890. *My Life in the South*. Salem: Salem Observer Book and Job Print.

SLAVE RESISTANCE: THE CASE OF MARGARET GARNER (1856)

The Cincinnati Slaves—Another Thrilling Scene in the Tragedy.

Gov. Chase, of Ohio, made a requisition upon Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, for the slave woman Peggy, charged with the murder of her child at Cincinnati. It was understood that Peggy was held subject to this demand; but on Friday, the 7th, she was sent to Louisville, and shipped on board the *Henry Lewis*, which left that port on the evening of that day for the South. The Cincinnati *Commercial* gives an account of the whole affair, which we abridge somewhat.

On Thursday, Joe Cooper, of Springfield, left for Frankfort, with the requisition. It is supposed that his errand leaked out, for when he reached Frankfort, Gaines with the negroes was on his way to Louisville. Gov. Morehead granted the necessary documents, and when Cooper returned from his fruitless search, he expressed himself warmly indignant at the conduct of Gaines, saying that that individual had trifled with him and deceived him, and had insulted the dignity of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

"On the train of cars for Frankfort, which conveyed Cooper, were four slaves of Gaines, being sent South. They had attempted to escape after the flight of Margaret and the others, but had been overtaken on the Kentucky side. One of them was a very likely and rather pretty mulatto girl, which our informant said Cooper had a great notion to buy, to save her from the Southern excursion to which she was destined. These negroes were in charge of Marshal Butts, of Covington, who did not permit them to tarry at Frankfort, but put them on the first train for Louisville, and with them Margaret. So that, it appears, Cooper arrived in Frankfort before Margaret was taken away. After Cooper's interview with the Governor, he took the first train for Louisville, and reached that town two hours after the *Henry Lewis* had started. He then returned to Cincinnati."

Now comes the most interesting part of the story. The *Henry Lewis*, on her passage down the river, came in collision with another steamer and was much damaged, and several lives were lost. The *Commercial* gives the narrative of events as follows:—

"When the accident occurred to the *Henry Lewis*, the negroes were in the nursery, (as a place between

the cabin and steerage in the stern of the boat is called,) ironed by couples. After the disaster, they were heard calling for help and to be relieved of their handcuffs. Some one happened to be on hand to save them. Margaret had her child—the infant that she hit on the head with the shovel when arrested here—in her arms; but by the shock of the boat that came to the assistance of the *Lewis*, (as one story goes,) she was thrown into the river with her child and a white woman, who was one of the steerage passengers, and who was standing by her at the moment. This woman and the child were drowned, but a black man, the cook on the *Lewis*, sprang into the river, and saved Margaret, who, it is said, displayed frantic joy when told that her child was drowned, and said she would never reach alive Gaines' Landing, in Arkansas, the point to which she was shipped—thus indicating her intention to drown herself.

“Another report is, that, as soon as she had an opportunity, she threw her child into the river, and jumped after it. Still another story has it, that she tried to jump upon the boat alongside, but fell short. It is only certain that she was in the river with her child, and that it was drowned, while she was saved by the prompt energy of the cook. We are told by one of the officers of the boat, that Peggy was the only female among the slaves. It is probable, therefore, that the story about the good-looking mulatto girl, who was being sent South, and attracted attention and sympathy, is a romance. The last that was seen of Peggy, she was on the *Hungarian*, crouching like a wild animal near the stove, with a blanket wrapped around her. Our readers will, we presume, be struck with the dramatic features of the Fugitive Slave Case, and that it progresses like a plot wrought by some master of tragedy.

“First, there were the flight and the crossing of the frozen river in the twilight of morning, the place of fancied security, the surprise by the officers, the fight with them, the murder of the child, the arrest, the scenes about the court-room and in the jail, the long suspense, the return to Kentucky, the removal to Frankfort, the separation there, the approach of the messenger with the requisition for Peggy, her removal to Louisville, the pursuit of the messenger, the boat on which she was to have been taken South leaving two hours ahead of Cooper, with the writ from Gov. Morehead—then the speedy catastrophe to the steamer, the drowning of the babe of the heroine, and her own rescue, as if yet saved for some more fearful and startling act of the tragedy; and, lastly, the curtain falls leaving her wet and dismal, on a boat bound South, perfectly careless as to her own fate only determined never to set

foot on the soil of Arkansas. There is something fearfully tragic about this, which must occur to every mind, and we shall look with much interest for information on the catastrophe which will complete the dramatic unity of the affair.

“And here an incident, related to us as occurring during the awful moments when the *Henry Lewis* was sinking and breaking, suggests itself to us. It is not wholly authentic, but its worth telling, anyhow. Marshal Butts, of Covington, who had charge of the negroes, is said to have been inflated somewhat with the importance of his position, and talked of his charge as his niggers, and displayed an immense amount of cutlery and fire-arms, with which he expressed himself resolved to slaughter whole armies of Abolitionists; and it happened that he exchanged some sharp words with a gentleman on the steamer about the Fugitive Slave case, &c. When the accident occurred, he was in his room, and one of the tables rolling against his door, he could not get out, and yelled tremendously for assistance. Some persons heard him, and went to work cutting a hole through the roof to let him out. The most active of those so engaged was the man with whom he had had the quarrel.

“When a hole was made large enough to let the rescuer and the prisoner communicate with each other, but not sufficient to crawl through, the man with the axe learned for the first time whom he was laboring to save, and called out “Hallo, Butts, is that you? D—n you, if I'd known that, you might have drowned. And [after a moment's reflection] you shall any how, if you won't give your word to let those niggers go.” There was no time to be lost, and Butts, fearing that he might be left to perish said—“To tell the truth now, I don't own the niggers; if I did, I'd let 'em go. I'm only the agent.” “Well,” said the man holding the axe of deliverance or death, “take the irons off them, any how.” That Butts agreed to do, and the opening being enlarged, he crawled out and began to inquire with some anxiety, “Where's them d—n niggers?” and was much gratified when he found that only the baby was lost.

The Liberator, March 21, 1856.

“BEECHER'S BIBLES” ARE SENT TO KANSAS (1856)

Sharp's Rifles and the Bible.

The Rev. H.W. Beecher to the New Haven Colony for Kansas. C.B. Lines, New Haven, Ct:

DEAR SIR—Allow me to address you, and through you the gentlemen of your Company, on the

eve of your departure for Kansas. I hope and believe that you will find a settlement there to be a means of great personal prosperity. You are not, like the early settlers of New Haven, going upon a doubtful enterprise, to a poor soil, in a severe climate, the ocean on one side, and the wilderness of a continent on every side. You will not go far from us. In our day, we measure by time, rather than distance: by hours, not miles. You will not be as far from your old homes as one Sabbath is from another. And yet you go upon an errand not one *whit* less Christian and less heroic than that of our common ancestors, who founded New Haven. You are pioneers of towns and cities; you are the seeds of Christianity—the germs of civilization. You will put down your feet in a wilderness: in a year it will be a populous place. And where the morning sun now rises on herds of wild buffalo, couched deep in wild grass, in your own life time it will bring forth the cry of multitudes and the noise of a city. Nevertheless, such perils have been coiled about the young State of Kansas that it is an act of courage to settle there, if a man goes with the true spirit of American institutions. To go there determined to transplant to its soil that tree of liberty which, under God, has in older States borne and shook down from its boughs all the fruits of an unparalleled prosperity, requires heroic courage. It is a pleasure and an honor to us to be in any way connected with such an enterprise, by furnishing to the emigrant material or moral aid. I have personally felt a double interest in your company, because it springs from New Haven, my father's birth-place and home of my ancestors. A friend and parishioner [A. Studwell] desires me to present to you twenty-five copies of the Bible. This is the charter of all charters, the constitution of all constitutions, the source and spring of Christian manliness. This book will be at the foundation of your State. It will teach you to value your rights, and inspire you to defend them. The donor has caused to be inscribed upon them: "Be ye steadfast and unmovable."

It is a shame that, in America, amidst our free institutions, anything else should be needed but *moral* instrumentalities. But you do need more. You will be surrounded by men who have already committed the wickedest wrongs, and the most atrocious crimes. They will scruple at nothing by which slavery can be fastened upon the young State. To send forth companies of men with their families amid those who have been bred to regard helplessness as a lawful prey to strength, would be a piece of unjustifiable cruelty. I send to you, therefore, as I promised, the arms required for twenty-five men. I have not the least fear that a hundred men, bred under New England influences, will be too eager or too warlike. You have been

taught to create wealth, and not to rob it: to rely upon intelligence and rectitude for defence; and you will not be in danger of erring on the side of violence. But you are sent for the defence of great rights. You have no liberty to betray them by cowardice. There are times when self-defence is a religious duty. If that duty was ever imperative, it is now, and in Kansas. I do not say that you have barely the right to defend yourselves and your liberties; I say that it is a duty from which you cannot shrink, without leaving your honor, your manhood, your Christian fidelity behind you. But this invincible courage will be a shield to you. You will not need to use arms when it is known that you have them, and are determined to employ them in extremities. It is the very essence of that spirit which slavery breeds to be arrogant toward the weak, and cowardly before the strong. If you are willing to lose your lives, you will save them. If, on the other hand, you are found helpless, the miscreants of slavery would sweep you from Kansas like grass from the prairies before autumnal fires. If you are known to be fearless men, prepared for emergencies, Slavery, like the lion, will come up, and gazing into the eyes of courageous men, will stop, cower, and creep away into ambush. I trust that the perils which, a few months ago, hung like a cloud over that fair State, are lifting and passing away. May you find an unobstructed peace. *Then*, let these muskets hang over your doors, as the old revolutionary muskets do in many a New England dwelling. May your children in another generation look upon them with pride and say, "Our fathers' courage saved this fair region from blood and slavery." We will not forget you. Every morning's breeze shall catch the blessings of our prayers, and roll them westward to your prairie homes. May your sons be large-hearted as the heavens above their heads; may your daughters fill the land as the flowers do the prairies, only sweeter and fairer than they.

I am, in the bonds of the gospel, and in
the firm faith of Liberty, truly yours,

H.W. BEECHER.

Brooklyn, Friday, March 28, 1856.

The Liberator, April 11, 1856.

EDITORIAL RESPONSES TO THE BROOKS-SUMNER AFFAIR (1856)

New York Tribune (May 23, 1856)

By the news from Washington it will be seen that Senator Sumner has been savagely and brutally assaulted, while sitting in his seat in the Senate chamber, by the

Hon. Mr. Brooks of South Carolina, the reason assigned therefore being that the Senator's remarks on Mr. Butler of South Carolina, who is uncle to the man who made the attack. The particulars show that Mr. Sumner was struck unawares over the head by a loaded cane and stunned, and then the ruffianly attack was continued with many blows, the Hon. Mr. Keitt of South Carolina keeping any of those around, who might be so disposed, from attempting a rescue. No meaner exhibition of Southern cowardice—generally miscalled Southern chivalry—was ever witnessed. It is not in the least a cause for wonder that a member of the national House of Representatives, assisted by another as a fender-off, should attack a member of the national Senate, because, in the course of a constitutional argument, the last had uttered words which the first chose to consider distasteful. The reasons for the absence of collision between North and South—collision of sentiment and person—which existed a few years back, have ceased; and as the South has taken the oligarchic ground that Slavery ought to exist, irrespective of color—that there must be a governing class and a class governed—that Democracy is a delusion and a lie—we must expect that Northern men in Washington, whether members or not, will be assaulted, wounded or killed, as the case may be, so long as the North will bear it. The acts of violence during this session—including one murder—are simply overtures to the drama of which the persecutions, murders, robberies and war upon the Free-State men in Kansas, constitute the first act. We are either to have Liberty or Slavery. Failing to silence the North by threats, notwithstanding the doughfaced creatures who so long misrepresented the spirit of the Republic and of the age, the South now resorts to actual violence. It is reduced to a question whether there is to be any more liberty of speech south of Mason and Dixon's line, even in the ten miles square of the District of Columbia. South of that, liberty has long since departed; but whether the common ground where the national representatives meet is to be turned into a slave plantation where Northern members act under the lash, the bowie-knife and the pistol, is a question to be settled. That Congress will take any action in view of this new event, we shall not be rash enough to surmise; but if the Northern people are not generally the poltroons they are taken for by the hostile slavebreeders and slavedrivers of the South, they will be heard from. As a beginning, they should express their sentiments upon this brutal and dastardly outrage in their popular assemblies. The Pulpit should not be silent.

If, indeed, we go on quietly to submit to such outrages, we deserve to have our names flattened, our

skins blacked, and to be placed at work under taskmasters; for we have lost the noblest attributes of freemen, and are virtually slaves.

Boston, Massachusetts, Atlas (May 24, 1856)

The outrage in the Senate, on Thursday last is without a parallel in the legislative history of the country. Nothing has heretofore seemed so bold, so bad, so alarming. There have been affrays, more or less serious, in the House, for the House is a popular, and therefore, a tumultuous body; there have been rencounters in the streets, for the streets are arenas in which any assassin may display his prowess; but never before has the sanctity of the Senate Chamber been violated; never before has an intruder ventured to carry into those privileged precincts his private hostilities; never before has a Senator been struck down in his seat, and stretched, by the hand of a lawless bully, prostrate, bleeding, and insensible upon the floor. The wrong is full of public importance; and we almost forget the private injury of Mr. Sumner in the broad temerity of the insult which has been offered to the country, to Massachusetts, to the Senate. This first act of violence may pass into a precedent; what a single creature has done today, a hundred, equally barbarous, may attempt tomorrow; until a band of alien censors may crowd the galleries, and the lobbies, and even the floor of the Senate, and by the persuasive arguments of the bludgeon, the bowie knife, and the revolver, effectually refute and silence any member who may dare to utter, with some thing of force and freedom, his personal convictions. The privileges which we have fondly supposed were conferred with the Senatorial dignity; the right to characterize public measures and public men, with no responsibility, save to God and to conscience; the freedom of debate, without which its forms are a mere mockery—these will all disappear; and in their place we shall have the government of a self-constituted and revolutionary tribunal, overawing the Senate, as the Jacobins of Paris overawed the National Assembly of France, as the soldiers of Cromwell intimidated the Parliament of Great Britain. Shall we have, did we say? We have it already. There is freedom of speech in Washington, but it is only for the champions of slavery. There is freedom of the press, but only of the press which extenuates or defends political wrongs. Twice already the South, failed in the arguments of reason, has resorted to the argument of folly. Driven from every position, constantly refuted in its reasoning, met and repulsed when it has resorted to invective, by an invective more vigorous than its own, at

first astonished and then crazed by the changing and bolder tone of Northern man, the South has taken to expedients with which long use has made it familiar, and in which years of daily practice have given it a nefarious skill. Thank God, we know little of these resources in New England! We have our differences, but they are differences controlled by decency. We have our controversies, but we do not permit their warmth to betray us into brutality; we do not think it necessary to shoot, to slash, or to stun the man with whom we may differ upon political points. The controversial ethics of the South are of another character, and they find their most repulsive illustration in the event of Thursday.

The barbarian who assaulted Mr. Sumner, and who sought in the head of his bludgeon for an argument which he could not find in his own, complained that South Carolina have been insulted by the Senator from Massachusetts, and that his venerable uncle had been spoken of in disrespectful terms! If every State, the public policy of which is assailed in the Senate, had been entitled to send to Washington a physical champion, we should long ago have despatched thither our brauniest athlete. If every nephew, whose uncle provokes criticism by public acts, is to rush into the Senate, the champion of his kinsman, we shall have a nepotism established quite unauthorized by the Constitution! The South complains of hard words, of plain speech, of licentious language! Have its members then been accustomed to bridle their tongues, to control their tempers, to moderate their ire, to abstain from personalities? What indeed have we had from that quarter, save one long stream of vituperation, one endless rain of fish-wife rhetoric, one continuous blast of feverish denunciation and passionate threat? Let the world judge between us. We have borne and forborne. We have been patient until patience has become ignominious. There are wrongs which no man of spirit will suffer tamely; there are topics which it is impossible to discuss with coldness; there are injuries which must lend fire to language, and arouse the temper of the most stolid. Mr. Sumner's speech is before the country and it is for the country to decide whether it does or does not justify the violence with which it has been met. Our Senator comments freely upon the character of the Kansas bill, upon the apologies which have been made for it, in Congress, upon the readiness of the Administration to promote the schemes of its supporters, upon the unparalleled injuries which have been inflicted upon the unfortunate people of Kansas. Others have spoken upon the same topics with equal plainness, although not perhaps with equal ability. Mr. Sumner is singularly well sustained in all his positions,

in his opinions of the bill, and in his estimate of Douglas and Butler, by the mind and heart, not only of his constituents, but of the whole North. The time had come for plain and unmistakable language, and it has been uttered. There are those who profess to believe that Northern rhetoric should always be emasculated, and that Northern members should always take care to speak humbly and with "bated breath." They complain with nervous fastidiousness that Mr. Sumner was provoking. So were Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan, when in immoderate language they exposed the wrongs of India and the crimes of Hastings; so was Patrick Henry, when he plead against the parsons; so was Tristram Burges, when he silenced Randolph of Roanoke; so was Mr. Webster, when, in the most remarkable oration of modern times, he launched the lightning of his overwhelming invective, while every fibre of his great frame was full of indignation and reproach. Smooth speeches will answer for smooth times; but there is a species of oratory, classic since the days of Demosthenes, employed without a scruple upon fit occasions, in all deliberative assemblies, perfectly well recognized, and sometimes absolutely necessary. Who will say that Kansas, and Atchison, and Douglas together, were not enough to inspire and justify a new Philippic?

But we care not what Mr. Sumner said, nor in what behalf he was pleading. We know him only as the Senator of Massachusetts; we remember only that the commonwealth has been outraged. Had the Senator of any other State been subjected to a like indignity, we might have found words in which to express our abhorrence of the crime; but now we can only say, that every constituent of Mr. Sumner ought to feel that the injury is his own, and that it is for him to expect redress. A high-minded Senate, would vindicate its trampled dignity; a respectable House of Representatives would drive the wrong-doer from its benches; in a society unpolluted by barbarism, the assaulter of an unarmed man, would find himself the object of general contempt. We can hardly hope that such a retribution will visit the offender; but Massachusetts, in other and better times, would have had a right confidently to anticipate the expulsion of Preston Brooks from the house of Representatives. We leave it to others to decide how far it may be fit and proper for her officially to express her sense of this indignity. For our own part, we think she can rely upon the generosity and the justice of her sister states, that an outrage so indefensible will meet with a fitting rebuke from the people, if not from the representatives of the people. And if in this age of civilization, brute force is to control the government of the country, striking down our senators, silencing debate, and leaving us

only the name of Freedom, there are remedies with which Massachusetts has found it necessary to meet similar exigencies in the past, which she will not hesitate to employ in the future.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Gazette
(May 24, 1856)

The news of the cowardly attack on Mr. Sumner by a villainous South Carolinian, stirred up a deeper indignation among our citizens, yesterday, than we have ever before witnessed. It was an indignation that pervaded all classes and conditions of men. The assault was deliberately planned, being made in the presence and under the encouragement of a crowd of bullies, when Mr. Sumner was alone, unarmed and defenceless, and it was conducted so brutally—fifty blows being inflicted upon an unresisting victim, until the weapon of attack was used up, and not one hand raised among the bystanders to stay the fury of the perfidious wretch, that every feeling of human nature revolts at the exhibition. Barbarians and savages would not be guilty of such unmanliness; and even the vulgar blackguards who follow the business of bruisers and shoulder-hitters would have a far higher sense of fair play than was shown by these patterns of chivalry. A universal cry of “Shame!” would go up from the lips of the people, if, unfortunately, the people did not, in view of this and similar outrages, feel a bitter shamefacedness at their own degradation in having to submit to them.

It is time, now, to inaugurate a change. It can no longer be permitted that all the blows shall come from one side. If Southern men will resort to the fist to overawe and intimidate Northern men, blow must be given back for blow. Forbearance and kindly deportment are lost upon these Southern ruffians. It were as well to throw pearls before swine as turn one cheek to them when the other is smitten. Under the circumstances now prevailing, neither religion nor manhood requires submission to such outrages. Northern men must defend themselves; and if our present representatives will not fight, when attacked, let us find those who will. It is not enough, now, to have backbone; there must be strong right arms, and a determination to use them. The voters of the Free States, in vindication of their own manliness will, hereafter, in addition to inquiring of candidates. Will you vote so-and-so, have to enlarge the basis of interrogation, and demand an affirmative answer to the question, Will you fight? It has come to that, now, that Senators and Representatives cannot enjoy the right of free speech or free dis-

cussion, without being liable to brutal assaults; and they must, of necessity, arm themselves with sword-canes or revolvers. To think of enduring quietly such attacks as that upon Mr. SUMNER, is craven and pusillanimous.—These cut-throat Southrons will never learn to respect Northern men until some one of their number has a rapier thrust through his ribs, or feels a bullet in his thorax. It is lamentable that such should be the case; but it is not in human nature to be trampled on.

THE FREE-LABOUR PRODUCE MOVEMENT (1857)

*The following excerpt is taken from E. Burritt's
Citizen of the World*

It is certainly the fact, that movements involving political excitement and fervid speech-making present an attraction to the great majority of anti-slavery men of this country, which the quiet free-labour enterprise does not offer them. In seeking to introduce into the Southern States the enriching industry of free sinews, and to shew here and there, by repeated demonstrations, that cotton, sugar, rice, &c., may be grown by those unbought sinews more profitably than by slave-labour, although we undermine powerfully the system of Slavery, we do not array against the slaveholders that sharp and wordy antagonism which is the chief characteristic of political action. We would not institute any comparison between these two forms of effort. There is plenty of room and occasion for both. The noiseless free-labor movement has this particular merit at least: it is designed to operate in the very heart of the old Slave States, and directly upon those interests interwoven with their “peculiar institution.” It is an agency calculated to make the most salutary impression upon the planter, and the poor unfortunate white man whom slavery has degraded and oppressed. We are persuaded that it is the necessary complement to all other efforts for the extinction of the cruel system of human bondage. As such, we would earnestly solicit for it the co-operation of all the friends of freedom and humanity. Let them glance at all the other operations, political, religious, and philanthropic, directed against that system at this moment, and they will find that they are almost entirely confined to the Free States, or to the Territories, and designed to affect public sentiment an action north of Mason and Dixon's line. What other effort has been set on foot for the express purpose of enlightening the people south of that line, in regard to the wrong, and waste, and wretchedness of the iniquitous system they uphold? Are there any agents, mis-

sionaries, tracts, or other instrumentalities employed to this end in those States? No. All the influences put forth upon them on this subject by the North are merely indirect and incidental. The free-labour enterprise, on the other hand, makes the South its especial field of exertion. It penetrates to the very citadel of the slave-power. It makes every acre tilled by free sinews over against the planter's estate a mute but most intelligible anti-slavery lecture, illustrated with cuts, contrasting his wasteful economy with the productive and fertilizing industry of well-paid toil. It presents a simple picture-book to the slave, with the alphabet of freedom reduced to his understanding. It comes in as a valuable auxiliary to the poor white man, to inspire him with self-respect, and to make him feel that he belongs to the great democracy of free-labour, which shall triumph gloriously in the end. For each of these three parties composing the population of the South, it works in the spirit of good-will, aiming to promote their best interests. And good-will is the most energetic sentiment wherewith to work for humanity. It works without flagging, through good and evil report. All its implements are shaped and pointed for constructions. It displaces, supplants, supersedes. It does not aim at mere demolition or uprooting. It does not seek to create a blank; but is ever erecting something. This sentiment is the motive force of the free-labour enterprise; and we hope this fact will commend it to the hearty and generous support of all the friends of freedom and righteousness who may become acquainted with its operations.

The Anti Slavery Reporter (New Series), 5:3
(March 2, 1857).

DRED SCOTT DECISION (1857)

Dred Scott, Plaintiff in Error, v. John F. A. Sandford. December Term, 1856

Justice Catron, Justice Wayne, Justice Nelson, Justice Grier, Justice Daniel, and Justice Campbell concurring in separate opinions. Justice McLean and Justice Curtis dissenting in separate opinions. Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion, upon a different point, the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States, in every State that might desire it, for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time, if the slave escapes from his owner. This is done in plain

words too plain to be misunderstood. And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. The only power conferred is the power coupled with the duty of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights.

Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory; even if they had been carried there by the owner, with the intention of becoming a permanent resident.

We have so far examined the case, as it stands under the Constitution of the United States, and the powers thereby delegated to the Federal Government.

But there is another point in the case which depends on State power and State law. And it is contended, on the part of the plaintiff, that he is made free by being taken to Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, independently of his residence in the territory of the United States; and being so made free, he was not again reduced to a state of slavery by being brought back to Missouri.

Our notice of this part of the case will be very brief; for the principle on which it depends was decided in this court, upon much consideration, in the case of *Strader et al. v. Graham*, reported in 10th Howard, 82. In that case, the slaves had been taken from Kentucky to Ohio, with the consent of the owner, and afterwards brought back to Kentucky. And this court held that their status or condition, as free or slave, depended upon the laws of Kentucky, when they were brought back into that State, and not of Ohio; and that this court had no jurisdiction to revise the judgment of a State court upon its own laws. This was the point directly before the court, and the decision that this court had not jurisdiction turned upon it, as will be seen by the report of the case.

So in this case. As Scott was a slave when taken into the State of Illinois by his owner, and was there held as such, and brought back in that character, his status, as free or slave, depended on the laws of Missouri, and not of Illinois.

It has, however, been urged in the argument, that by the laws of Missouri he was free on his return, and that this case, therefore, cannot be governed by the case of *Strader et al. v. Graham*, where it appeared, by the laws of Kentucky, that the plaintiffs continued to

be slaves on their return from Ohio. But whatever doubts or opinions may, at one time, have been entertained upon this subject, we are satisfied, upon a careful examination of all the cases decided in the State courts of Missouri referred to, that it is now firmly settled by the decisions of the highest court in the State, that Scott and his family upon their return were not free, but were, by the laws of Missouri, the property of the defendant; and that the Circuit Court of the United States had no jurisdiction, when, by the laws of the State, the plaintiff was a slave, and not a citizen.

Moreover, the plaintiff, it appears, brought a similar action against the defendant in the State court of Missouri, claiming the freedom of himself and his family upon the same grounds and the same evidence upon which he relies in the case before the court. The case was carried before the Supreme Court of the State; was fully argued there; and that court decided that neither the plaintiff nor his family were entitled to freedom, and were still the slaves of the defendant; and reversed the judgment of the inferior State court, which had given a different decision. If the plaintiff supposed that this judgment of the Supreme Court of the State was erroneous, and that this court had jurisdiction to revise and reverse it, the only mode by which he could legally bring it before this court was by writ of error directed to the Supreme Court of the State, requiring it to transmit the record to this court. If this had been done, it is too plain for argument that the writ must have been dismissed for want of jurisdiction in this court. The case of *Strader and others v. Graham* is directly in point; and, indeed, independent of any decision, the language of the 25th section of the act of 1789 is too clear and precise to admit of controversy.

But the plaintiff did not pursue the mode prescribed by law for bringing the judgment of a State court before this court for revision, but suffered the case to be remanded to the inferior State court, where it is still continued, and is, by agreement of parties, to await the judgment of this court on the point. All of this appears on the record before us, and by the printed report of the case.

And while the case is yet open and pending in the inferior State court, the plaintiff goes into the Circuit Court of the United States, upon the same case and the same evidence, and against the same party, and proceeds to judgment, and then brings here the same case from the Circuit Court, which the law would not have permitted him to bring directly from the State court. And if this court takes jurisdiction in this form, the result, so far as the rights of the respective parties are concerned, is in every respect substantially the same as if it had in open violation of law entertained

jurisdiction over the judgment of the State court upon a writ of error, and revised and reversed its judgment upon the ground that its opinion upon the question of law was erroneous. It would ill become this court to sanction such an attempt to evade the law, or to exercise an appellate power in this circuitous way, which it is forbidden to exercise in the direct and regular and invariable forms of judicial proceedings.

Upon the whole, therefore, it is the judgment of this court, that it appears by the record before us that the plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution; and that the Circuit Court of the United States, for that reason, had no jurisdiction in the case, and could give no judgment in it. Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued, directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

19 How. 393 (1857).

EDITORIAL RESPONSE TO THE DRED SCOTT DECISION (1857)

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Gazette
(March 7, 1857)

We do not know how other persons may feel in view of the recent *dicta* of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, an abstract of which was published in our telegraphic column on Saturday morning, but it appears to us that the almost diabolical spirit it evinces in going out of the way to Freedom at the expense of Slavery, ought to be sufficient to arouse to indignation the coolest and most torpid of northern men. The decision is a fitting crown to the aborted tyranny which has just submerged with Pierce; an iron clasp, well forged to link the dead with the living administration. It comes pat upon the recent inaugural, "rounds and caps it to the tyrant's eye" and just fills up the cup of inequity.

What matter is it that this decision upsets those we have on record? New lights have arisen with the progress of revolving years, and Story and Marshall, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe hide their twinkling lights before the full-orbed glory of Douglas, Pierce and Davis. The Supreme Court has aimed a blow at State Sovereignty which is baser and more iniquitous than any thing we had before conceived of. The State of Illinois for example, under this decision in her legislative capacity, has no power to enact such a law as can make a slave coming there with the consent of his master a freeman! The decision that the Court has no

jurisdiction in this case make all the other remarks from the bench touching the ordinance of 1787, and the compromise of 1820, mere *obiter dicta*, it is true, but the fact that the Court has gone out of its way to say what it has, shows its animus, and trumpets to the four corners of the earth the eager alacrity with which it echoes the mouthings of demagogues like Pierce and Douglas. We may henceforth throw to the winds the reasoning of Story and the decisions of Marshall, so far as this court is concerned, and submit to seeing the government surrendered, bound hand and foot to the same power which has given Kansas over to blood and desolation, elevated a weak old man to the executive chair, given the Treasury, the Post Office, the Army, the Navy and the Department of the Interior to be its willing servants and exhilarated and energized by its success, pressed on to the Supreme Court, made that the echo of its will and left no place for hope to rest upon, but the virtue of the masses of the people, to which we must henceforth appeal. Let them come in their might and at the ballot box root up the rotten fabric to its foundations which four years of misrule has served so much to weaken, and which the four years to come will doubtless not improve or strengthen.

New York Tribune (March 11, 1857)

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the recent decision of the Supreme Court. The grounds and methods of that decision we have exposed elsewhere; and we now turn from them to contemplate the great fact which it establishes—the fact that *Slavery is National*; and that, until that remote period when different Judges, sitting in this same Court, shall reverse this wicked and false judgment, the Constitution of the United States is nothing better than the bulwark of inhumanity and oppression.

It is most true that this decision is bad law; that it is based on false historical premises and wrong interpretations of the Constitution; that it does not at all represent the legal or judicial opinion of the Nation; that it is merely a Southern sophism clothed with the dignity of our highest Court. Nevertheless there it is; the final action of the National Judiciary, established by the founders of the Republic to interpret the Constitution, and to embody the ultimate legal conclusions of the whole people—an action proclaiming that in the view of the Constitution *slaves are property*. The inference is plain. If slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution, of course no local or State law can either prevent property being carried through an individual

State or Territory, or forbid its being sold as such wherever its owner may choose to hold it. This is all involved in the present decision; but let a single case draw from the Court an official judgment that slaves can be held and protected under National law, and we shall see men buying slaves for the New York market. There will be no legal power to prevent it. At this moment, indeed, any wealthy New York jobber connected with the Southern trade can put in his next orders: “Send me a negro cook, at the lowest market value! Buy me a waiter! Balance my account with two chambermaids and a truckman!” Excepting the interference of the Underground Railroad and the chance of loss, there will be nothing to stop this. But then these underhanded efforts for stealing property must, of course, be checked by our Police. Mr. Matsell will have no more right to allow gentlemen’s servants to be spirited away by burglarious Abolitionists than gentlemen’s spoons. They are property under even stronger pledges of security than mere lifeless chattels. The whole power of the State—the military, the Courts and Governor of the State of New York—will necessarily be sworn to protect each New York slave-owner from the robbery or burglary of his negro. If they are not sufficient, why then the United States Army and Navy can be called upon to guard that singular species of property which alone of all property the Constitution of the United States has especially recognized. Slaves can be kept in Boston; Mr. Toombs can call the roll of his chattels on the slope of Bunker Hill; auctions of black men may be held in front of Faneuil Hall, and the slave-ship, protected by the guns of United States frigates, may land its dusky cargo at Plymouth Rock. The free hills of Vermont, the lakes of Maine, the valleys of Connecticut, the city where the ancient Oak of Liberty has wisely fallen, may be traversed by the gangs of the negro-driver, and enriched by the legitimate commerce of the slave-pen. Are we told that public opinion will prevent this? What can public opinion do against the Supreme Court and all the power of the United States? Shall not a citizen of this Union have the right to take and hold his property, his horses, his oxen, his dogs, his slaves, wherever it seems to him good? According to the law now established, the Free-State men of Kansas are robbers, for they attack the Constitutional and inalienable rights of property. The bogus laws of which they presume to complain, but which the mild and paternal punishment of death is not to protect from infractions, are just and necessary laws for the safety of those sacred rights. The number of Free Soil men in that Territory can make no difference hereafter, as it has made none hitherto. Slavery is there, as the ownership of horses or land is there, by

supreme national law. Of what use, then, to contend for such a shadow as the difference between a Free and a Slave Constitution? Or what sense in that old fiction of State Rights? The States have no rights as respects Freedom; their rights consist only in establishing and strengthening Slavery—nothing more.

Another most pregnant change is wrought by this decision, in respect of the Northern people. We have been accustomed to regard Slavery as a local matter for which we were in no wise responsible. As we have been used, to say, it belonged to the Southern States alone, and they must answer for it before the world. We can say this no more. Now, wherever the stars and stripes wave, they protect Slavery and represent Slavery. The black and cursed stain is thick on our hands also. From Maine to the Pacific, over all future conquests and annexations, wherever in the islands of western seas, or in the South American Continent, or in the Mexican Gulf, the flag of the Union, by just means or unjust, shall be planted, there it plants the curse, and tears, and blood, and unpaid toil of this “institution.” The Star of Freedom and the stripes of bondage are henceforth one. American Republicanism and American Slavery are for the future synonymous. This, then, is the final fruit. In this all the labors of our statesmen, the blood of our heroes, the life-long cares and toils of our forefathers, the aspirations of our scholars, the prayers of good men, have finally ended! America the slavebreeder and slaveholder!

Albany, New York, Evening Journal
(March 19, 1857)

Five of its nine silk gowns are worn by Slaveholders. More than half its long Bench is filled with Slaveholders. Its Chief Justice is a Slaveholder. The Free States with double the population of the Slave State, do not have half the Judges. The majority represent a minority of 350,000. The minority represent a majority of twenty Millions!

It has long been so. Originally there were three Northern and three Southern Judges. But the South soon got the bigger share of the black robes, and kept them. Of the thirty-eight who have sat there in judgment, twenty-two were nurtured “on plantation.” The Slave States have been masters of the Court fifty-seven years, the Free States but eleven! The Free States have had the majority only seven years, this century. Even the Free State Judges are chosen from Slavery extending parties. Presidents nominate, and Senates confirm none other. Three times a new Judgeship has been created, and every time it has been filled with a Slave-

holder. The advocate who pleads there against Slavery, wastes his voice in its vaulted roof, and upon ears stuffed sixty years with cotton. His case is judged before it is argued, and his client condemned before he is heard.

DESCRIPTION OF GANG LABOR ON A KENTUCKY PLANTATION (1857)

The year 1857 was at hand. Fifteen slaves had been left on the farm to do the winter work. These were kept busy husking and shelling corn, taking same to the mill, then to the distillery and made into liquor. That year of 1857 there were from five to six hundred barrels of liquor made and stored in the cellar. Master at this time was about sixty years of age and he married a girl about seventeen. He returned to the farm with his young wife, twelve slaves besides the stewardess, named Rosa, and trouble soon began. Rosa was well fitted for her position and she had a general oversight of all the slaves. She was an octoroon and had the confidence of Master who trusted her to the utmost.

New slaves were brought in every few days and these were set to work during the summer, clearing land when there was no other work, their hours of labor being from 16 to 18 each day.

The slaves were divided into gangs, and over each gang was a Boss, who was also one of the slaves. At four o'clock each morning, the bell was rung and each Boss had to see that his gang was up and ready to commence the day's work. They marched by gangs to the tables set up under some trees in the yard, where breakfast was served for which one half hour was allowed, after which each Boss marched his gang to the fields or to the kind of work laid out for them. The overseer rode on horse back from one gang to another seeing that all were kept busy. If he saw two or three idle, or talking to each other, if no satisfactory reason could be given, a whipping was sure to follow. At no time were three allowed to talk together unless the overseer was present. At twelve o'clock the gangs were marched to the tables for dinner, and one hour was allowed for dinner and rest, and then they were marched again to their work, where they remained as long as there was daylight to work by, and then they were marched once more to the tables for supper, after which they went to their cabins, each cabin being occupied by from ten to twelve persons, men and women were in separate cabins, except where they were married, and such had cabins by themselves. At ten o'clock the bell was rung when all must go to bed, or at half past ten, when the overseer made his rounds,

if any were found up they were taken to the punishment room, and in the morning Master administered such punishment as he thought best. The punishment was a certain number of lashes from the whip for the first offence and more if the offence was repeated, with the addition of an iron weight tied to their backs for a number of days or weeks according to the Master's pleasure, these weights to be carried during the day while they were at work.

The year of which we are writing, about two hundred slaves were gathered on the stock farm, and in the fall most of them were marched off to the several slave markets in the same manner as before described, fastened to a long chain with the women who could walk following, and the women and children not able to walk in wagons. Of the two hundred, 170 were taken, leaving thirty to run the farm and do the winter work. This lot was taken to Bardstown, thence to Louisville, where they were put aboard of boats rigged with stalls similar to horse stalls into which the slaves were placed and chained until they reached Vicksburg or other places where markets were held.

Johnson, Isaac. 1901. *Slavery Days in Old Kentucky*. Ogdensburg, NY: Republican & Journal Co. Printing.

GEORGE FITZHUGH VIEWS SLAVERY A CONDITION OF NATURE (1857)

"The Universal Law of Slavery"

He the Negro is but a grown up child, and must be governed as a child, not as a lunatic or criminal. The master occupies toward him the place of parent or guardian. We shall not dwell on this view, for no one will differ with us who thinks as we do of the negro's capacity, and we might argue till dooms-day in vain, with those who have a high opinion of the negro's moral and intellectual capacity.

Secondly. The negro is improvident; will not lay up in summer for the wants of winter; will not accumulate in youth for the exigencies of age. He would become an insufferable burden to society. Society has the right to prevent this, and can only do so by subjecting him to domestic slavery. In the last place, the negro race is inferior to the white race, and living in their midst, they would be far outstripped or outwitted in the chaos of free competition. Gradual but certain extermination would be their fate. We presume the maddest abolitionist does not think the negro's providence of habits and money-making capacity at all to compare to those of the whites. This defect of character would alone justify enslaving him, if he is to remain here. In

Africa or the West Indies, he would become idolatrous, savage and cannibal, or be devoured by savages and cannibals. At the North he would freeze or starve.

We would remind those who deprecate and sympathize with negro slavery, that his slavery here relieves him from a far more cruel slavery in Africa, or from idolatry and cannibalism, and every brutal vice and crime that can disgrace humanity; and that it christianizes, protects, supports and civilizes him; that it governs him far better than free laborers at the North are governed. There, wife-murder has become a mere holiday pastime; and where so many wives are murdered, almost all must be brutally treated. Nay, more; men who kill their wives or treat them brutally, must be ready for all kinds of crime, and the calendar of crime at the North proves the inference to be correct. Negroes never kill their wives. If it be objected that legally they have no wives, then we reply, that in an experience of more than forty years, we never yet heard of a negro man killing a negro woman. Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better.

The negro slaves of the South are the happiest, and, in some sense, the freest people in the world. The children and the aged and infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessaries of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care nor labor. The women do little hard work, and are protected from the despotism of their husbands by their masters. The negro men and stout boys work, on the average, in good weather, not more than nine hours a day. The balance of their time is spent in perfect abandon. Besides they have their Sabbaths and holidays. White men, with so much of license and liberty, would die of ennui; but negroes luxuriate in corporeal and mental repose. With their faces upturned to the sun, they can sleep at any hour; and quiet sleep is the greatest of human enjoyments. "Blessed be the man who invented sleep." 'Tis happiness in itself—and results from contentment with the present, and confident assurance of the future.

A common charge preferred against slavery is, that it induces idleness with the masters. The trouble, care and labor, of providing for wife, children and slaves, and of properly governing and administering the whole affairs of the farm, is usually borne on small estates by the master. On larger ones, he is aided by an overseer or manager. If they do their duty, their time is fully occupied. If they do not, the estate goes to ruin. The mistress, on Southern farms, is usually more busily, usefully and benevolently occupied than any one on the farm. She unites in her person, the offices of wife, mother, mistress, housekeeper, and sister of

charity. And she fulfills all these offices admirably well. The rich men, in free society, may, if they please, lounge about town, visit clubs, attend the theatre, and have no other trouble than that of collecting rents, interest and dividends of stock. In a well constituted slave society, there should be no idlers. But we cannot divine how the capitalists in free society are to put to work. The master labors for the slave, they exchange industrial value. But the capitalist, living on his income, gives nothing to his subjects. He lives by mere exploitations.

Fitzhugh, George. 1857. *Cannibals All!, or, Slaves Without Masters*. Richmond, VA: A. Morris.

JAMES HENRY HAMMOND'S "MUD-SILL THEORY" (1858)

Speech to the U.S. Senate, March 4, 1858.

But sir, the greatest strength of the South arises from the harmony of her political and social institutions. This harmony gives her a frame of society, the best in the world, and an extent of political freedom, combined with entire security, such as no other people ever enjoyed upon the face of the earth. Society precedes government; creates it, and ought to control it; but as far as we can look back in historic times we find the case different; for government is no sooner created than it becomes too strong for society, and shapes and molds, as well as controls it. In later centuries the progress of civilization and of intelligence has made the divergence so great as to produce civil wars and revolutions; and it is nothing now but the want of harmony between governments and societies which occasions all the uneasiness and trouble and terror that we see abroad. It was this that brought on the American Revolution. We threw off a government not adapted to our social system, and made one for ourselves. The question is, how far have we succeeded? The South, so far as that is concerned, is satisfied, content, happy, harmonious, and prosperous.

In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air, as to build either the one or the other, except on the mud-sills. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that pur-

pose to her hand. A race inferior to her own, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for our purpose, and call them slaves. We are old-fashioned at the South yet; it is a word discarded now by ears polite; I will not characterize that class at the North by that term; but you have it; it is there; it is everywhere; it is eternal.

The Senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Ay, the name, but not the thing; and all the powers of the earth cannot abolish it. God only can do it when he repeals the fiat, "the poor ye always have with you;" for the man who lives by daily labor, and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole hireling class of manual laborers and operatives, as you call them, are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most deplorable manner, at any hour, in any street in any of your large towns. Why, sir, you meet more beggars in one day, in any single street of the city of New York, than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South. We do not think that whites should be slaves either by law or necessity. Our slaves are black, of another, inferior race. The *status* in which we have placed them is an elevation. They are elevated from the condition in which God first created them, by being made our slaves. None of that race on the whole face of the globe can be compared with the slaves of the South, and they know it. They are happy, content, unambitious, and utterly incapable, from intellectual degradation, ever to give us any trouble by their aspirations.

Your slaves are white, of your own race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation. Our slaves do not vote. We give them no political power. Yours do vote, and, being the majority, they are the depositories of all your political power. If they knew the tremendous secret, that the ballot-box is stronger than an army with bayonets, and could combine, where would you be? Your society would be reconstructed, your government reconstructed, your property divided, not as they have mistakenly attempted to initiate such proceedings by meeting in parks, with arms in their hands, but by the quiet process of the ballot-box. You have been making war upon us to our very hearthstones. How would you like

for us to send lecturers and agitators North, to teach these people this, to aid and assist in combining, and to lead them?

United States Congress. 1858. *The Congressional Globe, Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session*. Washington, DC:
John C. Rives.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S "HOUSE DIVIDED" SPEECH (1858)

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention.

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it.

We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Either the opponents of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination-piece of machinery so to speak-compounded of the Nebraska doctrine, and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also, let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design, and concert of action, among its chief bosses, from the beginning.

But, so far, Congress only, had acted; and an endorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable, to save the point already gained, and give chance for more.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from

more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition.

Four days later, commenced the struggle, which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition.

This opened all the national territory to slavery; and was the first point gained.

This necessity had not been overlooked; but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "squatter sovereignty," otherwise called "sacred right of self government," which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of, any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object.

That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska bill itself, in the language which follows: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or state, not exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of "Squatter Sovereignty," and "Sacred right of self government."

"But," said opposition members, "let us be more specific—let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory may exclude slavery." Not we, said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska bill was passing through congress, a law case, involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free state and then a territory covered by the congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave, for a long time in each, was passing through the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requests the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state his opinion whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers, "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and

the endorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The endorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory.

The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the endorsement.

The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument.

The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be.

Then, in a few days, came the decision.

The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capitol endorsing the Dred Scott Decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it.

The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to endorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained.

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill, on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton Constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that squabble the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind—the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle, is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision, “squatter sovereignty” squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding—like the mould at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans, against the Lecompton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point, the right of a people to make their own constitution, upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas’ “care not” policy,

constitute the piece of machinery, in its present state of advancement. This was the third point gained.

The working points of that machinery are:

First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares, that—

“The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.”

Secondly, that “subject to the Constitution of the United States,” neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

This point is made, not to be pressed immediately; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott’s master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, to not care whether slavery is voted down or voted up.

This shows exactly where we now are, and partially also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back, and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when they were transpiring. The people were to be left “perfectly free” “subject only to the Constitution.” What the Constitution had to do with it, outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche, for the Dred Scott decision to afterwards come in, and declare the perfect freedom of the people, to be just no freedom at all.

Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery, voted down? Plainly enough now, the adoption of it would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision.

Why was the court decision held up? Why, even a Senator's individual opinion withheld, till after the Presidential election? Plainly enough now, the speaking out then would have damaged the "perfectly free" argument upon which the election was to be carried.

Why the outgoing President's felicitation on the endorsement? Why the delay of a reargument? Why the incoming President's advance exhortation in favor of the decision?

These things look like the cautious patting and petting a spirited horse, preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall.

And why the hasty after endorsements of the decision by the President and others?

We can not absolutely know that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in such a case, we find it impossible to not believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first lick was struck.

It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska bill, the people of a State as well as Territory, were to be left "perfectly free" "subject only to the Constitution."

Why mention a State? They were legislating for territories, and not for or about States. Certainly the people of a State are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this lugged into this merely territorial law? Why are the people of a territory and the people of a state therein lumped together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being precisely the same?

While the opinion of the Court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring Judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial legislature to exclude slavery from any United States territory, they all omit to de-

clare whether or not the same Constitution permits a state, or the people of a State, to exclude it.

Possibly, this was a mere omission; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a state to exclude slavery from their limits, just as Chase and Macy sought to get such declaration, in behalf of the people of a territory, into the Nebraska bill—I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down, in the one case, as it had been in the other.

The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power of a State over slavery, is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and almost the language too, of the Nebraska act. On one occasion his exact language is, "except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the State is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction."

In what cases the power of the states is so restrained by the U.S. Constitution, is left an open question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the territories was left open in the Nebraska act. Put that and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a state to exclude slavery from its limits.

And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of "care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up," shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States.

Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown.

We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free; and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State.

To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty, is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation.

That is what we have to do.

But how can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly, that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is, with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he wishes any such object to be effected.

They wish us to infer all, from the facts, that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us, on a single point, upon which, he and we, have never differed.

They remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But “a living dog is better than a dead lion.” Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don’t care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the “public heart” to care nothing about it.

A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas’ superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave trade.

Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he really think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it is a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And, unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave trade—how can he refuse that trade in that “property” shall be “perfectly free”—unless he does it as a protection to the home production? And as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday—that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong.

But, can we for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he, himself, has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference?

Now, as ever, I wish to not misrepresent Judge Douglas’ position, question his motives, or do ought that can be personally offensive to him.

Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle so that our great cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle.

But clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise to ever be.

Our cause, then, must be entrusted to, and conducted by its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work—who do care for the result.

Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong.

We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us.

Of strange, discordant, and even, hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy.

Did we brave all then, to falter now?—now—when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered and belligerent?

The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail.

Wise councils may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later the victory is sure to come.

Lincoln, Abraham. “The House Divided Speech, June 16, 1858.” In *Abraham Lincoln, a Documentary Portrait through His Speeches and Writings*. Don E. Fehrenbacher, ed. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964.

OBSERVATIONS ON HEALTH CARE OF SLAVES (1858)

I propose to offer a few practical observations on the above subject [health of Negroes], and it is one to which I fear, many planters and managers are wont to bestow too little attention. I am persuaded that they can do much to promote the health of their Negroes by timely care and attention, and thus avoid, in some measure, what I have often heard them say gives them the greatest trouble in the management of their plantations, namely *the sickness amongst negroes*.

Their food should be sound, of sufficient quantity, well cooked, and served at regular intervals. It is better, as a general rule to have it cooked for them than to give them their allowances to be cooked by themselves, as is frequently done. I am aware that they prefer to cook for themselves, but there are always some negroes on every place who are too careless and indolent to cook their food in a proper manner; consequently they eat it but imperfectly cooked, if not entirely raw. With their meat and bread they should have vegetables of some kind and at least *three times* a week, and where it is practicable, it were better that they have them daily.

The next thing in importance is the water which they drink. The purest and best is *cistern water*. I will here state, as the result of my experience and observation as a physician in the low lands of Louisiana during the Cholera epidemics of 1849 and ’50, that those places on which cistern water alone was used were nearly exempt from that dreadful disease. The few

cases that did occur on those places were attributable to some imprudence in eating, or to the drinking of unwholesome water. On one plantation, where the disease made fearful havoc 'till the negroes were removed to the woods and given *cistern water*, it was ascertained that it was their custom to make use of stagnant water from a lagoon near the quarter. Spring and well water, so much used in many parts of the Southern and Western States, contains salts which are unwholesome, and in some instances positively deleterious. The water of the Mississippi River, when filtered or settled, is better than this, but not so good as *cistern water*. The cost of cisterns prevents many planters from having them, in that the greatest of blessings, health. Negroes generally drink *too much* water when they are in the field at work; this they should not do, and more especially when much heated.

Every one who has seen much of the Negro knows how susceptible he is to the effects of cold and atmospheric vicissitudes. The sickness and mortality from the winter diseases, Pleurisy and Pneumonia, are distressing, besides being the cause of a serious loss to the planters. Being impossible to carry on the work of a plantation without some degree of exposure of the hands to the rains and colds in the winter, it becomes a matter of much importance that their *clothing* be particularly attended to at this season. Besides the heavy linsey clothing, the hats and shoes given them, I would recommend that each should wear a *flannel under shirt*. The beneficial effects from wearing this garment are very great and have been verified in many instances within my knowledge, but in none more strongly than on a certain plantation in this county where the hands are very much exposed, being obliged too travel between two and three miles from their quarters to get to a part of their work. The past has been a very wet winter. They were often out in the cold rains and mud, yet they seemed to suffer no inconvenience from the exposure, as there was no case of sickness amongst them; nor has there been a case of Pneumonia on the place in many years. I ascribe their exemption from disease, in a great measure, to the wearing of flannel shirts. They should be put on as soon as the cold weather beings in the fall, and worn til the warm weather in Spring. When one is inclined to be sickly, besides the shirt, give him *drawers* of the same material. The importance of giving their negroes *flannel* cannot be too strongly urged upon the attention of planters.

In the summer, negroes should be made to wear hats to protect their heads from the rays of the sun; this is very important with unacclimated negroes, who are more apt to be sunstruck.

Their houses should be good, their beds comfort-

able, with plenty of comforts and blankets for the cold nights of Winter. A negro is unfit for a good day's work without sleep. Their houses, as well as the quarter lot, should be kept free from all filth. This matter will demand the frequent attention of the owner, or manager, as the negro is proverbially filthy in his mode of living.

The free unrestrained use of whisky and tobacco by negroes is highly injurious to them, though they have an innate desire for both. It is better not to allow them to have the former at all, except as a medicine, and the latter only in small quantities and at regular intervals. When sick they require constant care and attention, and it is very important to prevent them from indulging their appetites for food, as they will frequently do if not held in restraint. They should not be allowed to remain in their houses, but placed in the hospital as soon as taken sick. Here they can be attended to with much less inconvenience, and their chances for recovery are greater than when left at their own houses. Calomel (an excellent remedy in the hands of one who knows its proper use) is in very many cases injurious to sick negroes, given as it is so indiscriminately. I am persuaded that many cases of fever can be cured.

Butterfield, Ralph. 1858. "Health of Negroes." In *American Cotton Planter and Soil of the South*, 2 (September).

VERMONT PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW (1858)

An Act to Secure Freedom to All Persons Within This State

It is hereby enacted, &c.

Section 1. No person within this State shall be considered as property, or subject, as such, to sale, purchase, or delivery; nor shall any person, within the limits of this State, at this time, be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law.

Section 2. Due process of law, mentioned in the preceding section of this Act shall, in all cases, be defined to mean the usual process and forms in force by the laws of this State, and issued by the courts thereof; and under such process, such person shall be entitled to a trial by jury.

Section 3. Whenever any person in this State shall be deprived of liberty, arrested, or detained, on the ground that such person owes service or labor to another person, not an inhabitant of this State, either party may claim a trial by jury; and, in such case, challenges shall be allowed to the defendant agreeably to

sections four and five of chapter one hundred and eleven of the compiled statutes.

Section 4. Every person who shall deprive or attempt to deprive any other person of his or her liberty, contrary to the preceding sections of this Act, shall, on conviction thereof, forfeit and pay a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars nor less than five hundred dollars, or be punished by imprisonment in the State Prison for a term not exceeding ten years: Provided, that nothing in said preceding sections shall apply to, or affect the right to arrest or imprison under existing laws for contempt of court.

Section 5. Neither descent near or remote from an African, whether such African is or may have been a slave or not, nor color of skin or complexion, shall disqualify any person from being, or prevent any person from becoming, a citizen of this State, nor deprive such person of the rights and privileges thereof.

Section 6. Every person who may have been held as a slave, who shall come, or be brought, or be in this State, with or without the consent of his or her master or mistress, or who shall come, or be brought, or be, involuntarily or in any way in this State, shall be free.

Section 7. Every person who shall hold, or attempt to hold, in this State, in slavery, or as a slave, any person mentioned as a slave in the sixth section of this act, or any free person, in any form, or for any time, however short, under pretence that such person is or has been a slave, shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the State Prison for a term not less than one year, nor more than fifteen years, and be fined not exceeding two thousand dollars.

Section 8. All Acts and parts of Acts inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Section 9. This Act shall take effect from its passage.

Approved November 25, 1858.

Child, Lydia Maria. 1860. *The Duty of Civil Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act: An Appeal to the Legislators of Massachusetts*. Boston: American Anti-Slavery Society.

SOUTHERN EDITORIAL RESPONSE TO THE HARPERS FERRY RAID (1859)

Charleston, South Carolina, Mercury
(October 18, 1859)

Our despatches this morning give us some particulars of a serious outbreak among the employees on the government works at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in which the negroes, led on by some infuriated abolitionists, have been forced to co-operate. The trains were

stopped and telegraphic wires cut, and, as the despatch informs us, the whole town was in possession of the insurgents. It will be seen, however, that the most active means have been put into execution to quell the disturbance; that several companies of artillery and infantry have proceeded to the scene, and, no doubt, before this reaches the eye of our readers, perfect quiet has been again established. We regret, however, that our telegraphic agent closed his reports so early, as it would have been exceedingly gratifying to learn that the miserable leaders of this unfortunate and disgraceful affair had received their just deserts.

Richmond, Virginia, Whig (October 18, 1859)

The telegraphic despatches in another column, concerning the outbreak at Harpers Ferry, are stirring enough for ordinary purposes. We believe the affair, however, to be greatly exaggerated, as such occurrences usually are. There is at least no cause for uneasiness elsewhere in the State, notwithstanding the reports concerning the complicity of the negroes in the business.—Indeed, we rather incline to the belief that the entire report of the affair is pretty much of a humbug. That there is something of a riot there, on the part of a few of the operatives, we have no doubt; but the object of the rebels is to take possession of the public funds which were deposited there on Saturday.

Our goodly city was in a state of the liveliest excitement all yesterday evening. The military, particularly, were in great commotion. The Governor, we learn, has ordered the whole volunteer Regiment to the scene of disturbance. Company “F,” under command of Col. Cary left at 8 o’clock last night—the Fredricksburg mail train having been detained for their accommodation. The remainder of the Regiment, consisting of six or seven companies, will leave at 6 o’clock this morning. The Governor accompanied Col. Cary’s company last night—and we slightly incline to the opinion that Harpers Ferry will be captured, and the rebels put down, especially as the military from the surrounding country and Old Point, Baltimore, Washington, and Alexandria, have been ordered to the scene of action. We think these are almost enough to put an end to the “war” during the course of the week—provided all hands stand firm, as they no doubt will, with some exceptions.

The “soldiers” took leave of their wives and little ones last night amid such weeping and wailing, not expecting ever to see them more! It was a heart-rending scene, to be sure. We endeavored to procure a lock of

the hair of several of the "soldiers," as a memento of them, in case they should fight, bleed and die in the service of their country; but they were too much afflicted by the parting scene to pay any attention to our request. We expect to see half of the "soldiers" back at least.—But good fortune to them all.

Nashville, Tennessee, Union and American
(October 21, 1859)

We publish to-day full telegraphic particulars of the riot at Harpers Ferry, a briefer outline of which had heretofore appeared in our columns. The first report attributed the riot to the fact that a contractor on the Government works had absconded, leaving his employees unpaid, who had seized the arsenal with the purpose of securing Government funds and paying themselves. Later accounts seem conclusive that it was a concerted attempt at insurrection, aided by leading Northern Abolitionists. The papers of Brown, the leader, are said to have fallen into the hands of Gov. Wise, and to include among them letters from Gerrit Smith, Fred Douglass and others. We shall hear more in a few days, when, no doubt, the whole plot will be disclosed.

In the mean time, the facts already before us show that Abolitionism is working out its legitimate results, in encouraging fanatics to riot and revolution. The "harmless republicanism" out of which there is serious talk even here of making a national party, to defeat the Democracy, fosters and sustains, and is formidable only from the zeal of, the class within its ranks who incited this insurrection. Of the capacity of the South to defend and protect herself, we have no doubt. But when called on to do this, as at Harpers Ferry, she must know who are her friends and who are her enemies. She can have no political association with men who are only watching a safe opportunity to cut the throats of her citizens. It will not do for Northern Republicans to attribute this outbreak to the fanaticism of a few zealots. The Republican party of the North is responsible for it. It is the legitimate result of Sewardism. It is the commencement of what Seward spoke of as the "irrepressible conflict." The South will hold the whole party of Republicans responsible for the blood-shed at Harpers Ferry. For the fanatics engaged there would never have dared the attempt at insurrection but for the inflammatory speeches and writings of Seward, Greeley, and the other Republican leaders. Waiting for the details before saying more, we refer

the reader to the accounts of the insurrection published in another place in this paper.

JOHN BROWN'S LAST SPEECH (1859)

November 2, 1859

I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case),—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends,—either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class,—and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the new Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments,—I submit; so let it be done!

Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received in my trial. Consid-

ering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

Let me say, also, a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now I have done.

American State Trials. J. D. Lawson, ed. Vol. VI, p. 800

A VIRGINIAN CHASTISES NORTHERN ABOLITIONISTS (1859)

"No Interference with Slavery in the States"

Muscoe R. H. Garnett of Virginia. United States House of Representatives, December 7, 1859.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. CLARK] told us yesterday that he never knew an Abolitionist in New York; he in whose district the church of Doctor Cheever reverberates, Sunday after Sunday, with sentiments of treason and bloodshed; he in whose State a Senator was chosen, to represent the people in this Congress, marked above all others by his bold, imperturbable calculations, by his deep-laid plans, by his acting upon a calculated system, where you can mark out his course, step by step, from year to year—all connected parts of one whole—who, as my friend from South Carolina [Mr. KEITT] showed yesterday, before he ever entered the Senate, uttered sentiments the same in substance though not in form as Helper's—a Senator who preaches up to the country that there is an irrepressible conflict between the two sections of the country, which must result in the overthrow of one or the other—a Senator who is a representative man of his party, whom they intend to nominate for the presidency, and if they do not do it, it will be only because they are scared out of it! No Abolitionists in New York or in the North! when at Albany one hundred minute guns were fired there in mourning for the death of John Brown! No Abolitionists in

Natick! when a large public meeting of sympathy was held for Brown, of which a Senator from the State of Massachusetts was present! No Abolitionists in Massachusetts! when, in the Senate of Massachusetts, they found nearly a majority in favor of adjourning on the day of the execution of Brown! No Abolitionists at Cleveland! when, as a friend from Indiana tells me, that city was draped in mourning, and five thousand men were attending a public meeting, to express their sentiments upon that event, upon the day of the execution of Brown!

You do not mean to interfere with slavery in the States! So the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] told us yesterday, though his remarks are somewhat diluted in the report of them which appears in the *Globe* to-day. He and his party do not mean to interfere with slavery in the States; but they mean to hold southern people to the yoke, and to organize Territory after Territory, into which no southern man shall be permitted to go with his property. They mean to hem us in, as with a wall of fire, as I think Mr. SEWARD said, until the institution is so cribbed and confined that it will perish for want of sustenance. They do not mean to interfere with slavery in the States, and yet when a band of assassins violate the sacred soil of my native State, we hear not one word of denunciation from you. You do not mean to interfere with slavery in the States, and yet you find societies at the North planning deliberately to render the institution valueless upon the borders, by running off the slaves, until the owners are compelled to sell them to the South, or to emancipate and give them up to you. You do not mean to interfere with slavery in the States, and yet, though the Constitution guarantees the right of reclaiming fugitives from labor, laws are passed refusing to allow us the use of northern jails; you turn your judges out of office if they assist in enforcing the law for the reclamation of fugitives from labor, and you attack and use violence against our citizens when they appear there to reclaim their property. Call you this no interference with slavery in the States? Call you the incessant war against it waged from your press, your pulpit, and your hustings, no interference with slavery in the States? Why do you not carry on this crusade against monarchy in Europe, or against aristocracy in England, if it is a mere desire to correct public evils all over the world? Why not organize a society against slavery in Cuba and Brazil? Why not inaugurate political crusades against every system of government that we disapprove in every part of the world? No, sir; these benefits, those kind offices are reserved for

us—for your brethren, your fellows of the southern States.

Years ago, as far back as 1836, Governor Marcy then Governor of the State of New York, advised the Legislature of that State to pass laws preventing and suppressing incendiary appeals of abolition societies—few in number at that time—inciting the slaves to insurrection. These few societies have become numerous. Their principles are the shibboleth of the great political party of the North. Yet what Governor of any of the northern States dare now make such a recommendation as Mr. Marcy made twenty-three years ago! When Walker organizes a company of filibusters and descends on Nicaragua, a country with which we are at peace, you appeal to the neutrality laws that are properly on your statute books—you say we have no right to allow our territory to be used for organizing piratical expeditions against a friendly foreign Power; and you call on the President of the United States to use the Army and Navy to suppress such expeditions, and to protect this foreign Power from them. And you do so properly. Nay, when Commodore Paulding exceeds his legal power in order to execute this law; when he does what he has no right to do in making a descent on this foreign country, you pass resolutions of approval. But here we are—no foreign State—we are confederated States; here we are, no half-barbarian Nicaragua, but your brethren of the Anglo-Saxon race; your fellow-citizens under a common flag, under the pretended protection of a common Constitution—and which one of your States will pass laws suppressing these expeditions against the South? Which one of your States will pass neutrality laws to punish the men who advise and the men who take part in these piratical expeditions against the peace and safety of the southern States? So far from it, when you discover men actually concerned in them, you allow them, with impunity, to publish statements declaring that they take themselves to Canada to evade United States process. With impunity your Senators rise in the other end of the Capitol and denounce the Federal judiciary, because of its process to summon them as witnesses. With impunity, men high in your society, men at the head of your literary circles, men like Dr. Howe, acknowledge their complicity by supplying money and arms to expeditions aimed against the South, and then they flee from the jurisdiction of the Federal court.

United States Congress. *The Congressional Globe: The Official Proceedings of Congress*, 36th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: John C. Rives.

EDITORIAL UPON JOHN BROWN'S HANGING (1859)

North and South.

Half the troubles of mankind have arisen from misunderstandings. There is just now some small danger that a misunderstanding may engender trouble between the North and the South. Each section of the country misunderstands the other. Each is excited and disposed to be angry; and if an opportunity offers, there may be a quarrel between them before a chance is afforded for mutual explanation and candid interchange of opinion.

The South imagines that the Northern people sympathize with John Brown, and regard him as a martyr. Among others, Governor Wise, of Virginia, and Governor Gist, of South Carolina, entertain, and endeavor to disseminate this opinion. Yet it is a notorious fallacy. The bulk of the Northern people have no sympathy whatever with John Brown. They regard him as a man who broke his country's laws willfully, who caused the death of innocent men, and who has been justly punished for his crimes. This is the view taken by the great conservative body of the Northern people, including most of the merchants, farmers, mechanics, and citizens generally. Members of the Republican party—while owning to some tenderness for Brown on account of his sincerity and manliness—still admit that he was rightly punished. Of those who deem him a martyr, and censure Virginia for having executed the law, there is a mere handful—Cheever, Emerson, Phillips, and a select party of radical abolitionists, who have never had any following worth mention.

On the other hand, the North is apt to be misled by the vapping of Southern newspapers and Southern politicians, clamoring for disunion. These newspapers and these politicians misapprehend and misrepresent the true sentiments of the South. The disunion party—so far as we are enabled to learn—is no stronger in the South than the radical abolition party in the North. Both are mere noisy minorities. A great number of the Southern newspapers are party political organs, whose sole aim is the elevation of this or that politician to a Governorship or to the Presidency. They assume and promulgate extreme views in the hope of currying favor with the masses of the Southern people. Their nonsense does not deserve a moment's serious attention. In the event of disunion, gravely as the North would suffer at first, the South would be at least as great a sufferer in the end. Seven-eighths of the fis-

cal revenue of the Confederacy is collected in the North; in the event of disunion the South would need to impose new and very onerous taxes on its people to support a central Government. In the border States it would be morally impossible to maintain the slave institution; for, in the absence of the present Constitutional compact and the Fugitive Slave Law, no restraint, legal or moral, would interpose to prevent organized slave stampedes. The foreign trade of the country would continue, as now, to be carried on at the North; for trade dépôts can not be created by laws; they are the offspring of natural causes, over which Legislatures have no control; and all that the South would gain would be some additional charges on its imports to defray the cost of bonding them in New York in transit for the Southern country. These considerations are quite familiar to the intelligent statesmen of the South. They weigh with the planters. We of the North may rest assured that, whatever politicians and political newspapers may say, the Southern people, as a body, are decidedly opposed to disunion.

We hope that the patriotic men who have seats in Congress will interchange these mutual explanations—that the Northern members, as a body, will express their conviction that, whatever admiration some may feel for the fortitude of Old Brown, he was justly punished; and, on the other hand, that the leading Southern men will denounce the disunionists of the South in the terms which are suitable.

It is really too bad that a parcel of politicians of both sections, none of whom have any real claim to authority, should be allowed to endanger the edifice which, in eighty years, has reached so grand an elevation. One can not help thinking that John Brown's gibbet would be a fitting tail-piece to the career of some of the knaves who—seeking nothing beyond personal gain or the gratification of private ambition—are pandering to the worst passions of the mob in both sections of the country, and doing all that in them lies to plunge a peaceful and contented people into the horrors of civil war.

Harper's Weekly, December 17, 1859.

A SOUTHERNER DEFENDS THE EXPANSION OF SLAVERY (1860)

"Why Slavery Must Be Protected in the Territories"

Albert Gallatin Brown of Mississippi. January 3, 1860

I have been asked elsewhere—and probably there is a whispering in the mind of some one who hears me to

the same effect now—why are you so tenacious of this principle of protection to slavery in the Territories? What do you expect to accomplish by it? With that frankness which I trust is a part of my character, I will tell you why I am so tenacious. I know that you can never plant slavery in the Territories unless you afford it protection—protection based on statutory law. Without such protection, there never will be another slave Territory; and without slave Territories you can never have slave States. You have, I believe, five Territories now. You are already called on, during the present session, to organize three more. These Territories will rapidly populate, and as rapidly come knocking at the door for admission into the Union. You commenced with thirteen States only a little more than three quarters of a century ago—dating from the birth of the Constitution, not so long as that—and now you have thirty-three, five Territories already organized, and three asking for organization. Of these thirty-three States, fifteen are slaveholding States, and eighteen are non-slaveholding. Under your present policy, all the Territories outstanding, organized and unorganized, and all the territory to be acquired hereafter, will but add to the number of free States; and then, sir, the boast made on the other side of the Chamber, that when they get the power they will so mold the Constitution, according to the forms of the Constitution itself, as to give them uncontrolled sway—will be carried out with all its force and all its power. It cannot be long, under the present order of things, before the anti-slavery sentiment of this country will have brought into the Union, and added to the non-slaveholding States now in the Union, a sufficient number of States to give them the two thirds required to change the Constitution. That being done, the enunciation so vauntingly made by the distinguished Senator from New York, and followed up by others, that you mean to crush out slavery under the forms of the Constitution, will have been accomplished. I see that things are rapidly drifting in that direction. I see that we can have no more slave States unless we can plant slavery in the Territories; and I see that that cannot be done unless you protect the slaveholder in his rights. If we can have no more slave States, then twenty years will not pass before a change of the Constitution will enable the anti-slavery sentiments of the North, under the forms and guarantees of the Constitution, as amended, to overthrow slavery.

I hope I am understood. I am tenacious upon this point, because I want to multiply the number of slave States. I want to multiply the number of slave States because I am, and always have been, a genuine constitutional Union man. I love the Union of our fa-

thers, and yield to no man in deep, earnest, heartfelt devotion to it. They made a slaveholding Union. Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and other illustrious patriots, who took a prominent part in the formation of the Union, were themselves slaveholders, and they gave to slave property the guarantees which the Constitution contains, as expounded by the Supreme Court. By the Union which they made I am ready to stand; for it I am ready to fall; and I will never stand idly by, and see, by your timid time-serving policy, that Union undermined and forced to tumble into ruins.

Nor am I willing to take the position which the President assigns me, of entrenchment behind the courts. No, sir. No man has higher veneration for courts of justice than I have. No man entertains a deeper, more heartfelt reverence for the judges of that illustrious court, which to-day sits in this Capitol, than I do. Sir, I venerate, I revere, I almost reverence these old judges; but when I see them on their trembling limbs treading your streets, I cannot disguise from my own mind that all these old men, in the lapse of a few years, not more than fifteen or twenty at most; must pass from the stage of active existence. The venerable Chief Justice is already over eighty years of age; I am told that the majority of his associates are over seventy. How long can these old men hold out? When they are gone, and the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber shall have taken possession of the executive and legislative Government, what will happen? That bench now adorned by a Taney, by a Catron, by a Nelson, and by other illustrious judges, will be occupied by such gentlemen as those on the other side of the Chamber. When that day comes, what will become of the Dred Scott decision behind which I am asked to entrench myself? Sir, it will pass away as "the baseless fabric of a vision." These Senators and other persons outside the Chamber who sympathize with them, will carry their opinions upon the bench, and will as remorselessly overturn the decision rendered by the present judges as they would overturn a decision sounding in mere dollars and cents. Yet, sir, with these facts before us, seeing them as we do, we are asked to give up all struggle to maintain our constitutional rights through the law-making power of the Government, and to rely entirely on the courts. Sir, others may pursue that course which to them seems best; I will pursue my own, and leave to time, the great tester of all truths, to determine whether I am not right.

United States Congress. *The Congressional Globe: The Official Proceedings of Congress*, 36th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, DC: John C. Rives.

ON THE IMMORALITY OF SLAVERY (1860)

Interesting Correspondence.

The following letter to the Rev. J. W. LOGUEN from his old Mistress, and his reply to her, will be read with interest by our readers. Mr. L. is a clergyman and gentleman of high standing in this community; and any attempt to capture him will involve consequences that we hardly dare picture to our imagination. "Letter from Mrs. Logue."

Maury Co., State of Tennessee,
February 20th, 1860.

To JARM:—I now take my pen to write you a few lines, to let you know how we all are. I am a cripple, but I am still able to get about. The rest of the family are all well. Cherry is as well as common. I write you these lines to let you know the situation we are in—partly in consequence of your running away and stealing Old Rock, our fine mare. Though we got the mare back, she was never worth much after you took her; and as I now stand in need of some funds, I have determined to sell you; and I have had an offer for you, but did not see fit to take it. If you will send me one thousand dollars and pay for the old mare, I will give up all claim I have to you. Write to me as soon as you get these lines, and let me know if you will accept my proposition. In consequence of your running away, we had to sell Abe and Ann and twelve acres of land; and I want you to send me the money that I may be able to redeem the land that you was the cause of our selling, and on receipt of the above named sum of money, I will send you your bill of sale. If you do not comply with my request, I will sell you to some one else, and you may rest assured that the time is not far distant when things will be changed with you. Write to me as soon as you get these lines. Direct your letter to Bigbyville, Maury County, Tennessee. You had better comply with my request.

I understand that you are a preacher. As the Southern people are so bad, you had better come and preach to your old acquaintances. I would like to know if you read your Bible? If so can you tell what will become of the thief if he does not repent? and, if the blind lead the blind, what will the consequence be? I deem it unnecessary to say much more at present. A word to the wise is sufficient. You know where the liar has his part. You know that we reared you as we reared our own children; that you was never abused, and that shortly before you ran away, when your master asked you if

you would like to be sold, you said you would not leave him to go with any body.

Sarah Logue.

“Mr. Loguen’s Reply”

Syracuse, N. Y., March 28, 1860.

MRS. SARAH LOGUE:—Yours of the 20th of February is duly received, and I thank you for it. It is a long-time since I heard from my poor old mother, and I am glad to know she is yet alive, and as you say, “as well as common.” What that means I don’t know. I wish you had said more about her.

You are a woman; but had you a woman’s heart you could never have insulted a brother by telling him you sold his only remaining brother and sister, because he put himself beyond your power to convert him into money.

You sold my brother and sister, ABE and ANN, and 12 acres of land, you say, because I run away. Now you have the unutterable meanness to ask me to return and be your miserable chattel, or in lieu thereof send you \$1,000 to enable you to redeem the *land*, but not to redeem my poor brother and sister! If I were to send you money it would be to get my brother and sister, and not that you should get land. You say you are a *cripple*, and doubtless you say it to stir my pity, for you know I was susceptible in that direction. I do pity you from the bottom of my heart. Nevertheless I am indignant beyond the power of words to express, that you should be so sunken and cruel as to tear the hearts I love so much all in pieces; that you should be willing to impale and crucify us out of all compassion for your poor *foot or leg*. Wretched woman! Be it known to you that I value my freedom, to say nothing of my mother, brothers and sisters, more than your whole body; more, indeed, than my own life; more than all the lives of all the slaveholders and tyrants under Heaven.

You say you have offers to buy me, and that you shall sell me if I do not send you \$1,000, and in the same breath and almost in the same sentence, you say, “you know we raised you as we did our own children.” Woman, did you raise your *own children* for the market? Did you raise them for the whipping-post? Did you raise them to be drove off in a coffle in chains? Where are my poor bleeding brothers and sisters? Can you tell? Who was it that sent them off into sugar and cotton fields, to be kicked, and cuffed, and whipped, and to groan and die; and where no kin can hear their groans, or attend and sympathize at their dying bed, or follow in their funeral? Wretched woman! Do you say *you* did not do it? Then I reply,

your husband did, and *you* approved the deed—and the very letter you sent me shows that your heart approves it all. Shame on you.

But, by the way, where is your husband? You don’t speak of him. I infer, therefore, that he is dead; that he has gone to his great account, with all his sins against my poor family upon his head. Poor man! gone to meet the spirits of my poor, outraged and murdered people, in a world where Liberty and Justice are **MAS-TERS**.

But you say I am a thief, because I took the old mare along with me. Have you got to learn that I had a better right to the old mare, as you called her, than **MANASSETH LOGUE** had to me? Is it a greater sin for me to steal his horse, than it was for him to rob my mother’s cradle and steal me? If he and you infer that I forfeit all my rights to you, shall not I infer that you forfeit all your rights to me? Have you got to learn that human rights are mutual and reciprocal, and if you take my liberty and life, you forfeit me your own liberty and life? Before God and High Heaven, is there a law for one man which is not law for every other man?

If you or any other speculator on my body and rights, wish to know how I regard my rights, they need but come here and lay their hands on me to enslave me. Did you think to terrify me by presenting the alternative to give my money to you, or give my body to Slavery? Then let me say to you, that I meet the proposition with unutterable scorn and contempt. The proposition is an outrage and an insult. I will not budge one hair’s breadth. I will not breath a shorter breath, even to save me from your persecutions. I stand among a free people, who, I thank God, sympathize with my rights, and the rights of mankind; and if your emissaries and venders come here to re-enslave me, and escape the unshrinking vigor of my own right arm, I trust my strong and brave friends, in this City and State, will be my rescuers and avengers.

Yours, &c.,
J. W. Loguen.

Loguen, Jermain W. 1859. *The Rev. J. W. Loguen, as a Slave and as a Freeman. A Narrative of Real Life*. Syracuse, NY: J. G. K. Truair & Co.

ILLEGAL IMPORTATION OF AFRICANS AS SLAVES (1860)

The Africans of the Slave Bark, Wildfire

Key West, Florida, May 20, 1860.

On the morning of the 30th of April last, the United States steamer *Mohawk*, Lieutenant Craven command-

ing, came to anchor in the harbor of this place, having in tow a bark of the burden of about three hundred and thirty tons, supposed to be the bark *Wildfire*, lately owned in the city of New York. The bark had on board five hundred and ten native Africans, taken on board in the River Congo, on the west side of the continent of Africa. She had been captured a few days previously by Lieutenant Craven within sight of the northern coast of Cuba, as an American vessel employed in violating our laws against the slave-trade. She had left the Congo River thirty-six days before her capture.

Soon after the bark was anchored we repaired on board, and on passing over the side saw, on the deck of the vessel, about four hundred and fifty native Africans, in a state of entire nudity, in a sitting or squatting posture, the most of them having their knees elevated so as to form a resting place for their heads and arms. They sat very close together, mostly on either side of the vessel, forward and aft, leaving a narrow open space along the line of the centre for the crew of the vessel to pass to and fro. About fifty of them were full-grown young men, and about four hundred were boys aged from ten to sixteen years. It is said by persons acquainted with the slave-trade and who saw them, that they were generally in a very good condition of health and flesh, as compared with other similar cargoes, owing to the fact that they had not been so much crowded together on board as is common in slave voyages, and had been better fed than usual. It is said that the bark is capable of carrying, and was prepared to carry, one thousand, but not being able without inconvenient delay to procure so many, she sailed with six hundred. Ninety and upward had died on the voyage. But this is considered as comparatively a small loss, showing that they had been better cared for than usual. Ten more have died since their arrival, and there are about forty more sick in the hospital. We saw on board about six or seven boys and men greatly emaciated, and diseased past recovery, and about a hundred that showed decided evidences of suffering from inanition, exhaustion, and disease. Dysentery was the principal disease. But notwithstanding their sufferings, we could not be otherwise than interested and amused at their strange looks, motions, and actions. The well ones looked happy and contented, and were ready at any moment to join in a song or a dance whenever they were directed to do so by "Jack"—a little fellow as black as ebony, about twelve years old, having a handsome and expressive face, an intelligent look, and a sparkling eye. The sailors on the voyage had dressed "Jack" in sailor costume, and had made him a great pet. When we were on board "Jack"

carried about in his hand a short cord, not only as the emblem but also as the instrument of his brief delegated authority. He would make the men and boys stand up, sit down, sing, or dance just as he directed. When they sang "Jack" moved around among them as light as a cat, and beat the time by slapping his hands together, and if any refused to sing, or sang out of time, Jack's cord descended on their backs. Their singing was monotonous. The words we did not understand. We have rarely seen a more happy and merry-looking fellow than "Jack."

From the deck we descended into the cabin, where we saw sixty or seventy women and young girls, in Nature's dress, some sitting on the floor and others on the lockers, and some sick ones lying in the berths. Four or five of them were a good deal tattooed on the back and arms, and we noticed that three had an arm branded with the figure "7," which, we suppose, is the merchant's mark.

On the day of their arrival the sickest, about forty in all, were landed and carried to a building on the public grounds belonging to Fort Taylor, and Doctors Whitehurst and Skrine employed as medical attendants. We visited them in the afternoon. The United States Marshal had procured for all of them shirts, and pants for the men, and some benevolent ladies of the city had sent the girls and women gowns. Six or eight were very sick; the others did not appear to be in any immediate danger of dying. We were very much amused by a young lad about fifteen years old, not much sick, who had got on, probably for the first time in his life, a whole shirt, and who seemed to be delighted with every body and every thing he saw. He evidently thought the speech of the white man was very funny. When a few words were spoken to him he immediately repeated them with great glee. Pointing to Dr. Skrine, we said "Doctor." He said "Doctor." And then pointing to Dr. Whitehurst, we said "Doctor too." He said "Doctor too." The doctors had selected from the bark a woman about twenty-four years of age to assist the nurse in taking care of the sick. She had been dressed in a clean calico frock, and looked very respectable.

About sundown they all lay down for the night upon a camp bed, and were covered over with blankets. And now a scene took place which interested us very much, but which we did not understand and can not explain. The woman standing up slapped her hands together once or twice, and as soon as all were silent she commenced a sort of recitation, song, or prayer, in tone and manner much like a chanting of the Litany in Catholic churches, and every few moments the voices of ten or fifteen others were heard in

the same tone, as if responding. This exercise continued about a minute. Now what could this be? It looked and sounded to us very much like Christians chanting together an evening prayer on retiring to rest. And yet we feel quite assured that none of these persons had ever heard of Christ, or had learned Christian practices, or possessed much, if any, knowledge of God as a Creator or Preserver of the world. We suspect that it was not understood by them as a religious exercise at all, but as something which they had been trained to go through at the barracoons in Africa or on board the ship.

In two days after the arrival of the bark the Marshal had completed a large, airy building at Whitehead's Point, a little out of the town, for the reception and accommodation of these people; and after getting them clad as well as he could in so short a time, they were all landed on the fort wharf, and carried in carts to their quarters. On arriving there they all arranged themselves along the sides of the building, as they had been accustomed to do on the decks of the vessel, and squatted down in the same manner. It took the Marshal and his assistants some little time, and no small efforts, to give the Africans to understand that they were free to move about, to go out and come in at will.

They learned this in the course of a few hours, however, and general merriment and hilarity prevailed. We visited them in the afternoon, and have done so several times since; and we confess that we have been struck, as many others have been, with the expression of intelligence displayed in their faces, the beauty of their physical conformation, and the beauty of their teeth. We have been accustomed to think that the civilized negroes of our own country were superior, in point of intelligence and physical development, to the native Africans; but judging only by the eye, we think it would be difficult to find, any where in our own country, four hundred finer and handsomer-looking boys and girls than these are. To be sure you often saw the elongated occiput, the protruded jaws, and the receding forehead; but you also often saw a head as round, with features as regular as any European's, except the universal flat noses. Little "Jack" has a head as round as an apple.

A number of these negroes—perhaps twelve or fifteen in all—have been more or less at and about Loando, a Portuguese town on the coast, and have learned to speak a little Portuguese. Through an interpreter we learned from them that some four or five—perhaps more, but probably not many—had been baptized at the Roman Catholic missionary station at Loando. Francisco, a young man, says he was baptized by a Franciscan friar in Loando; that he was a slave in

Africa, and does not wish to return there. He says he had rather be a slave to the white man in this country. Salvador, a bright-looking, smart lad, has been baptized. Constantia says she was baptized in Loando. She does not remember her father; she was stolen away when she was young, and was sold by her brother. Antonia and Amelia are both fine-looking young women, aged about twenty, and were both baptized at Loando. Madia, a pagan, unbaptized, aged about twenty, has obtained among the white people here who have visited the quarters the name of "The Princess," on account of her fine personal appearance and the deference that seemed to be paid to her by some of her companions. The persons we have here mentioned, including some eight or ten others, evidently do not belong to the same tribe that the rest do. Indeed the whole number is evidently taken from different tribes living in the interior of Africa, but the greater number are "Congos." The women we have named have cut or shaved the hair off the back part of their head, from a point on the crown to the back part of either ear. It is the fashion of their tribe. None of the other women are thus shorn. Many of the men, women, boys, and girls have filed their front teeth—some by sharpening them to a point, and others by cutting down the two upper front teeth. The persons above named have their teeth in a natural state. Perhaps fifty in all are tattooed more or less.

Travelers describe the natives of Congo as being small of stature, cheerful, good-humored, unreflecting, and possessed of little energy either of mind or body. Negro indolence is carried with them to the utmost excess. The little cultivation that exists, entirely carried on by the females, is nearly limited to the manioc root, which they are not very skillful in preparing. Their houses are put together of mats made from the fibre of the palm-tree, and their clothes and bedding consist merely of matted grass.

The President, on receiving news of the capture of the *Wildfire*, sent a special message to Congress on the subject, from which we give an extract below. The subsequent capture of another slave ship with more Africans will probably lead to some enactment on the subject. The President says: "The expenditure for the Africans captured on board the *Wildfire* will not be less than one hundred thousand dollars, and may considerably exceed that sum. But it will not be sufficient for Congress to limit the amount appropriated to the case of the *Wildfire*. It is probable, judging from the increased activity of the slave-trade and the vigilance of our cruisers, that several similar captures may be made before the end of the year. An appropriation ought, therefore, to be granted large enough to

cover such contingencies. The period has arrived when it is indispensable to provide some specific legislation for the guidance of the Executive on this subject. With this view, I would suggest that Congress might authorize the President to enter into a general agreement with the Colonization Society, binding them to receive, on the coast of Africa from our agent there, all the captured Africans which may be delivered to him, and to maintain them for a limited period, upon such terms and conditions as may combine humanity toward these unfortunates with a just economy. This would obviate the necessity of making a new bargain with every new capture, and would prevent delay and avoid expense in the disposition of the captured. The law might then provide that, in all cases where this may be practicable, the captor should carry the negroes directly to Africa, and deliver them to the American agent there, afterward bringing the captured vessel to the United States for adjudication.

Harper's Weekly, June 2, 1860.

PRO-SECESSION EDITORIAL (1860)

"What Shall the South Carolina Legislature Do?"

The issue before the country is the extinction of slavery. No man of common sense, who has observed the progress of events, and who is not prepared to surrender the institution, with the safety and independence of the South, can doubt that the time for action has come—now or never. The Southern States are now in the crisis of their fate; and, if we read aright the signs of the times, nothing is needed for our deliverance, but that the ball of revolution be set in motion. There is sufficient readiness among the people to make it entirely successful. Co-operation will follow the action of any State. The example of a forward movement only is requisite to unite Southern States in a common cause. Under these circumstances the Legislature of South Carolina is about to meet. It happens to assemble in advance of the Legislature of any other State. Being in session at this momentous juncture—the Legislature of that State which is most united in the policy of freeing the South from Black Republican domination—the eyes of the whole country, and most especially of the resistance party of the Southern States, is intently turned upon the conduct of this body. We have innumerable assurances that the men of action in each and all of the Southern States, earnestly desire South Carolina to exhibit promptitude and decision in this juncture. Other states are torn and divided, to a

greater or less extent, by old party issues. South Carolina alone is not. Any practical move would enable the people of other States to rise above their past divisions, and lock shields on the broad ground of Southern security. The course of our Legislature will either greatly stimulate and strengthen, or unnerve the resistance elements of the whole South. A Convention is the point to which their attention will be chiefly directed.

The question of calling a Convention by our Legislature does not necessarily involve the question of separate or co-operative action. That is a question for the Convention when it assembles, under the circumstances which shall exist when it assembles. All desire the action of as many Southern States as possible, for the formation of a Southern Confederacy. But each should not delay and wait on the other. As these States are separate sovereignties, each must act separately; and whether one or the other acts first or last, we suppose is of no sort of consequence. What is really essential is this—that by the action of one or more States, there shall be the *reasonable probability* that a Southern Confederacy will be formed. We say probability,—because there is no certainty in the future of human affairs; and in the position in which the South will be placed by the election of an Abolitionist white man as President of the United States, and an Abolitionist colored man as Vice President of the United States, we should not hesitate, somewhat to venture. The existence of slavery is at stake. The evils of submission are too terrible for us to risk them, from vague fears of failure, or a jealous distrust of our sister Cotton States. We think, therefore, that the approaching Legislature should provide for the assembling of a Convention of the people of South Carolina, as soon as it is ascertained that Messrs. LINCOLN and HAMLIN will have a majority in the Electoral Colleges for President and Vice President of the United States. The only point of difficulty is as to *the time when the Convention shall assemble*. In our judgment, it should assemble *at the earliest possible time* consistent with the opportunity for co-operative action of other Southern States, which may, like ourselves, be determined not to submit to Black Republican domination at Washington. Delay is fatal, while our move will retard no willing State from co-operation. South Carolina, as a sovereign State, is bound to protect her people, but she should so act as to give the other Southern States the opportunity of joining in this policy. The Governors of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia can act simultaneously. With this qualification, the *earliest time is the best*, for the following reasons:

1. Our great agricultural staples are going to market. The sooner we act, the more of these staples we will have on hand, to control the conduct of the people of the North and of foreign nations, to secure a peaceful result for our deliverance. Thousands at the North, and millions in Europe, need our Cotton to keep their looms in operation. Let us act, before we have parted with our agricultural productions for the season.

2. The commercial and financial interests of the South require that we should act speedily in settling our relations towards the North. Suspense is embarrassment and loss. Decision, with separation, will speedily open new sources of wealth and prosperity, and relieve the finances of the South through the establishment of new channels. In all changes of Government, respect should be had to all classes of the people, and the least possible loss be inflicted on any.

3. The moral effect of promptitude will be immense. Delay will dispirit our friends, and inspire confidence in our enemies. The evils against which we are to provide are not the growth of yesterday. They have been gathering head for thirty years. We have tried, again and again, to avert them by compromise and submission. Submission has failed to avert them; and wise, prompt and resolute action is our last and only course for safety.

4. Black Republican rule at Washington will not commence until the 4th of March next—four short months. Before that time all that South Carolina or the other Southern States intend to do, should be done. The settlement of our relations towards the General Government, in consequence of our measures of protection, should be completed during the existing Administration.

5. It is exceedingly important, also, that our measures should be laid as soon as possible before *the present Congress*. The secession of one or more States from the Union must be communicated to the President of the United States. He has done all he could to arrest the sectional madness of the North. He knows that we are wronged and endangered by Black Republican ascendancy, and he will not, we have a right to suppose, lend himself to carry out their bloody policy.

6. By communication from the President of the United States, as well as by the withdrawal from Congress of the members of the seceding States, the question of the right of a State to secede from the Union, with the question of a Force Bill, must arise in Con-

gress for action. The Representatives from the other Southern States will most probably be forced either to continue members of a body which orders the sword to be drawn against the seceding States, or they must leave it. They will most probably leave it; and thus the South will be brought together by action in Congress, even though they fail to co-operate at once by their State authorities. It will not be wise to pretermitt either of these instrumentalities for the union and co-action of the Southern States; but, it is our opinion, that Congress is the best place to unite them. By prompt action, and through the question of secession in Congress, the agitations which must ensue, will not only tend to unite the Southern members of Congress, but to unite and stimulate State action in the States they represent. We conclude, therefore, by urging the Legislature about to assemble, to provide for the calling a Convention, as soon as it is ascertained that Messrs. LINCOLN and HAMLIN have the majority in the Electoral Colleges for President and Vice President of the United States; and that this Convention shall assemble at the earliest day practicable, consistent with the knowledge of our course by our sister Southern States. To this end we would respectfully suggest Nov. 22d and 23d as the day of election, and December 15th as the time of assembling the Convention of the people of South Carolina.

The Charleston Mercury, November 3, 1860.

HINTON ROWAN HELPER APPEALS TO WHITE SOUTHERNERS (1860)

*In 1850, there were assessed for
taxation in the State of New York*

Acres of land: 30,080,000. Valued at \$1,112,133,136

Average value per acre: \$36.97. North Carolina

Acres of land: 32,450,560. Valued at \$98,800,636

Average value per acre: \$3.06. It is difficult for us to make any remarks on the official facts above. Our indignation is struck almost dumb at this astounding and revolting display of the awful wreck that slavery is leaving behind it in the South. We will however, go into a calculation for the purpose of ascertaining as nearly as possible, in this one particular, how much North Carolina has lost by the retention of slavery. As we have already seen, the average value per acre of land in the State of New York is \$36.97; in North Carolina it is only \$3.06; why is it so much less, or even any less, in the latter than in the former? The answer is, *slavery*. In soil, in climate, in minerals, in water-power for

manufactural purposes, and in area of territory, North Carolina has the advantage of New York, and, with the exception of slavery, no plausible reason can possibly be assigned why land should not be *at least* as valuable in the valley of the Yadkin as it is along the banks of the Genesee.

The difference between \$36.97 and \$3.06 is \$33.91, which, multiplied by the whole number of acres of land in North Carolina, will show, in this one particular, the enormous loss that Freedom has sustained on account of Slavery in the Old North State. Thus: 32,450,560 acres at \$33.91. . . \$1,100,398,489.

Let it be indelibly impressed on the mind, however, that this amount, large as it is, is only a moiety of the sum it has cost to maintain slavery in North Carolina. From time to time, hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars have left the State, either in search of profitable, permanent investment abroad, or in the shape of profits to Northern merchants and manufacturers, who have become the moneyed aristocracy of the country by supplying to the South such articles of necessity, utility, and adornment, as would have been produced at home but for the pernicious presence of the peculiar institution.

A reward of Eleven Hundred Millions of Dollars is offered for the conversion of the lands of North Carolina into free soil. The lands themselves, desolate and impoverished under the fatal foot of slavery, offer the reward. How, then, can it be made to appear that the abolition of slavery in North Carolina, and indeed, throughout all the Southern States—for slavery is exceedingly inimical to them all—is not demanded by every consideration of justice, prudence, and good sense? In 1850, the total value of all the slaves of the State, at the rate of four hundred dollars per head, amounted to less than one hundred and sixteen millions of dollars. Is the sum of one hundred and sixteen millions of dollars more desirable than the sum of eleven hundred millions of dollars? When a man has land for sale, does he reject thirty-six dollars per acre and take three? Non-slaveholding whites! look well to your interests! Many of you have lands; comparatively speaking, you have nothing else. Abolish slavery, and you will enhance the value of every league, your own and your neighbors', from three to thirty-six dollars per acre. Your little tract containing two hundred acres, now valued at the pitiful sum of only six hundred dollars, will then be worth seven thousand. Your children, now deprived of even the meager advantages of common schools, will then reap the benefits of a collegiate education. Your rivers and smaller streams, now wasting their waters in idleness, will then turn the wheels of multitudinous mills. Your bays and harbors,

now unknown to commerce, will then swarm with ships from every enlightened quarter of the globe. Non-slaveholding whites! look well to your interests!

Would the slaveholders of North Carolina lose anything by the abolition of slavery? Let us see. According to their own estimate, their slaves are worth, in round numbers, say, one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. There are in the State twenty-eight thousand slaveholders, owning, it may be safely assumed, an average of at least five hundred acres of land each—fourteen millions of acres in all. This number of acres, multiplied by thirty-three dollars and ninety-one cents, the difference in value between free soil and slave soil, makes the enormous sum of four hundred and seventy-four millions of dollars—showing that, by the abolition of slavery, the slaveholders themselves would realize a net profit of not less than three hundred and fifty-four millions of dollars!

Compensation to the slaveholders for the negroes now in their possession! The idea is preposterous. The suggestion is criminal. The demand is unjust, wicked, monstrous, damnable. Shall we pat the bloodhounds of slavery for the sake of doing them a favor? Shall we free the curs of slavery in order to make them rich at our expense? Shall we pay the whelps of slavery for the privilege of converting them into decent, honest, upright men? No, never! The non-slaveholders expect to gain, and will gain, something by the abolition of slavery; but slaveholders themselves will, by far, be the greater gainers; for, in proportion to population, they own much larger and more fertile tracts of land, and will, as a matter of course, receive the lion's share of the increase in the value of not only real estate, but also of other genuine property, of which they are likewise the principal owners. How ridiculously absurd, therefore, is the objection, that, if we liberate the slaves, we ruin the masters! Not long since, a gentleman in Baltimore, a native of Maryland, remarked in our presence that he was an abolitionist because he felt that it was right and proper to be one; "but," inquired he, "are there not, in some of the States, many widows and orphans who would be left in destitute circumstances, if their negroes were taken from them?" In answer to the question, we replied that slavery had already reduced thousands and tens of thousands of non-slaveholding widows and orphans to the lowest depths of poverty and ignorance, and that we did not believe one slaveholding widow and three orphans were of more, or even of as much consequence as five non-slaveholding widows and fifteen orphans. "You are right," exclaimed the gentleman, "I had not viewed the subject in that light before; I perceive you go in for the greatest good to the greatest

number.” Emancipate the negroes, and the ex-slaveholding widow would still retain her lands and tenements, which, in consequence of being surrounded by the magic influences of liberty, would soon render her far more wealthy and infinitely more respectable, than she could possibly ever become while trafficking in human flesh.

The fact is, every slave in the South costs the State in which he resides at least three times as much as he, in the whole course of his life, is worth to his master. Slavery benefits no one but its immediate, individual owners, and them only in a pecuniary point of view, and at the sacrifice of the dearest rights and interests of the whole mass of non-slaveholders, white and black. Even the masters themselves, as we have already shown, would be far better off without it than with it. To all classes of society the institution is a curse; an especial curse is it to those who own it not. Non-slaveholding whites! look well to your interests!

Helper, Hinton Rowan. 1860. *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*. New York: A. B. Burdick.

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF FEMALE SLAVES (1860)

I had entered my sixteenth year, and every day it became more apparent that my presence was intolerable to Mrs. Flint. Angry words frequently passed between her and her husband. He had never punished me himself, and he would not allow any body else to punish me. In that respect, she was never satisfied; but, in her angry moods, no terms were too vile for her to bestow upon me. Yet I, whom she detested so bitterly, had far more pity for her than he had, whose duty it was to make her life happy. I never wronged her, or wished to wrong her; and one word of kindness from her would have brought me to her feet.

After repeated quarrels between the doctor and his wife, he announced his intention to take his youngest daughter, then four years old, to sleep in his apartment. It was necessary that a servant should sleep in the same room, to be on hand if the child stirred. I was selected for that office, and informed for what purpose that arrangement had been made. By managing to keep within sight of people, as much as possible during the day time, I had hitherto succeeded in eluding my master, though a razor was often held to my throat to force me to change this line of policy. At night I slept by the side of my great aunt, where I felt safe. He was too prudent to come into her room. She was an old woman, and had been in the family many years. Moreover, as a married man, and a professional man,

he deemed it necessary to save appearances in some degree. But he resolved to remove the obstacle in the way of his scheme; and he thought he had planned it so that he should evade suspicion. He was well aware how much I prized my refuge by the side of my old aunt, and he determined to dispossess me of it. The first night the doctor had the little child in his room alone. The next morning, I was ordered to take my station as nurse the following night. A kind Providence interposed in my favor. During the day Mrs. Flint heard of this new arrangement, and a storm followed. I rejoiced to hear it rage.

After a while my mistress sent for me to come to her room. Her first question was, “Did you know you were to sleep in the doctor’s room?”

“Yes, ma’am.”

“Who told you?”

“My master.”

“Will you answer truly all the questions I ask?”

“Yes, ma’am.”

“Tell me, then, as you hope to be forgiven, are you innocent of what I have accused you?”

“I am.”

She handed me a Bible, and said, “Lay your hand on your heart, kiss this holy book, and swear before God that you tell me the truth.”

I took the oath she required, and I did it with a clear conscience.

“You have taken God’s holy word to testify your innocence,” said she. “If you have deceived me, beware! Now take this stool, sit down, look me directly in the face, and tell me all that has passed between your master and you.”

I did as she ordered. As I went on with my account her color changed frequently, she wept, and sometimes groaned. She spoke in tones so sad, that I was touched by her grief. The tears came to my eyes; but I was soon convinced that her emotions arose from anger and wounded pride. She felt that her marriage vows were desecrated, her dignity insulted, but she had no compassion for the poor victim of her husband’s perfidy. She pitied herself as a martyr; but she was incapable of feeling for the condition of shame and misery in which her unfortunate, helpless slave was placed.

Yet perhaps she had some touch of feeling for me; for when the conference was ended, she spoke kindly, and promised to protect me. I should have been much comforted by this assurance if I could have had confidence in it; but my experiences in slavery had filled me with distrust. She was not a very refined woman, and had not much control over her passions. I was an object of her jealousy, and, consequently, of her hatred; and I knew I could not expect kindness or confidence

from her under the circumstances in which I was placed. I could not blame her. Slave-holders' wives feel as other women would under similar circumstances. The fire of her temper kindled from small sparks, and now the flame became so intense that the doctor was obliged to give up his intended arrangement.

I knew I had ignited the torch, and I expected to suffer for it afterwards; but I felt too thankful to my mistress for the timely aid she rendered me to care much about that. She now took me to sleep in a room adjoining her own. There I was an object of her especial care, though not of her especial comfort, for she spent many a sleepless night to watch over me. Sometimes I woke up, and found her bending over me. At other times she whispered in my ear, as though it was her husband who was speaking to me, and listened to hear what I would answer. If she startled me, on such occasions, she would glide stealthily away; and the next morning she would tell me I had been talking in my sleep, and ask who I was talking to. At last, I began to be fearful for my life. It had been often threatened; and you can imagine, better than I can describe, what an unpleasant sensation it must produce to wake up in the dead of night and find a jealous woman bending over you. Terrible as this experience was, I had fears that it would give place to one more terrible.

My mistress grew weary of her vigils; they did not prove satisfactory. She changed her tactics. She now tried the trick of accusing my master of crime, in my presence, and gave my name as the author of the accusation. To my utter astonishment, he replied, "I don't believe it; but if she did acknowledge it, you tortured her into exposing me." Tortured into exposing him! Truly, Satan had no difficulty in distinguishing the color of his soul! I understood his object in making this false representation. It was to show me that I gained nothing by seeking the protection of my mistress; that the power was still all in his own hands. I pitied Mrs. Flint. She was a second wife, many years the junior of her husband; and the hoary-headed miscreant was enough to try the patience of a wiser and better woman. She was completely foiled, and knew not how to proceed. She would gladly have had me flogged for my supposed false oath; but, as I have already stated, the doctor never allowed any one to whip me. The old sinner was politic. The application of the lash might have led to remarks that would have exposed him in the eyes of his children and grandchildren. How often did I rejoice that I lived in a town where all the inhabitants knew each other! If I had been on a remote plantation, or lost among the multitude of a crowded city, I should not be a living woman at this day.

The secrets of slavery are concealed like those of the Inquisition. My master was, to my knowledge, the father of eleven slaves. But did the mothers dare to tell who was the father of their children? Did the other slaves dare to allude to it, except in whispers among themselves? No, indeed! They knew too well the terrible consequences.

Jacobs, Harriet A. 1860. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*. Lydia Maria Frances Child, ed. Boston: Author.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON DESCRIBES THE SLAVE'S LIVING CONDITIONS (C. 1860)

The cabin was not only our living-place, but was also used as the kitchen for the plantation. My mother was the plantation cook. The cabin was without glass windows; it had only openings in the side which let in the light, and also the cold, chilly air of winter. There was a door to the cabin—that is, something that was called a door—but the uncertain hinges by which it was hung, and the large cracks in it, to say nothing of the fact that it was too small, made the room a very uncomfortable one. In addition to these openings there was, in the lower right-hand corner of the room, the "cat-hole,"—a contrivance which almost every mansion or cabin in Virginia possessed during the ante-bellum period. The "cat-hole" was a square opening, about seven by eight inches, provided for the purpose of letting the cat pass in and out of the house at will during the night. In the case of our particular cabin I could never understand the necessity for this convenience, since there were at least a half-dozen other places in the cabin that would have accommodated the cats. There was no wooden floor in our cabin, the naked earth being used as a floor.

In the centre of the earthen floor there was a large, deep opening covered with boards, which was used as a place in which to store sweet potatoes during the winter. An impression of this potato-hole is very distinctly engraved upon my memory, because I recall that during the process of putting the potatoes in or taking them out I would often come into possession of one or two, which I roasted and thoroughly enjoyed. There was no cooking-stove on our plantation, and all the cooking for the whites and slaves my mother had to do over an open fireplace, mostly in pots and "skillets." While the poorly built cabin caused us to suffer with cold in the winter, the heat from the open fireplace in summer was equally trying.

The early years of my life, which were spent in the

little cabin, were not very different from those of thousands of other slaves. My mother, of course, had little time in which to give attention to the training of her children during the day. She snatched a few moments for our care in the early morning before her work began, and at night after the day's work was done. One of my earliest recollections is that of my mother cooking a chicken late at night, and awakening her children for the purpose of feeding them. How or where she got it I do not know. I presume, however, it was procured from our owner's farm. Some people may call this theft. If such a thing were to happen now, I should condemn it as theft myself. But taking place at the time it did, and for the reason that it did, no one could ever make me believe that my mother was guilty of thieving. She was simply a victim of the system of slavery. I cannot remember having slept in a bed until after our family was declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation. Three children—John, my older brother, Amanda, my sister, and myself—had a pallet on the dirt floor, or, to be more correct, we slept in and on a bundle of filthy rags laid upon the dirt floor.

I was asked not long ago to tell something about the sports and pastimes that I engaged in during my youth. Until that question was asked it had never occurred to me that there was no period of my life that was devoted to play. From the time that I can remember anything, almost every day of my life has been occupied in some kind of labour; though I think I would now be a more useful man if I had had time for sports. During the period that I spent in slavery I was not large enough to be of much service, still I was occupied most of the time in cleaning the yards, carrying water to the men in the fields, or going to the mill, to which I used to take the corn, once a week, to be ground. The mill was about three miles from the plantation. This work I always dreaded. The heavy bag of corn would be thrown across the back of the horse, and the corn divided about evenly on each side; but in some way, almost without exception, on these trips, the corn would so shift as to become unbalanced and would fall off the horse, and often I would fall with it. As I was not strong enough to reload the corn upon the horse, I would have to wait, sometimes for many hours, till a chance passer-by came along who would help me out of my trouble. The hours while waiting for some one were usually spent in crying. The time consumed in this way made me late in reaching the mill, and by the time I got my corn ground and reached home it would be far into the night. The road was a lonely one, and often led through dense forests. I was always frightened. The woods were said to be full of soldiers who had deserted from the army, and I had

been told that the first thing a deserter did to a Negro boy when he found him alone was to cut off his ears. Besides, when I was late in getting home I knew I would always get a severe scolding or a flogging.

I had no schooling whatever while I was a slave, though I remember on several occasions I went as far as the schoolhouse door with one of my young mistresses to carry her books. The picture of several dozen boys and girls in a schoolroom engaged in study made a deep impression upon me, and I had the feeling that to get into a schoolhouse and study in this way would be about the same as getting into paradise.

So far as I can now recall, the first knowledge that I got of the fact that we were slaves, and that freedom of the slaves was being discussed, was early one morning before day, when I was awakened by my mother kneeling over her children and fervently praying that Lincoln and his armies might be successful, and that one day she and her children might be free. In this connection I have never been able to understand how the slaves throughout the South, completely ignorant as were the masses so far as books or newspapers were concerned, were able to keep themselves so accurately and completely informed about the great National questions that were agitating the country. From the time that Garrison, Lovejoy, and others began to agitate for freedom, the slaves throughout the South kept in close touch with the progress of the movement. Though I was a mere child during the preparation for the Civil War and during the war itself, I now recall the many late-at-night whispered discussions that I heard my mother and the other slaves on the plantation indulge in. These discussions showed that they understood the situation, and that they kept themselves informed of events by what was termed the "grape-vine" telegraph.

During the campaign when Lincoln was first a candidate for the Presidency, the slaves on our far-off plantation, miles from any railroad or large city or daily newspaper, knew what the issues involved were. When war was begun between the North and the South, every slave on our plantation felt and knew that, though other issues were discussed, the primal one was that of slavery. Even the most ignorant members of my race on the remote plantations felt in their hearts, with a certainty that admitted of no doubt, that the freedom of the slaves would be the one great result of the war, if the Northern armies conquered. Every success of the Federal armies and every defeat of the Confederate forces was watched with the keenest and most intense interest. Often the slaves got knowledge of the results of great battles before the white people received it. This news was usually gotten from the

coloured man who was sent to the post-office for the mail. In our case the post-office was about three miles from the plantation and the mail came once or twice a week. The man who was sent to the office would linger about the place long enough to get the drift of the conversation from the group of white people who naturally congregated there, after receiving their mail, to discuss the latest news. The mail-carrier on his way back to our master's house would as naturally retail the news that he had secured among the slaves, and in this way they often heard of important events before the white people at the "big house," as the master's house was called.

I cannot remember a single instance during my childhood or early boyhood when our entire family sat down to the table together, and God's blessing was asked, and the family ate a meal in a civilized manner. On the plantation in Virginia, and even later, meals were gotten by the children very much as dumb animals get theirs. It was a piece of bread here and a scrap of meat there. It was a cup of milk at one time and some potatoes at another. Sometimes a portion of our family would eat out of the skillet or pot, while some one else would eat from a tin plate held on the knees, and often using nothing but the hands with which to hold the food. When I had grown to sufficient size, I was required to go to the "big house" at meal-times to fan the flies from the table by means of a large set of paper fans operated by a pulley. Naturally much of the conversation of the white people turned upon the subject of freedom and the war, and I absorbed a good deal of it. I remember that at one time I saw two of my young mistresses and some lady visitors eating ginger-cakes, in the yard. At that time those cakes seemed to me to be absolutely the most tempting and desirable things that I had ever seen; and I then and there resolved that, if I ever got free, the height of my ambition would be reached if I could get to the point where I could secure and eat ginger-cakes in the way that I saw those ladies doing.

Washington, Booker T. 1901. *Up from Slavery; an Autobiography*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

FRÉMONT'S PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION (1861)

Proclamation.

Headquarters Western Department, *Saint Louis*,
August 30, 1861.

Circumstances, in my judgment, of sufficient urgency render it necessary that the commanding general of

this department should assume the administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county of the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily-increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State.

In this condition the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hinderance to the prompt administration of affairs. In order, therefore, to suppress disorder, to maintain as far as now practicable the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri.

The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Iron-ton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.

All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty will be shot.

The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared freemen.

All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in fomenting tumults, in disturbing the public tranquillity by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interests warned that they are exposing themselves to sudden and severe punishment.

All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But this is not intended to suspend the ordinary tri-

bunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

The commanding general will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence but the active support of the loyal people of the country.

J. C. FRÉMONT,
Major-General, Commanding.

*Official Records of the War of the Rebellion—Series I:
Volume 3—Correspondence, Orders, and Returns,
Relating Specially to Operations in Arkansas, the Indian
Territory, Kansas, and Missouri, from May 10 to November
19, 1861.*

LINCOLN'S PLAN FOR COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION (1862)

March 6, 1862

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
House of Representatives:*

I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows: *Resolved*, that the United States ought to cooperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the states and people immediately interested should be at once distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it. The Federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that this government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave states north of such part will then say, "The Union for which we have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section." To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation

completely deprives them of it as to all the states initiating it.

The point is not that *all* the states tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation but that, while the offer is equally made to all, the more northern shall by such initiation make it certain to the more southern that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed confederacy. I say "initiation" because, in my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress with the census tables and Treasury reports before him can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at fair valuation, all the slaves in any named state. Such a proposition on the part of the general government sets up no claim of a right by Federal authority to interfere with slavery within state limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the state and its people immediately interested. It is proposed as a matter of perfectly free choice with them.

In the annual message last December, I thought fit to say "the Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed." I said this not hastily but deliberately. War has been made and continues to be an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease. If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue; and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle must and will come.

The proposition now made (though an offer only), I hope it may be esteemed no offense to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the states and private persons concerned than are the institution and property in it in the present aspect of affairs.

While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important practical results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Richardson, James D., ed. 1897. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Vol. 7. New York: Bureau of National Literature.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN
WASHINGTON, D. C. (1862)

An Act for the Release of certain Persons held to Service or Labor in the District of Columbia

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That all persons held to service or labor within the District of Columbia by reason of African descent are hereby discharged and freed of and from all claim to such service or labor; and from and after the passage of this act neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in said District.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That all persons loyal to the United States, holding claims to service or labor against persons discharged therefrom by this act, may, within ninety days from the passage thereof, but not thereafter, present to the commissioners hereinafter mentioned their respective statements or petitions in writing, verified by oath or affirmation, setting forth the names, ages, and personal description of such persons, the manner in which said petitioners acquired such claim, and any facts touching the value thereof, and declaring his allegiance to the Government of the United States, and that he has not borne arms against the United States during the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid or comfort thereto: *Provided,* That the oath of the party to the petition shall not be evidence of the facts therein stated.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three commissioners, residents of the District of Columbia, any two of whom shall have power to act, who shall receive the petitions above mentioned, and who shall investigate and determine the validity and value of the claims therein presented, as aforesaid, and appraise and apportion, under the proviso hereto annexed, the value in money of the several claims by them found to be valid: *Provided, however,* That the entire sum so appraised and apportioned shall not exceed in the aggregate an amount equal to three hundred dollars for each person shown to have been so held by lawful claim: *And provided, further,* That no claim shall be allowed for any slave or slaves brought into said District after the passage of this act, nor for any slave claimed by any person who has borne arms against the Government of the United States in the present rebellion, or in any way given aid or comfort thereto, or which originates in or by virtue of any transfer heretofore made, or which shall hereafter be made by any person who has in any manner

aided or sustained the rebellion against the Government of the United States.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That said commissioners shall, within nine months from the passage of this act, make a full and final report of their proceedings, findings, and appraisal, and shall deliver the same to the Secretary of the Treasury, which report shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive in all respects, except as hereinafter provided; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall, with like exception, cause the amounts so apportioned to said claims to be paid from the Treasury of the United States to the parties found by said report to be entitled thereto as aforesaid, and the same shall be received in full and complete compensation: *Provided,* That in cases where petitions may be filed presenting conflicting claims, or setting up liens, said commissioners shall so specify in said report, and payment shall not be made according to the award of said commissioners until a period of sixty days shall have elapsed, during which time any petitioner claiming an interest in the particular amount may file a bill in equity in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, making all other claimants defendants thereto, setting forth the proceedings in such case before said commissioners and their actions therein, and praying that the party to whom payment has been awarded may be enjoined from receiving the same; and if said court shall grant such provisional order, a copy thereof may, on motion of said complainant, be served upon the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall thereupon cause the said amount of money to be paid into said court, subject to its orders and final decree, which payment shall be in full and complete compensation, as in other cases.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted,* That said commissioners shall hold their sessions in the city of Washington, at such place and times as the President of the United States may direct, of which they shall give due and public notice. They shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of witnesses, and to receive testimony and enforce its production, as in civil cases before courts of justice, without the exclusion of any witness on account of color; and they may summon before them the persons making claim to service or labor, and examine them under oath; and they may also, for purposes of identification and appraisal, call before them the persons so claimed. Said commissioners shall appoint a clerk, who shall keep files and [a] complete record of all proceedings before them, who shall have power to administer oaths and affirmations in said proceedings, and who shall issue all lawful process by them ordered. The Marshal of the District of Columbia shall personally, or by deputy, attend

upon the sessions of said commissioners, and shall execute the process issued by said clerk.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted,* That said commissioners shall receive in compensation for their services the sum of two thousand dollars each, to be paid upon the filing of their report; that said clerk shall receive for his services the sum of two hundred dollars per month; that said marshal shall receive such fees as are allowed by law for similar services performed by him in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia; that the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause all other reasonable expenses of said commission to be audited and allowed, and that said compensation, fees, and expenses shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That for the purpose of carrying this act into effect there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not exceeding one million of dollars.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That any person or persons who shall kidnap, or in any manner transport or procure to be taken out of said District, any person or persons discharged and freed by the provisions of this act, or any free person or persons with intent to re-enslave or sell such person or person into slavery, or shall re-enslave any of said freed persons, the person or persons so offending shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction in said District, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than five nor more than twenty years.

Section 9. *And be it further enacted,* That within twenty days, or within such further time as the commissioners herein provided for shall limit, after the passage of this act, a statement in writing or schedule shall be filed with the clerk of the Circuit court for the District of Columbia, by the several owners or claimants to the services of the persons made free or manumitted by this act, setting forth the names, ages, sex, and particular description of such persons, severally; and the said clerk shall receive and record, in a book by him to be provided and kept for that purpose, the said statements or schedules on receiving fifty cents each therefor, and no claim shall be allowed to any claimant or owner who shall neglect this requirement.

Section 10. *And be it further enacted,* That the said clerk and his successors in office shall, from time to time, on demand, and on receiving twenty-five cents therefor, prepare, sign, and deliver to each person made free or manumitted by this act, a certificate under the seal of said court, setting out the name, age, and description of such person, and stating that such person was duly manumitted and set free by this act.

Section 11. *And be it further enacted,* That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by this act, as may desire to emigrate to the Republics of Hayti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine: *Provided,* The expenditure for this purpose shall not exceed one hundred dollars for each emigrant.

Section 12. *And be it further enacted,* That all acts of Congress and all laws of the State of Maryland in force in said District, and all ordinances of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

Approved, April 16, 1862.

U.S. Congress. *U.S. Statutes at Large.* 37th Cong., 2nd sess, ch. 54.

LINCOLN RESPONDS TO DAVID HUNTER'S PROCLAMATION (1862)

Proclamation.

Whereas, there appears in the public prints what purports to be a proclamation of Major-General Hunter in the words and figures following, to wit:

General Orders No. 11. Headquarters Department of the South, *Hilton Head, S. C., May 9, 1862.*

The three States of Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, comprising the Military Department of the South, having deliberately declared themselves no longer under the protection of the United States of America and having taken up arms against the said United States it becomes a military necessity to declare them under martial law. This was accordingly done on the 25th day of April, 1862. Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible; the persons in these three States—Georgia, Florida and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves are therefore declared forever free.

David Hunter,
Major-General, Commanding.

And whereas, the same is producing some excitement and misunderstanding:

Therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, proclaim and declare that the Govern-

ment of the United States had no knowledge, information or belief of an intention on the part of General Hunter to issue such a proclamation nor has it yet any authentic information that the document is genuine. And further that neither General Hunter nor any other commander or person has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make proclamations declaring the slaves of any State free; and that the supposed proclamation now in question whether genuine or false is altogether void so far as respects such declaration.

I further make known that whether it be competent for me as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether at any time in any case it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the Government to exercise such supposed power are questions which under my responsibility I reserve to myself and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field. These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies and camps.

On the 6th day of March last by a special message I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution to be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences public and private produced by such change of system.

The resolution in the language above quoted was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress and now stands an authentic, definite and solemn proposal of the nation to the States and people most immediately interested in the subject-matter. To the people of those States I now earnestly appeal; I do not argue, I beseech you to make the argument for yourselves; you cannot if you would be blind to the signs of the times; I beg of you a calm and an enlarged consideration of them, ranging if it may be far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object casting no reproaches upon any; it acts not the Pharisee. The changes it contemplates would come gently as the dews of Heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it! So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time as in the Providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-sixth.

Abraham Lincoln.

By the President:

William H. Seward,

Secretary of State.

Official Records of the War of the Rebellion—Series II, Volume I: Miscellaneous Records Relating to the Negro in the Early Stage of the Rebellion.

PUNISHMENT OF A SLAVE TRADER (1862)

The Execution of Gordon, the Slave-Trader.

Not the least important among the changes which are taking place in the current of national policy and public opinion is evidenced by the fact that on Friday, 21st February, in this city, Nathaniel Gordon was hung for being engaged in the slave-trade. For forty years the slave-trade has been pronounced piracy by law, and to engage in it has been a capital offense. But the sympathy of the Government and its officials has been so often on the side of the criminal, and it seemed so absurd to hang a man for doing at sea that which, in half the Union, is done daily without censure on land, that no one has ever been punished under the Act. The Administration of Mr. Lincoln has turned over a new leaf in this respect. Henceforth the slave-trade will be abandoned to the British and their friends. The hanging of Gordon is an event in the history of our country.

He was probably the most successful and one of the worst of the individuals engaged in the trade. A native of Maine, he had engaged in the business many years since, and had always eluded justice. The particular voyage which proved fatal to him was undertaken in 1860. The following summary of the case we take from the *Times*:

It was in evidence (given by Lieutenant Henry D. Todd, U.S.N.) that the ship *Erie* was first discovered by the United States steamer *Mohican*, on the morning of the 8th day of August, 1860; that she was then about fifty miles outside of the River Congo, on the West Coast of Africa, standing to the northward, with all sail set; that she was flying the American flag, and that a gun from the *Mohican* brought her to.

It was shown by Lieutenant Todd that he went on board himself about noon, and took command of the

prize. He found on board of the *Erie*, which our readers will remember was but 500 tons burden, eight hundred and ninety-seven (897) negroes, men, women, and children, ranging from the age of six months to forty years. They were half children, one-fourth men, and one-fourth women, and so crowded when on the main deck that one could scarcely put his foot down without stepping on them. The stench from the hold was fearful, and the filth and dirt upon their persons indescribably offensive.

At first he of course knew nothing about them, and until Gordon showed him, he was unable to stow them or feed them—finally he learned how, but they were stowed so closely that during the entire voyage they appeared to be in great agony. The details are sickening, but as fair exponents of the result of this close stowing, we will but mention that running sores and cutaneous diseases of the most painful as well as contagious character infected the entire load. Decency was unthought of; privacy was simply impossible—nastiness and wretchedness reigned supreme. From such a state of affairs we are not surprised to learn that, during the passage of fifteen days, twenty-nine of the sufferers died, and were thrown overboard.

It was proved by one of the seamen that he, with others, shipped on the *Erie*, believing her to be bound upon a legitimate voyage, and that, when at sea they suspected, from the nature of the cargo, that all was not right, which suspicion they mentioned to the Captain (Gordon), who satisfied them by saying that he was on a lawful voyage, that they had shipped as sailors, and would do better to return to their duties than to talk to him.

Subsequently they were told that they had shipped on a slaver, and that for every negro safely landed they should receive a dollar.

The negroes were taken on board the ship on the 7th day of August, 1860, and the entire operation of launching and unloading nearly nine hundred negroes, occupied but three quarters of an hour, or less time than a sensible man would require for his dinner. As the poor creatures came over the side Gordon would take them by the arm, and shove them here or there, as the case might be, and if by chance their persons were covered from entire exposure by a strip of rag, he would, with his knife, cut it off, fling it overboard, and send the wretch naked with his fellows.

Several of the crew testified, all agreeing that Gordon acted as Captain; that he engaged them; that he ordered them; that he promised them the \$1 per capita; that he superintended the bringing on board the negroes; and that he was, in fact, the master-spirit of the entire enterprise.

For this crime Gordon was arrested, tried, and, mainly through the energy of District-Attorney Smith, convicted, and sentenced to death. Immense exertions were made by his friends and the slave-trading interest to procure a pardon, or at least a commutation of his sentence, from President Lincoln, but without avail. He was sentenced to die on 21st.

Harper's Weekly, March 8, 1862.

THE PRAYER OF TWENTY MILLIONS (1862)

*To Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States:*

DEAR SIR: I do not intrude to tell you—for you must know already—that a great proportion of those who triumphed in your election, and of all who desire the unqualified suppression of the rebellion now desolating our country, are sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of rebels. I write only to set succinctly and unmistakably before you what we require, what we think we have a right to expect, and of what we complain.

I. We require of you, as the first servant of the Republic, charged especially and preeminently with this duty, that you EXECUTE THE LAWS. Most emphatically do we demand that such laws as have been recently enacted, which therefore may fairly be presumed to embody the public will and to be dictated by the *present* needs of the republic, and which, after due consideration, have received your personal sanction, shall by you be carried into full effect and that you publicly and decisively instruct your subordinates that such laws exist, that they are binding on all functionaries and citizens, and that they are to be obeyed to the letter.

II. We think you are strangely and disastrously remiss in the discharge of your official and imperative duty with regard to the emancipating provisions of the new Confiscation Act. Those provisions were designed to fight Slavery with Liberty. They prescribe that men loyal to the Union, and willing to shed their blood in her behalf, shall no longer be held, with the nation's consent, in bondage to persistent, malignant traitors, who for twenty years have been plotting and for sixteen months have been fighting to divide and destroy our country. Why these traitors should be treated with tenderness by you, to the prejudice of the dearest rights of loyal men, we cannot conceive.

III. We think you are unduly influenced by the

councils, the representations, the menaces, of certain fossil politicians hailing from the Border Slave States. Knowing well that the heartily, unconditionally loyal portion of the white citizens of those States do not expect nor desire that Slavery shall be upheld to the prejudice of the Union—for the truth of which we appeal not only to every Republican residing in those States, but to such eminent loyalists as H. Winter Davis, Parson Brownlow, the Union Central Committee of Baltimore, and to the *Nashville Union*)—we ask you to consider that Slavery is everywhere the inciting cause and sustaining base of treason: the most slaveholding sections of Maryland and Delaware being this day, though under the Union flag, in full sympathy with the rebellion, while the free labor portions of Tennessee and of Texas, though writhing under the bloody heel of treason, are unconquerably loyal to the Union.

So emphatically is this the case that a most intelligent Union banker of Baltimore recently avowed his confident belief that a majority of the present legislature of Maryland, though elected as and all professing to be Unionists, are at heart desirous of the triumph of the Jeff Davis conspiracy, and when asked how they could be won back to loyalty, replied—“Only by the complete abolition of slavery.”

It seems to us the most obvious truth, that whatever strengthens or fortifies Slavery in the Border States strengthens also treason, and drives home the wedge intended to divide the Union. Had you, from the first, refused to recognize in those States, as here, any other than unconditional loyalty—that which stands for the Union, whatever may become of Slavery—those States would have been, and would be, far more helpful and less troublesome to the defenders of the Union than they have been, or now are.

IV. We think timid counsels in such a crisis calculated to prove perilous, and probably disastrous. It is the duty of a Government so wantonly, wickedly assailed by rebellion as ours has been, to oppose force to force in a defiant, dauntless spirit. It cannot afford to temporize with traitors, nor with semi-traitors. It must not bribe them to behave themselves, nor make them fair promises in the hope of disarming their causeless hostility. Representing a brave and high-spirited people, it can afford to forfeit any thing else better than its own self-respect, or their admiring confidence, For our Government even to seek, after war has been made on it, to dispel the affected apprehensions of armed traitors that their cherished privileges may be assailed by it, is to invite insult and encourage hopes of its own downfall. The rush to arms of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, is the true answer at once to the rebel raids of John Morgan and the traitorous sophistries of Beriah Magoffin.

V. We complain that the Union cause has suffered, and is now suffering immensely, from mistaken deference to rebel Slavery. Had you sir, in your Inaugural Address, unmistakably given notice that, in case the rebellion already commenced, were persisted in, and your efforts to preserve the Union and enforce the laws should be resisted by armed force, *you would recognize no loyal person as rightfully held in Slavery by a traitor*, we believe the rebellion would therein have received a staggering if not fatal blow. At that moment, according to the returns of the most recent elections, the Unionists were a large majority of the voters of the slave States. But they were composed in good part of the aged, the feeble, the wealthy, the timid—the young, the reckless, the aspiring, the adventurous, had already been largely lured by the gamblers and negro-traders, the politicians by trade and the conspirators by instinct, into the toils of treason. Had you then proclaimed that rebellion would strike the shackles from the slaves of every traitor, the wealthy and the cautious would have been supplied with a powerful inducement to remain loyal.

As it was, every coward in the South soon became a traitor from fear; for loyalty was perilous, while treason seemed comparatively safe. Hence the boasted unanimity of the South—a unanimity based on Rebel terrorism and the fact that immunity and safety were found on that side, danger and probable death on ours. The Rebels, from the first, have been eager to confiscate, imprison, scourge, and kill; we have fought wolves with the devices of sheep. The result is just what might have been expected. Tens of thousands are fighting in the Rebel ranks today whose original bias and natural leanings would have led them into ours.

VI. We complain that the Confiscation Act which you approved is habitually disregarded by your Generals, and that no word of rebuke for them from you has yet reached the public ear. Fremont’s Proclamation and Hunter’s Order favoring Emancipation were promptly annulled by you; while Halleck’s Number Three, forbidding fugitives from slavery to rebels to come within his lines—an order as unmilitary as inhuman, and which received the hearty approbation of every traitor in America—with scores of like tendency, have never provoked even your remonstrance.

VII. We complain that the officers of your armies have habitually repelled rather than invited the approach of slaves who would have gladly taken the risks of escaping from their Rebel masters to our camps, bringing intelligence often of inestimable value to the Union cause. We complain that those who *have* thus escaped to us, avowing a willingness to do for us whatever might be required, have been brutally and madly

repulsed, and often surrendered to be scourged, maimed, and tortured by the ruffian traitors who pretend to own them. We complain that a large proportion of our regular Army officers, with many of the volunteers, evince far more solicitude to uphold slavery than to put down the rebellion.

And finally, we complain that you, Mr. President, elected as a Republican, knowing well what an abomination Slavery is, and how emphatically it is the core and essence of this atrocious rebellion, seem never to interfere with these atrocities, and never give a direction to your military subordinates, which does not appear to have been conceived in the interest of Slavery rather than of freedom.

VIII. On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the rebellion and at the same time uphold its inciting cause are preposterous and futile—that the rebellion, if crushed out to-morrow, would be renewed within a year if Slavery were left in full vigor—that army officers who remain to this day devoted to Slavery can at best be but half-way loyal to the Union—and that every hour of deference to Slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union. I appeal to the testimony of your ambassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not at mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the seeming subserviency of your policy to the slaveholding, slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair of statesmen of all parties, and be admonished by the general answer!

IX. I close as I began with the statement that what an immense majority of the loyal millions of your countrymen require of you is a frank, declared, unqualified, ungrudging execution of the laws of the land, more especially of the Confiscation Act. That act gives freedom to the slaves of rebels coming within our lines, or whom those lines may at any time enclose—we ask you to render it due obedience by publicly requiring all your subordinates to recognize and obey it. The rebels are everywhere using the late anti-negro riots in the North, as they have long used your officers' treatment of negroes in the South, to convince the slaves that they have nothing to hope from a Union success—that we mean in that case to sell them into a bitter bondage to defray the cost of the war.

Let them impress this as a truth on the great mass of their ignorant and credulous bondmen, and the Union will never be restored—never. We cannot conquer ten millions of people united in solid phalanx against us, powerfully aided by Northern sympathizers and European allies. We must have scouts, guides, spies, cooks,

teamsters, diggers, and choppers from the blacks of the South, whether we allow them to fight for us or not, or we shall be babbled and repelled.

As one of the millions who would gladly have avoided this struggle at any sacrifice but that of principle and honor, but who now feel that the triumph of the Union is indispensable not only to the existence of our country but to the well-being of mankind, I entreat you to render a hearty and unequivocal obedience to the law of the land.

Yours,
Horace Greeley

New York *Tribune*, August 19, 1862.

LINCOLN'S RESPONSE TO HORACE GREELEY (1862)

New York *Tribune*, August 19, 1862.

Executive Mansion, Washington, August 22, 1862.

Hon. Horace Greeley:

DEAR SIR: I have just read yours of the nineteenth, addressed to myself through the New-York *Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the National authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *save* Slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* Slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and *is not* either to save or destroy Slavery. 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 do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about Slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do

more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.

Yours,
A. Lincoln.

The Christian Times and Illinois Baptist, September 3, 1862.

JEFFERSON DAVIS' PROCLAMATION REGARDING BLACK TROOPS (1862)

Adj. and Insp. General's Office, *Richmond*
[Va.], December 24, 1862.

General Orders, No. III.

I. The following proclamation of the President is published for the information and guidance of all concerned therein:

By the President of the Confederate States. a Proclamation. Now therefore, I Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and in their name do pronounce and declare the said Benjamin F. Butler to be a felon deserving of capital punishment. I do order that he be no longer considered or treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind, and that in the event of his capture the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging; and I do further order that no commissioned officer of the United States taken captive shall be released on parole before exchange until the said Butler shall have met with due punishment for his crimes.

And whereas the hostilities waged against this Confederacy by the forces of the United States under the command of said Benjamin F. Butler have borne no resemblance to such warfare as is alone permissible by the rules of international law or the usages of civilization but have been characterized by repeated atrocities and outrages, among the large number of which the following may be cited as examples:

Peaceful and aged citizens, unresisting captives and non-combatants, have been confined at hard labor with balls and chains attached to their limbs, and are still so held in dungeons and fortresses. Others have

been subjected to a like degrading punishment for selling medicines to the sick soldiers of the Confederacy.

The soldiers of the United States have been invited and encouraged by general orders to insult and outrage the wives, the mothers and the sisters of our citizens.

Helpless women have been torn from their homes and subjected to solitary confinement, some in fortresses and prisons and one especially on an island of barren sand under a tropical sun; have been fed with loathsome rations that had been condemned as unfit for soldiers, and have been exposed to the vilest insults.

Prisoners of war who surrendered to the naval forces of the United States on agreement that they should be released on parole have been seized and kept in close confinement.

Repeated pretexts have been sought or invented for plundering the inhabitants of the captured city by fines levied and exacted under threat of imprisoning recusants at hard labor with ball and chain.

The entire population of the city of New Orleans have been forced to elect between starvation, by the confiscation of all their property, and taking an oath against conscience to bear allegiance to the invaders of their country.

Egress from the city has been refused to those whose fortitude withstood the test, even to lone and aged women and to helpless children; and after being ejected from their homes and robbed of their property they have been left to starve in the streets or subsist on charity.

The slaves have been driven from the plantations in the neighborhood of New Orleans till their owners would consent to share the crops with the commanding general, his brother Andrew J. Butler, and other officers; and when such consent had been extorted the slaves have been restored to the plantations and there compelled to work under the bayonets of guards of U.S. soldiers.

Where this partnership was refused armed expeditions have been sent to the plantations to rob them of everything that was susceptible of removal, and even slaves too aged or infirm for work have in spite of their entreaties been forced from the homes provided by the owners and driven to wander helpless on the highway.

By a recent general order (No. 91) the entire property in that part of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi River has been sequestered for confiscation and officers have been assigned to duty with orders to "gather up and collect the personal property and turn over to the proper officers upon their receipts such of said property as may be required for the use of the U.S. Army; to collect together all the other personal

property and bring the same to New Orleans and cause it to be sold at public auction to the highest bidders”—an order which if executed condemns to punishment by starvation at least a quarter of a million of human beings of all ages, sexes and conditions; and of which the execution although forbidden to military officers by the orders of President Lincoln is in accordance with the confiscation law of our enemies which he has directed to be enforced through the agency of civil officials. And finally the African slaves have not only been excited to insurrection by every license and encouragement but numbers of them have actually been armed for a servile war—a war in its nature far exceeding in horrors the most merciless atrocities of the savages.

And whereas the officers under the command of the said Butler have been in many instances active and zealous agents in the commission of these crimes, and no instance is known of the refusal of any one of them to participate in the outrages above narrated.

And whereas the President of the United States has by public and official declaration signified not only his approval of the effort to excite servile war within the Confederacy but his intention to give aid and encouragement thereto if these independent States shall continue to refuse submission to a foreign power after the 1st day of January next, and has thus made known that all appeals to the laws of nations, the dictates of reason and the instincts of humanity would be addressed in vain to our enemies, and that they can be deterred from the commission of these crimes only by the terms of just retribution:

Now therefore I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America and acting by their authority, appealing to the Divine Judge in attestation that their conduct is not guided by the passion of revenge but that they reluctantly yield to the solemn duty of repressing by necessary severity crimes of which their citizens are the victims, do issue this my proclamation, and by virtue of my authority as Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Confederate States do order—

1. That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare but as robbers and criminals deserving death, and that they and each of them be whenever captured reserved for execution.

2. That the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the army of said Butler be considered as only the instruments used for the commission of the crimes

perpetrated by his orders and not as free agents; that they therefore be treated when capture as prisoners of war with kindness and humanity and be sent home on the usual parole that they will in no manner aid or serve the United States in any capacity during the continuance of this war unless duly exchanged.

3. That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

4. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States when found serving in company with armed slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy.

In testimony whereof I have signed these presents and caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be affixed thereto at the city of Richmond on this 23d day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

Jeff'n Davis.

By the President: J. P. Benjamin,
Secretary of State.

II. Officers of the Army are charged with the observance and enforcement of the foregoing orders of the President. Where the evidence is not full or the case is for any reason of a doubtful character it will be referred through this office for the decision of the War Department.

By order:

S. Cooper, *Adjutant and Inspector General.*

U.S. War Department. 1880–1901. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compendium of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies—Series II, Vol. 5.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION (1863)

By the President of the United States of America:

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 suppressing 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, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, 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, Northampton, 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-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all case when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

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 mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

Lincoln, Abraham. "The Emancipation Proclamation," in *Documents of American History*, ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963).

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS REACTS TO BLACK TROOPS (1863)

May 1, 1863.

The resolutions having been read as follows, viz:

1. Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, In response to the message of the President, transmitted to Congress at the commencement of the present session, that, in the opinion of Congress, the commissioned officers of the enemy ought not to be delivered to the authorities of the respective States, as suggested in the said message, but all captives taken by the Confederate forces ought to be dealt with and disposed of by the Confederate Government.
2. That, in the judgment of Congress, the proclamations of the President of the United States, dated, respectively, September twenty-second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and January first, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and the other measures of the Government of the United States and its authorities, commanders, and forces, designed or tending to emancipate slaves in the Confederate States, or to abduct such slaves, or to incite them to insurrection, or to employ negroes in war against the Confederate States, or to overthrow the institution of African slavery and bring on a servile war in these States, would, if successful, produce atrocious consequences, and they are inconsistent with the spirit of those usages which in modern warfare prevail among civilized nations, they may therefore be properly and lawfully repressed by retaliation.
3. That in every case wherein, during the present war, any violation of the laws or usages of war among civi-

lized nations shall be or has been done and perpetrated by those acting under the authority of the Government of the United States on the persons or property of citizens of the Confederate States or of those under the protection or in the land or naval service of the Confederate States or of any State of the Confederacy, the President of the Confederate States is hereby authorized to cause full and ample retaliation to be made for every such violation in such manner and to such extent as he may think proper.

4. That every white person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who, during the present war, shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States, or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

5. Every person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, in the service of the enemy, who shall, during the present war, excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

6. Every person charged with an offense punishable under the preceding resolutions shall, during the present war, be tried before the military court attached to the army or corps by the troops of which he shall have been captured or by such other military court as the President may direct and in such manner and under such regulations as the President shall prescribe, and, after conviction, the President may commute the punishment in such manner and on such terms as he may deem proper.

7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war, or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid and comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States.

Mr. Gray called the question.

Mr. Lyons demanded the yeas and nays;

which were ordered,
and are recorded as follows, viz:

Yeas . . . 29

Nays . . . 27

Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865, Volume 6.

THE HUMAN TOLL OF SLAVERY (1863)

Selection from Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation.

Before closing this letter, I have a mind to transcribe to you the entries for today recorded in a sort of day-book, where I put down very succinctly the number of people who visit me, their petitions and ailments, and also such special particulars concerning them as seem to me worth recording. You will see how miserable the physical condition of many of these poor creatures is; and their physical condition, it is insisted by those who uphold this evil system, is the only part of it which is prosperous, happy, and compares well with that of Northern laborers. Judge from the details I now send you; and never forget, while reading them, that the people on this plantation are well off, and consider themselves well off, in comparison with the slaves on some of the neighboring [communities].

Fanny has had six children; all dead but one. She came to beg to have her work in the field lightened.

Nanny has had three children; two of them are dead. She came to implore that the rule of sending them into the field three weeks after their confinement might be altered.

Leah, Caesar's wife, has had six children; three are dead.

Sophy, Lewis's wife, came to beg for some old linen. She is suffering fearfully; has had ten children; five of them are dead. The principal favor she asked was a piece of meat, which I gave her.

Sally, Scipio's wife, has had two miscarriages and three children born, one of whom is dead. She came complaining of incessant pain and weakness in her back. This woman was a mulatto daughter of a slave called Sophy, by a white man of the name of Walker, who visited the plantation.

Charlotte, Renty's wife, had had two miscarriages, and was with child again. She was almost crippled with rheumatism, and showed me a pair of poor swollen knees that made my heart ache. I have promised her a pair of flannel trousers, which I must forthwith set about making.

Sarah, Stephen's wife: this woman's case and history were alike deplorable. She had had four miscar-

riages, had brought seven children into the world, five of whom were dead, and was again with child. She complained of dreadful pains in the back, and an internal tumor which swells with the exertion of working in the fields; probably, I think, she is ruptured. She told me she had once been mad and had run into the woods, where she contrived to elude discovery for some time, but was at last tracked and brought back, when she was tied up by the arms, and heavy logs fastened to her feet, and was severely flogged. After this she contrived to escape again, and lived for some time skulking in the woods, and she supposes mad, for when she was taken again she was entirely naked. She subsequently recovered from this derangement, and seems now just like all the other poor creatures who come to me for help and pity. I suppose her constant childbearing and hard labor in the fields at the same time have produced the temporary insanity.

Kemble, Frances Anne. 1863. *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839*. London: Longman, Greene, Longman, Roberts & Green.

NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION GUIDELINES (1864)

Rules and Regulations.

Adopted February 26, 1864, by the National Freedmen's Relief Association, with regard to the schools and teachers under its auspices, in General Saxton's Department. 1. All present contracts with teachers shall terminate with the close of their respective schools, in the summer of this year, and the publication of these regulations in the *Freedmen's Advocate* shall be a sufficient notice thereof.

2. All appointments of teachers shall henceforth be annual, or for the current school season; but teachers who are, or have been, in the employ of the Association, shall, when recommended by the Superintendent, be entitled to preference, the qualifications being equal; and, if reappointed, to salary, during thirty days' vacation or absence from their field of labor; but, in order to secure such preference, application for reappointment must be made to the President of the Association, by or before the first day of September.

3. The school season shall be held to commence of the 15th of October, subject, however, to local variations, according to the judgment of the Superintendent; and all teachers who may be absent from the Department,

must be ready to embark from New York, when called upon after the 1st of October.

4. Teachers shall be entitled to salary from the date of their departure from New York, up to the date of their departure from their field of labor, if actively engaged in teaching in the meanwhile, and shall not be liable to deduction on account of illness of less than thirty days duration.

5. The subsistence of teachers on the passage from New York, shall be paid by the Association, as will that on the return passage, when they shall have been six months in its employ; but not otherwise, except in case of disabling illness.

6. Teachers who resign in less than three months, except in case of disabling illness, or who shall be discharged for cause, shall be entitled to receive but half salary for the time of actual service, the Association reserving the right to terminate all contracts with teachers, on thirty days' notice, without prejudice to the claims of those in good standing.

7. Unacclimated teachers, and those whose locations are unwholesome, may be absent from their posts between the 15th of July and the 15th of October, with the consent of the Superintendent, for a longer time than the thirty days' vacation specified, without prejudice to their standing with the Association; but the schools shall be kept open as long as practicable, without danger to health; and no school need be closed, the teacher of which is willing and desirous to keep it open during said vacation.

8. All teachers, in addition to their regular work, are expected to interest themselves in the moral, religious, and social improvement of the families of their pupils, to visit them in their homes, to instruct the women and girls in sewing and domestic economy, to encourage and take part in religious meetings and Sunday Schools, but to avoid all peculiarly denominational or sectarian controversy.

9. Each teacher shall, before the 10th of every month, render to the Superintendent a full report of the condition of the school under her charge during the previous month, which reports, shall, as received, be forwarded to the Chairman of the House Committee, by the Superintendent, with remarks upon such schools as shall have been personally visited by him during the month. And the Superintendent shall, during the months of January, April, and July, transmit to said

Chairman a full report of the condition of all the schools under his charge during the preceding quarter, which reports shall include an inventory of all books, school furniture, and other property belonging to the Association, and a list of such articles as may be needed for the schools, the dwellings of the Superintendent and teachers, and for the orphan asylum at Fernandina.

10. In case the Superintendent shall have serious cause of complaint against any teacher, and such teacher shall refuse to be guided by his advice, he shall transmit a formal statement of charges to the Chairman of the House Committee, having first submitted the same to such teacher, and allowed eight days for the preparation of a counter statement, or defense, in order that the cause may be adjudged by the Association. And the Superintendent shall have authority to suspend such teacher until final decision, when, in his judgment, such action shall be required; and the thirty days' notice before reserved, shall be held to date from such suspension. But the teacher shall have the option, by resignation, to prevent the transmissions of the charges in question.

GEO. C. WARD,
Secretary.

Rules and Regulations. Adopted February 26, 1864, by the National Freedmen's Relief Association, with Regard to the Schools and Teachers under Its Auspices, in General Saxton's Department. [n. p.] 1864. Printed Ephemera Collection; Portfolio 235, Folder 1. Library of Congress. Washington, DC.

THE WADE-DAVIS MANIFESTO (1864)

August 5, 1864

We have read without surprise, but not without indignation, the Proclamation of the President of the 8th of July.

The President, by preventing this bill from becoming a law, holds the electoral votes of the Rebel States at the dictation of his personal ambition.

If those votes turn the balance in his favor, is it to be supposed that his competitor, defeated by such means will acquiesce?

If the Rebel majority assert their supremacy in those States, and send votes which elect an enemy of the Government, will we not repel his claims?

And is not that civil war for the Presidency, inaugurated by the votes of Rebel States?

Seriously impressed with these dangers, Congress,

"the proper constitutional authority," formally declared that there are no State Governments in the Rebel States, and provided for their erection at a proper time; and both the Senate and the House of Representatives rejected the Senators and Representatives chosen under the authority of what the President calls the Free Constitution and Government of Arkansas.

The President's proclamation *"holds for naught"* this judgment, and discards the authority of the Supreme Court, and strides headlong toward the anarchy his Proclamation of the 8th of December inaugurated.

If electors for President be allowed to be chosen in either of those States, a sinister light will be cast on the motives which induced the President to "hold for naught" the will of Congress rather than his Government in Louisiana and Arkansas.

That judgment of Congress which the President defies was the exercise of an authority exclusively vested in Congress by the Constitution to determine what is the established Government in a State, and in its own nature and by the highest judicial authority binding on all other departments of the Government. . . .

A more studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people has never been perpetrated.

Congress passed a bill; the President refused to approve it, and then by proclamation puts as much of it in force as he sees fit, and proposes to execute those parts by officers unknown to the laws of the United States and not subject to the confirmation of the Senate!

The bill directed the appointment of Provisional Governors by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The President, after defeating the law, proposes to appoint without law, and without the advice and consent of the Senate, *Military* Governors for the Rebel States!

He has already exercised this dictatorial usurpation in Louisiana, and he defeated the bill to prevent its limitation. . . .

The President has greatly presumed on the forbearance which the supporters of his Administration have so long practiced, in view of the arduous conflict in which we are engaged, and the reckless ferocity of our political opponents.

But he must understand that our support is of a cause and not of a man; that the authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected; that the whole body of the Union men of Congress will not submit to be impeached by him of rash and unconstitutional legislation; and if he wishes our support, he must confine himself to his executive duties—to obey and execute,

not make the laws—to suppress by arms armed Rebellion, and leave political reorganization to Congress.

If the supporters of the Government fail to insist on this, they become responsible for the usurpations which they fail to rebuke, and are justly liable to the indignation of the people whose rights and security, committed to their keeping, they sacrifice.

Let them consider the remedy for these usurpations, and, having found it, fearlessly execute it.

McPherson, Edward, ed. 1865. *Political History of the Rebellion*. Washington, DC: Philp & Solomons.

FORTY ACRES AND A MULE (1865)

Special Field Order No. 15.

Hdqrs. Mil. Div. of the Mississippi. In the Field, Savannah, Ga.

January 16th, 1865.

I. The islands from Charleston, south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. Johns river, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States.

II. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine and Jacksonville, the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations—but on the islands, and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. By the laws of war, and orders of the President of the United States, the negro is free and must be dealt with as such. He cannot be subjected to conscription or forced military service, save by the written orders of the highest military authority of the Department, under such regulations as the President or Congress may prescribe. Domestic servants, blacksmiths, carpenters and other mechanics, will be free to select their own work and residence, but the young and able-bodied negroes must be encouraged to enlist as soldiers in the service of the United States, to contribute their share towards maintaining their own freedom, and securing their rights as citizens of the United States.

Negroes so enlisted will be organized into companies, battalions and regiments, under the orders of the United States military authorities, and will be paid, fed

and clothed according to law. The bounties paid on enlistment may, with the consent of the recruit, go to assist his family and settlement in procuring agricultural implements, seed, tools, boots, clothing, and other articles necessary for their livelihood.

III. Whenever three respectable negroes, heads of families, shall desire to settle on land, and shall have selected for that purpose an island or a locality clearly defined, within the limits above designated, the Inspector of Settlements and Plantations will himself, or by such subordinate officer as he may appoint, give them a license to settle such island or district, and afford them such assistance as he can to enable them to establish a peaceable agricultural settlement. The three parties named will subdivide the land, under the supervision of the Inspector, among themselves and such others as may choose to settle near them, so that each family shall have a plot of not more than (40) forty acres of tillable ground, and when it borders on some water channel, with not more than 800 feet water front, in the possession of which land the military authorities will afford them protection, until such time as they can protect themselves, or until Congress shall regulate their title. The Quartermaster may, on the requisition of the Inspector of Settlements and Plantations, place at the disposal of the Inspector, one or more of the captured steamers, to ply between the settlements and one or more of the commercial points heretofore named in orders, to afford the settlers the opportunity to supply their necessary wants, and to sell the products of their land and labor.

IV. Whenever a negro has enlisted in the military service of the United States, he may locate his family in any one of the settlements at pleasure, and acquire a homestead, and all other rights and privileges of a settler, as though present in person. In like manner, negroes may settle their families and engage on board the gunboats, or in fishing, or in the navigation of the inland waters, without losing any claim to land or other advantages derived from this system. But no one, unless an actual settler as above defined, or unless absent on Government service, will be entitled to claim any right to land or property in any settlement by virtue of these orders.

V. In order to carry out this system of settlement, a general officer will be detailed as Inspector of Settlements and Plantations, whose duty it shall be to visit the settlements, to regulate their police and general management, and who will furnish personally to each head of a family, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, a possessory title in writing, giving as near as possible the description of boundaries; and who shall adjust all claims or conflicts that

may arise under the same, subject to the like approval, treating such titles altogether as possessory. The same general officer will also be charged with the enlistment and organization of the negro recruits, and protecting their interests while absent from their settlements; and will be governed by the rules and regulations prescribed by the War Department for such purposes.

VI. Brigadier General R. Saxton is hereby appointed Inspector of Settlements and Plantations, and will at once enter on the performance of his duties. No change is intended or desired in the settlement now on Beaufort [Port Royal] Island, nor will any rights to property heretofore acquired be affected thereby.

By Order of Major General W. T.
Sherman

L. M. DAYTON

Assistant Adjutant-General

The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Published under the direction of The Hon. Elibu Root, Secretary of War, by Brig. Gen. Fred C. Ainsworth, Chief of Records and Pension Office, War Department and Mr. Joseph W. Kirkley, vol. XLVII/2. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891.

EDITORIAL OPPOSING "BLACK LAWS" (1865)

The Black Laws.

Illinois has repealed her black laws, and indeed she could hardly help wiping the stain from her face when her neighbor Missouri was lifting her whole body out of the slough. The black laws of Illinois, although Illinois is a free State, were as much a part of the code of slavery as any slave law of Arkansas or Mississippi; for they were the work of what was called the Democratic party, and that party was the minister of slavery. In Illinois, for instance, all colored persons were presumed to be slaves unless they could prove themselves to be free; in other words, were held to be guilty until they proved their innocence: thus directly reversing the first humane maxim of the common law. By another act, if any negro or mulatto came into the State and staid ten days, he was to be fined fifty dollars, and sold indefinitely to pay the fine.

We read such things incredulously, in the light of to-day. The wicked folly of selecting for outrage a special class of the population, and that class the most innocent and defenseless, is so like a caprice of Ashantee society, or a measure of Patagonian statesmanship, that it is quite impossible to believe that it was tolerated in

the great, prosperous, and enlightened State of Illinois. It explains the curiously inhuman and heartless tone of Mr. Douglas in speaking of the colored race. He lived in the midst of this senseless and fierce prejudice, and he rose by pandering to it.

The black laws of Illinois were another proof of the fearful demoralization which slavery had wrought in this country, and upon which it counted for easy success in its rebellion. When slavery saw that Pierce and Buchanan, two successive Presidents, were its most abject tools; when it saw every Northern city ready to take by the throat any man who fiercely denounced it; when it saw even in Boston a rich merchant and noted citizen named Fay, with the Mayor of the city, turning a meeting for condemnation of slavery into the street; when it read such laws as these of Illinois; when it saw the city of New York cringing beneath its frown and fawning upon its contemptuous smile, how could it help believing that Franklin Pierce wrote the truth to Jefferson Davis when he said that the blood would flow this side of Mason and Dixon's line rather than the other, and suppose, with Robert Toombs, that any man could drink all the blood that would be shed in the war.

Now that Illinois has repealed her black laws, is it too much to hope that New York will do the same thing? The Constitution of the State allows colored citizens to vote, provided that they have lived twice as long in the State and county, and paid twice as much tax as any other voter. The other voters may be ignorant and brutal sots, who are nuisances and pests in any country, and these may be intelligent, industrious, thrifty, valuable citizens; but the Constitution of New York, enslaved by the same mean and inhuman prejudice which dictated the black laws of Illinois, declares that ignorance and brutality are politically preferable to intelligence and thrift.

If intelligence is to be the condition of active citizenship, it is a test which every body can understand, and which most people will approve. But to make it dependent upon complexion is as wise as to rest it upon the color of the hair or the breadth of the shoulders. The monstrous subjection of this country to the prejudice against color is not, as many who are under its influence suppose, "a natural instinct;" it is only the natural result of a system which arbitrarily and forcibly makes color the sign of hopeless servitude. If red-haired men or men over six feet in height were enslaved and imbruted for centuries, there would be exactly the same "natural aversion" to them which is gravely alleged by many otherwise sensible people against the colored race.

Missouri has emancipated herself; Illinois has

thrown off her black laws. Suppose that sensible men and women now emancipate themselves from the black law of a most cruel and senseless prejudice.

Harper's Weekly, February 11, 1865.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU ACT (1865)

Chap. XC. An Act to Establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America an Congress assembled, That there is hereby established in the War Department, to continue during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter, a bureau of refugees, freedmen, and abandoned lands, to which shall be committed, as hereinafter provided, the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel states, or from any district of country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the bureau and approved by the President. The said bureau shall be under the management and control of a commissioner to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, whose compensation shall be three thousand dollars per annum, and such number of clerks as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of War, not exceeding one chief clerk, two of the fourth class, two of the third class, and five of the first class. And the commissioner and all persons appointed under this act, shall, before entering upon their duties, take the oath of office prescribed in an act entitled "An act to prescribe an oath of office, and for other purposes," approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and the commissioner and the chief clerk shall, before entering upon their duties, give bonds to the treasurer of the United States, the former in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and the latter in the sum of ten thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful discharge of their duties respectively, with securities to be approved as sufficient by the Attorney-General, which bonds shall be filed in the office of the first comptroller of the treasury, to be by him put in suit for the benefit of any injured party upon any breach of the conditions thereof.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and

children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the President may, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint an assistant commissioner for each of the states declared to be in insurrection, not exceeding ten in number, who shall, under the direction of the commissioner, aid in the execution of the provisions of this act; and he shall give a bond to the Treasurer of the United States, in the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in the form and manner prescribed in the first section of this act. Each of said commissioners shall receive an annual salary of two thousand five hundred dollars in full compensation for all his services. And any military officer may be detailed and assigned to duty under this act without increase of pay or allowances. The commissioner shall, before the commencement of each regular session of congress, make full report of his proceedings with exhibits of the state of his accounts to the President, who shall communicate the same to congress, and shall also make special reports whenever required to do so by the President or either house of congress; and the assistant commissioners shall make quarterly reports of their proceedings to the commissioner, and also such other special reports as from time to time may be required.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the commissioner, under the direction of the President, shall have authority to set apart, for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen, such tracts of land within the insurrectionary states as shall have been abandoned, or to which the United States shall have acquired title by confiscation or sale, or otherwise, and to every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman, as aforesaid, there shall be assigned not more than forty acres of such land, and the person to whom it was so assigned shall be protected in the use and enjoyment of the land for the term of three years at an annual rent not exceeding six per centum upon the value of such land, as it was appraised by the state authorities in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, for the purpose of taxation, and in case no such appraisal can be found, then the rental shall be based upon the estimated value of the land in said year, to be ascertained in such manner as the commissioner may by regulation prescribe. At the end of said term, or at any time during said term, the occupants of any parcels so assigned may purchase the land and receive such title thereto as the United States can convey, upon paying therefor the value of the land, as ascertained and fixed for the purpose of determining the annual rent aforesaid.

Section 5. And be it further enacted, That all acts

and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

Approved, March 3, 1865.

United States Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*,
38th Cong., 2nd Sess., ch. 90.

MARTIN R. DELANY OFFERS ADVICE TO FREEDMEN (1865)

July 23, 1865

St. Helena Island, South Carolina

It was only a War policy of the Government, to declare the slaves of the South free, knowing that the whole power of the South, laid in the possession of the Slaves. But I want you to understand, that we would not have become free, had we not armed ourselves and fought out our independence.

. . . People say that you are too lazy to work, that you have no intelligence to get on for yourselves, without being guided and driven to the work by overseers. They have often told you, Sam, you lazy nigger, you don't earn your salt. . . . *He* never earned a single dollar in his life. You men and women, every one of you around me, made thousands and thousands of dollars. Only you were the means for your master to lead the idle and inglorious life, and to give his children the education which he denied to you for fear you may awake to conscience. I say it is a lie, and a blasphemous lie, and I will prove it to be so. . . . If I look around me, I tell you, all the houses on this Island and in Beaufort, they are all familiar to my eye, they are the same structures which I have met with in Africa. They have all been made by the negroes, you can see it by their rude exterior. I tell you they (White men) cannot teach you anything, and they could not make them because they have not the brain to do it. . . .

I am going to tell you now, *what* you are worth. As you know Christopher Columbus landed here in 1492. They came here only for the purpose to dig gold, gather precious pearls, diamonds and all sorts of jewels, only for the proud Aristocracy of the White Spaniards and Portuguese, to adorn their persons, to have brooches for their breasts, earrings for their ears, Bracelets for their ankles and rings for their limbs and fingers. They found here (red men) Indians whom they obliged to dig and work and slave for them—but they found out that they had taken some blacks (Africans) along with them and put *them* to work—they could stand it—and yet the Whites say they are superior to our race, though they could not stand it. (At the present day in some of the Eastern parts of

Spain, the Spaniard there [having been once conquered by the black race] have black eyes, black hair, black complexion. They have Negroe blood in them!!) The work was so profitable which those poor blacks did, that in the year 1502 Charles the V. gave permission to import into America yearly 4,000 blacks. The profit of these sales was so immense, that afterwards even the Virgin Queen of England and James the II took part in the Slave trade and were accumulating great wealth for the Treasury of the Government. And so you *always* have been the means of riches.

I tell you I have been all over Africa . . . and I tell you (as I told to the Geographical Faculty in London) that those people there, are a well-driving class of cultivators, and I never saw or heard of one of our brethern there to travel without taking seeds with him as much as he can carry and to sow it wherever he goes to, or to exchange it with his brethern.

So you ought further to know, that all the spices, cotton, rice and coffee has only been brought over by *you*, from the land of our brethern.

Your masters who lived in opulence, kept you to hard work by some contemptible being called overseer—who chastised and beat you whenever he pleased—while your master lived in some Northern town or in Europe to squander away the wealth only you acquired for him.

. . . Now tell me from all you have heard from me, are you not worth anything? Are you those men whom they think, God only created as a curse and for a slave? Whom they do not consider their equals? As I said before the Yankees are smart; there are good ones and bad ones. The good ones, if they are good they are very good, if they are bad, they are very bad. But the worst and most contemptible, and even worse than even your masters were, are those Yankees, who hired themselves as *overseers*.

Believe not in these School teachers, Emissaries, Ministers, and agents, because they never tell you the truth, and I particularly warn you against those Cotton Agents, who come honey mouthed unto you, their only intent being to make profit by your inexperience.

If there is a man who comes to you, who will meddle with your affairs, send him to one of your more enlightened brothers, who shall ask him who he is, what business he seeks with you, etc.

Believe none but those Agents who are sent out by Government, to enlighten and guide you. I am an officer in the service of the U.S. Government, and ordered to aid Gen'l Saxton, who has been only lately appointed Asst. Comr for South Carolina. So is Gen'l Wild Asst Comr for Georgia.

When Chief Justice Chase was down here to speak to

you, some of those malicious and abominable New York papers derived from it that he only seeks to be elected by you as President. I have no such ambition, I let them have for a President a white or a black one. I don't care who it be—it may be who has a mind to. I shall not be intimidated whether by threats or imprisonment, and no power will keep me from telling you the truth. So I expressed myself even at Charleston, the hotbed of those scoundrels, your old masters, without fear or reluctance.

So I will come to the main purpose for which I have come to see you. As before the whole South depended upon you, now the *whole country* will depend upon you. I give you an advice how to get along. Get up a community and get all the lands you can—if you cannot get any singly.

Grow as much vegetables, etc, as you want for your families; on the other part of the land you cultivate Rice and Cotton. Now for instance 1 Acre will grow a crop of Cotton of \$90—now a land with 10 Acres will bring \$900 every year: if you cannot get the land all yourself—the community can, and so you can divide the profit. There is Tobacco for instance (Virginia is the great place for Tobacco). There are whole squares at Dublin and Liverpool named after some place of Tobacco notoriety, so you see of what enormous value your labor was to the benefits of your masters. Now you understand that I want you to be the producers of this country. It is the wish of the Government for you to be so. We will send friends to you, who will further instruct you how to come to the end of our wishes. You see that by so adhering to your views, you will become a wealthy and powerful population.

Now I look around me and notice a man, barefooted, covered with rags and dirt. Now I ask, what is that man doing, for whom he is working. I hear that he works for that and that farmer for 30 cents a day. I tell you that must not be. That would be cursed slavery over again. I will not have it, the Government will not have it, and the Government shall hear about it. I will tell the Government. I will tell you slavery is over, and shall never return again. We have now 200,000 of our men well drilled in arms and used to War fare and I tell you it is with you and them that slavery shall not come back again, if you are determined it will not return again.

Stoerber, Lt. Edward M. and Bvt. Maj. Taylor. July 24, 1865. "Memorandum of Extracts from Speech by Major Delany, African, at the Brick Church, St. Helena Island, South Carolina, Sunday, July 23, 1865." Submitted by Lt. Alexander Whyte, Jr., to Col. Charles H. Howard, Records of the Assistant Commissioners, South Carolina (Letters Received), Freedmen's Bureau. National Archives. Washington, DC.

MAINTAINING ORDER AMONG FREEDMEN (1865)

Town of Opelousas, [Louisiana]

ORDINANCE Relative to the Police of Recently Emancipated Negroes or Freedmen, Within the Corporate Limits of the Town of Opelousas. Whereas the relations formerly subsisting between master and slave have become changed by the action of the controlling authorities; and whereas it is necessary to provide for the proper policing and government of the recently emancipated negroes or freedmen, in their new relations to the municipal authorities;

Section 1. Be it therefore ordained by the Board of Police of the Town of Opelousas: that no negro or freedman shall be allowed to come within the limits of the Town of Opelousas without special permission from his employer specifying the object of his visit and the time necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Whoever shall violate this provision shall suffer imprisonment and two days' work on the public streets, or shall pay a fine of two dollars and fifty cents.

Section 2. Be it further ordained that every negro or freedman who shall be found on the streets of Opelousas after 10 o'clock at night without a written pass or permit from his employer, shall be imprisoned and compelled to work five days on the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

Section 3. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to rent or keep a house within the limits of the town under any circumstances, and any one thus offending shall be ejected, and compelled to find an employer or leave the town within twenty-four hours. The lessor or furnisher of the house leased or kept as above shall pay a fine of ten dollars for each offence.

Section 4. No negro or freedman shall reside within the limits of the Town of Opelousas who is not in the regular service of some white person or former owner, who shall be held responsible for the conduct of said freedman. But said employer or former owner may permit said freedman to hire his time, by special permission in writing, which permission shall not extend over twenty-four hours at any one time. Any one violating the provisions of this section shall be imprisoned and compelled to work for two days in the public streets, or pay a fine of five dollars.

Section 5. No public meetings or congregations of negroes or freedmen shall be allowed within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, under any circumstances or for any purpose, without the permission of the Mayor or President of the Board. This prohibition is not intended, however, to prevent freedmen from attending

the usual church services conducted by established ministers of religion. Every freedman violating this law shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets.

Section 6. No negro or freedman shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people without a special permission from the Mayor or President of the Board of Police, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars or twenty days' work on the public streets.

Section 7. No freedman who is not in the military service shall be allowed to carry fire-arms or any kind of weapons within the limits of the Town of Opelousas, without the special permission of his employer, in writing, and approved by the Mayor or President of the Board of Police. Any one thus offending shall forfeit his weapons and shall be imprisoned and made to work five days on the public streets or pay a fine of five dollars in lieu of said work.

Section 8. No freedman shall sell, barter or exchange any articles or merchandise of traffic within the limits of Opelousas, without permission from his employer or the Mayor or President of the Board, under the penalty of the forfeiture of said articles, and imprisonment and one day's labor, or a fine of one dollar in lieu of said work.

Section 9. Any freedman found drunk within the limits of the Town shall be imprisoned and made to labor five days on the public streets, or pay five dollars in lieu of said labor.

Section 10. Any freedman not residing in Opelousas, who shall be found within its corporate limits after the hour of 3 o'clock P. M., on Sunday, without a special written permission from his employer or the Mayor, shall be arrested and imprisoned and made to work two days on the public streets, or pay two dollars in lieu of said work.

Section 11. All the foregoing provisions apply to freedmen and freedwomen, or both sexes.

Section 12. It shall be the special duty of the Mayor or President of the Board to see that all the provisions of this ordinance are faithfully executed.

Section 13. Be it further ordained, that this ordinance is to take effect from and after its first publication.

Ordated the 3rd day of July, 1865.

(Signed) E. D. ESTILLETTE,
President of the Board of Police

(Signed) JOS. D. RICHARD,
Clerk

Warmoth, Henry Clay. 1930. *War, Politics and Reconstruction*. New York: Macmillan Company.

CIVIL WAR AMENDMENTS (1865, 1868, 1870)

Amendment XIII (1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV (1868)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV (1870)

Section 1. 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 race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

U.S. Const. amend. XIII–XV.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR FREEDMEN (1866)

Education of the Freedmen

“The Freedmen,” said our martyr President, “are the Wards of the Nation.” “Yes,” replied Mr. Stanton, “Ward in Chancery.” What is our duty to them as their guardians? Clearly, to clothe them if they are naked; to teach them if they are ignorant; to nurse them if they are sick, and to adopt them if they are homeless and motherless. They have been slaves, war made them freedmen, and peace must make them freemen. They must be shielded from unjust laws and unkindly prejudices; they must be instructed in the true principles of social order and democratic government; they must be prepared to take their place by-and-by in the great army of voters as lately they filled up the ranks in the great army of fighters. The superstitions, the vices, the unthriftiness, the loitering and indolent habits which slavery foisted on the whites and blacks alike, who were cursed by its presence in their midst, must be dispelled and supplanted by all the traits and virtues of a truly Christian civilization.

The North, that liberated the slave, has not been

remiss in its duty to the freedman. The common school has kept step to the music of the advancing army. *Wilson's Readers* have followed Grant's soldiers everywhere. Many of the colored troops on the march had primers in their boxes and primers in their pockets. They were namesakes, but not of the same family. Charleston had not been captured more than a week before the schools for freedmen and poor whites were opened there. It is proposed now to educate all the negroes and poor whites in the South—as a political necessity; in order that henceforth there may be no other insurrections, the result of ignorance, either on the part of the late slave or that late slaveholder. Ignorance has cost us too much to be suffered to disturb us again. In free countries it is not the intelligent but the ignorant who rebel. Ambitious men could never induce an enlightened people to overthrow a free Government. It was because there were over 600,000 white adults in the slave States, and 4,000,000 of slaves who could neither read nor write, that Davis and Toombs and Slidell had power to raise armies against the nation. Let us prevent all social upheavals in the future by educating all men now.

The National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York—of which Francis George Shaw is President and Joseph B. Collins Treasurer—has been the most active of the agencies in relieving the wants and dispelling the ignorance of the freedman. It has expended during the last four years three quarters of a million of dollars in clothing the naked; in establishing the freedmen on farms; in supplying them with tools; in founding orphan homes; in distributing school-books and establishing schools. They have over two hundred teachers in the South at this time. They support orphan homes in Florida and South Carolina. They teach ten thousand children, and large numbers of adults. They have instituted industrial schools to educate the negro women to be thrifty housewives. They are continually laboring, in brief, to make the negroes self-reliant and self-supporting. They appeal for additional aid. There are but a thousand teachers for freedmen in all the Southern States; whereas twenty thousand could find immediate employment. The National Relief Association could find pupils for 5000. It has but 200. As the work is a good and great one, and as the officers of this Society are eminent citizens of New York, we heartily commend their appeal to the generosity of our readers.

Harper's Weekly, February 10, 1866.

FIRST CIVIL RIGHTS ACT (1866)

Chapter. XXXI.—An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the Means of their Vindication.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains, or penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the district courts of the United States, within their respective districts, shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed against the provisions of this act, and also, concurrently with the circuit courts of the United States, of all causes, civil and criminal, affecting persons who are denied or cannot enforce in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State or locality where they may be any of the rights secured to them by the first section of this act. . . . The jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters

hereby conferred on the district and circuit courts of the United States shall be exercised and enforced in conformity with the laws of the United States, so far as such laws are suitable to carry the same into effect; but in all cases where such laws are not adapted to the object, or are deficient in the provisions necessary to furnish suitable remedies and punish offences against law, the common law, as modified and changed by the constitution and statutes of the State wherein the court having jurisdiction of the cause, civil or criminal, is held, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, shall be extended to and govern said courts in the trial and disposition of such cause, and, if of a criminal nature, in the infliction of punishment on the party found guilty.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, the commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with powers of arresting, imprisoning, or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, the officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and every other officer who may be specially empowered by the President of the United States, shall be, and they are hereby, specially authorized and required, at the expense of the United States, to institute proceedings against all and every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him or them to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States or territorial court as by this act has cognizance of the offense. And with a view to affording reasonable protection to all persons in their constitutional rights of equality before the law, without distinction of race or color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and to the prompt discharge of the duties of this act, it shall be the duty of the circuit courts of the United States and the superior courts of the Territories of the United States, from time to time, to increase the number of commissioners, so as to afford a speedy and convenient means for the arrest and examination of persons charged with a violation of this act; and such commissioners are hereby authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred on them by this act, and the same duties with regard to offences created by this act, as they are authorized by law to exercise with regard to other offences against the laws of the United States.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the

provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant or other process when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of the person upon whom the accused is alleged to have committed the offence. And the better to enable the said commissioners to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the requirements of this act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing, under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; and the persons so appointed to execute any warrant or process as afore said shall have authority to summon and call to their aid the bystanders or posse comitatus of the proper county, or such portion of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to the performance of the duty with which they are charged, and to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution which prohibits slavery, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and said warrants shall run and be executed by said officers anywhere in the State or Territory within which they are issued.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted,* That any person who shall knowingly and wilfully obstruct, hinder, or prevent any officer, or other person charged with the execution of any warrant or process issued under the provisions of this act, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him or them, from arresting any person for whose apprehension such warrant or process may have been issued, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such person from the custody of the officer, other person or persons, or those lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given and declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist any person so arrested as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from the custody of the officer or other person legally authorized as aforesaid, or shall harbor or conceal any person for whose arrest a warrant or process shall have been issued as aforesaid, so as to prevent his discovery and arrest after notice or knowledge of the fact that a warrant has been issued for the apprehension of such person, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the district court of the United States for the district in which said offence

may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That the district attorneys, the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said district and territorial courts shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a commissioner, he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such commissioners for the arrest of offenders against the provisions of this act shall be entitled to a fee of five dollars for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such commissioner as aforesaid, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such commissioner for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them, such as attending at the examination, keeping the prisoner in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such commissioner, and in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises; such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States on the certificate of the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and to be recoverable from the defendant as part of the judgment in case of conviction.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That whenever the President of the United States shall have reason to believe that offenses have been or are likely to be committed against the provisions of this act within any judicial district, it shall be lawful for him, in his discretion, to direct the judge, marshal, and district attorney of such district to attend at such place within the district, and for such time as he may designate, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act; and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer, when any such requisition shall be received by him, to attend at the place and for the time therein designated.

Section 9. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act.

Section 10. *And be it further enacted,* That upon all questions of law arising in any cause under the provisions of this act a final appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Schuyler Colfax,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

La Fayette S. Foster,

President of the Senate, *pro tempore*.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., Ch. 31.

EDITORIAL SUPPORTING

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL (1866)

The Civil Rights Bill

The Civil Rights Bill was drawn with simplicity and care for a very necessary purpose. It declares who are citizens of the United States, defines their rights, prescribes penalties for violating them, and provides the means of redress. The power to do this springs from the very nature and function of a supreme government. But the power being conceded, it is fair to demand that any measure of legislation shall be shown to be necessary, politic, and constitutional.

It is certainly essential to an intelligent use of language in the laws and common speech that the true meaning of citizenship should be defined. Nearly a fifth of the population of the country are colored. They are subject to the Government; they support the obligations and do the duty of citizens. Are they citizens or aliens? Can any thing be more unreasonable than to fear or hesitate to define their status? If they are not citizens, are they aliens, are they unnaturalized natives? Domiciled aliens and foreigners have the protection of law, indeed, but these are neither. They are native to the soil. They owe and perform the obligations of other citizens. Why not call them citizens?

That color was not originally a disability for citizenship is undeniable; for the citizens of the several States became, upon the adoption of the Constitution, citizens of the United States, and in some of the States at that time colored persons were not only citizens but voters. Naturalization and other laws in 1802 and 1803, by implication and directly, admit that color is not a disability. In 1843 Mr. Hugh S. Legare, Attorney-General of the United States, gave his opinion that a free colored man can be a citizen. But as the Government became thoroughly tainted with the spirit of slavery, the reluctance to acknowledge the fact increased and obscured the whole question. Mr. Marcy, as Secretary

of State, held both opinions, that colored men were and were not citizens. Passports have been both issued and refused to them as citizens; and finally the spirit of slavery culminating in the Dred Scott decision, declared that a free negro was not a citizen. In 1862, under the Government purged of the influence of slavery, the question again arose, and Attorney-General Bates in a masterly opinion held that color was not a disqualification. But the baffled party of disunion still asserts the contrary. President Johnson in his veto of the Civil Rights Bill; admits a difference of opinion; and the Constitution, while it speaks of citizens, nowhere defines the term. It is therefore both timely and wise, at the close of a civil war which has abolished slavery, that the highest authority should declare distinctly who are citizens of the United States, and what are the rights to which citizens are entitled.

The policy of such a measure is plain from the fact that the civil rights of millions of the native population of the United States are destroyed in certain parts of the country on the ground of color; that this invasion springs from the spirit and habit of slavery, and that, if not corrected by the supreme authority, the inevitable result will be a confirmation of that spirit, and a consequent perpetual menace of the public peace by deepening the conviction of the outraged class of the population that the chance of legal redress is hopeless. The good policy is evident from the further fact that the country earnestly desires repose, but that repose is and ought to be impossible while millions of loyal and tried friends of the Government are exposed, to the vengeance of those who are still, and naturally, alienated from the Government. Nothing can tend so surely to confirm the peace of the Union as the kindly but firmly expressed intention of the Government to protect and enforce the equal civil rights of every citizen; understanding by civil rights, according to Chancellor Kent, "the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty, and the right to acquire and enjoy property." This is substantially the explanation given by President Johnson of the right conferred by the Emancipation Amendment. "Liberty," he said to the colored soldiers and to Judge Wairdlaw, "means freedom to work and enjoy the products of your own labor." The Civil Rights Bill merely secures that freedom; for no man enjoys the fruit of his labor if he can not own property, and sue and testify and convey.

But if the United States had the constitutional right to confer this freedom, can it be unconstitutional to defend it? If it were constitutional for the Government to insist that the late rebel States should recognize this liberty, can it not insist that they shall assent to its definition and protection? What else was the significance

of the second clause of the amendment authorizing the Government to enforce it? Having freed a man from chattel slavery, is the Government bound to look on passively and see him reduced again to virtual slavery, by a State vagrant law, for a trivial offense? The President, indeed, asks in his veto whether the present laws are not sufficient to protect the rights of the freedmen. What rights? If they are neither citizens, nor domiciled aliens, nor foreigners, what rights have they? Clearly their status must be determined before their rights can be defined; and then, if existing remedies are adequate, they are not impaired by the bill. If they are not adequate, the bill is plainly necessary.

The President's objection to the bill as special legislation is a manifest misapprehension. The bill is universal in its application. If the rights of any citizen of whatever birth or color are invaded anywhere in the country the bill provides the remedy, without any exclusion or exception whatever. But the veto lays great weight upon the fact that "worthy, intelligent, and patriotic foreigners" must reside here five years before they can become citizens, and expresses the opinion that the bill discriminates against them in favor of those to whom the avenues of freedom and intelligence are just opened. But the President hardly puts the case fairly. Let us ask it in another way. If "worthy, intelligent, and patriotic foreigners" are to be made both citizens and voters at the end of a residence of five years, is it unreasonable that worthy, intelligent, and patriotic natives, all whose interests and affections are and always have been bound up with the country, should be made citizens, merely, at the end of twenty-one years? If it be objected that the mass of the natives in question are not intelligent, will it be asserted that the mass of the foreigners are so? If it be right to take a foreigner totally ignorant of our language and government and the whole spirit of our system and give him a vote at the end of five years, can it be wrong to take a man like Robert Small, who instinctively know and loves and struggles for the government, and at the end of three years of emancipation give him, not so much as a vote, but the name and rights of a citizen? That is a question which we do not find answered in the Message.

The objection that the bill interferes with rightful State legislation is not sustained by a careful consideration of the bill. If the United States may lawfully define the civil rights of their citizen's no State can lawfully impair those rights. The bill leaves the legislative discretion of the States unlimited by any thing but the fundamental civil rights of all citizens which the nation itself protects; and it gives the United States courts exclusive jurisdiction under an express clause of the Constitution.

But the most extraordinary objection urged by the President is that the Civil Rights Bill undertakes to settle questions of political economy. It is not easy to see precisely what is meant by this statement. The bill provides that all citizens shall have the same right to make contracts, to sue and be sued, to give evidence, to inherit and convey property. Is this settling questions of political economy? We should as soon have suspected that it was an attempt to solve astronomical problems.

But the serious objection to the veto lies in the fact, which is evident throughout, that the President thinks enough has been done to redeem the sacred honor of the United States, not of the separate States, pledged to the emancipated class. He says indeed that he will co-operate with Congress to protect them; but Congress has maturely considered and presented two methods of protection, and he rejects both. What is the President's plan? Is it to leave them to the Black Codes? Is it to call them free, thereby exasperating the late masters, and then suffer those masters unchecked to forbid them to own property, to bear arms, to testify, and to enjoy any of the rights of freedom? Is it to trust to time, and to hope that when the present generation, to whom we gave our word, is exterminated, some kind of justice may be done their posterity by those who come after us? The present danger to the Union is not in the direction feared by the President. It is not from the United States doing a simple Constitutional act of justice; it is from the States perpetuating the old injustice from which our troubles sprang. State rights interpreted by slavery brought us bitter alienation and bloody war. State rights interpreted by liberty can alone give us Constitutional unity and enduring peace.

Harper's Weekly, April 14, 1866.

CAUTIOUS ADVICE TO FREEDMEN (1866)

"Wholesome Advice to the Freedmen"

The *South Carolina Ledger*, a weekly paper published in the interests of the colored people, was established in Charleston sometime last autumn by T. Hurley & Co. In his last issue Mr. Hurley gives the following wholesome advice to the freedmen:

Cultivate by every means in your power the good opinion of your former master. Remember that they have suffered much and been severely tried the past five years. Bear in mind, too, that they have their prejudices and the prejudices of their fathers to contend against; and that, besides, they cannot, from their

very circumstances, be expected to regard innovations in their midst in the same light that Northern Eutopians do.

But be patient. Recollect that when the time does come—that whatever claims or privileges are granted you by them—will, in their practical bearings, be worth to you far more than all the recognitions of the North. But anything suddenly forced upon the whites by any party hostile to the South—that you can never enjoy! In the North itself the negro's steps have been but of gradual measurement. We have heard some of your so-called friends say that nothing short of another revolution could save the cause; and you may be told by interested parties—vampires who feed on the “cause”—that, in the event of collision between yourselves and the whites—the North would stand by you. They would insinuate that, now you know the use of the cartridge-box, you should insist immediately on the ballot-box.

Yes the red man dared assert his claim to the fair country the Great Spirit had given him, and these men's fathers speedily “improved him off the face of the earth”; and their descendants to this day ignore the claims of the colored man, as in Connecticut and other States! Out on the canting hypocrites! Be not deceived by these men. If a collision occurs the government would of course be compelled to see order observed; but should a war of races ever ensue, the whites would join the whites, and the blacks join the blacks. Your most implacable enemies are to be found among the white soldiers. Their hatred towards your race seems to grow in intensity from the very moment they enter the service.

Staunton [Virginia] Vindicator, June 22, 1866.

INSECURITY OF FREEDMEN (1866)

Attempt to Revive the Slave-Trade.

Information has been received at the Navy Department of the capture of a slaver in Pensacola Bay, Fla., by the United States' sloop *Augustine*, having on board 150 freedmen, secured at Mobile, Alabama, and bound for Cuba. The system has been, to enlist coloured labourers about Mobile, run them up the railroad to Greenville, Ala., switch them on to the Pensacola road, and run down to a plantation in Florida, near the Escalabia river, place the negroes upon blat boats, float down to tide-water, ship them on board sloops, and, passing by Pensacola, gain the sea, and land their human freight in Slavery. Parties

in New Orleans, Mobile, and New York, are implicated in the affair.

A Mobile paper of July 28th is responsible for the following:

“A sloop was overhauled in Mobile lower bay early on Tuesday morning, July 17, by the United-States' cutter, having on board fifty negroes, whom the parties were about to carry to Cuba and sell into Slavery. These negroes had been collected at different employment offices in Louisville, Nashville, and Memphis, under a promise of thirty dollars per month, to work on a plantation. The captain and crew of the ship were ironed and placed on board the sloop of war *Augustine* for safe keeping, and will be forwarded to Washington.”

There are reasons for suspecting that steamers *Virginina* and *George Williams*, and schooner *Sunnyside*, were interested in this slave-trade, and that the schooner *Charles Henry*, that cleared at Mobile on the 7th July, for Fowl river, with a cargo of lumber and labourers, was to take about 150 negroes to sea.

The Navy Department professes not to know of the truth of the above reports, but they are signally confirmed by the following from the Atlanta (Ga.) *Intelligencer*, a rebel paper:

“An enterprising genius has been in this city for some time past, engaged in collecting up negro boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty years. To a number of these unsuspecting youths he has represented himself as a son of the late President Lincoln, and pictured to them, in glowing terms, the splendours of a home he will take them to in Cuba, which place he gives them to understand is somewhere in the north. He agrees to pay 20 dollars per month, and defray all travelling expenses. On reaching Cuba they will receive all sorts of good clothes and plenty to eat, and light labour only required of them. How successful this swindling scamp has been we have no knowledge, and of his real purposes we are equally ignorant. That he has found dupes we can readily believe, and have not a doubt that many have been induced to leave comfortable homes. It has been observed that every western train bears hence large and small squads of negroes, many of whom have no knowledge of their destination. They have been employed, their present expenses are being paid, they receive kind treatment and flattering promises, and that is about all they know. If the truth would be known, there is sad work going on, and poor Cuffee is learning that his imaginary troubles did not end when his freedom was attained.”

The Anti-Slavery Reporter (New Series),
14:11 (November 1, 1866).

THE CONDITIONS OF THE FREEDMEN (1866)

Testimony of Major General Rufus Saxton before the U.S. Congress's Joint Committee on Reconstruction.

[Question] What is [the freedmen's] disposition in regard to purchasing land, and what is the disposition of the landowners in reference to selling land to Negroes?

[Answer] The object which the freedman has most at heart is the purchase of land. They all desire to get small homesteads and to locate themselves upon them, and there is scarcely any sacrifice too great for them to make to accomplish this object. I believe it is the policy of the majority of the farm owners to prevent Negroes from becoming landholders. They desire to keep the Negroes landless, and as nearly in a condition of slavery as it is possible for them to do. I think that the former slaveholders know really less about the freedmen than any other class of people. The system of slavery has been one of concealment on the part of the Negro of all his feelings and impulses; and that feeling of concealment is so ingrained with the very constitution of the Negro that he deceives his former master on almost every point. The freedman has no faith in his former master, nor has his former owner any faith in the capacity of the freedman. A mutual distrust exists between them. But the freedman is ready and willing to contract to work for any northern man. One man from the North, a man of capital, who employed large numbers of freedmen, and paid them regularly, told me, as others have, that he desired no better laborers; that he considered them fully as easy to manage as Irish laborers. That was my own experience in employing several thousands of them in cultivating the soil. I have also had considerable experience in employing white labor, having, as quartermaster, frequently had large numbers of laborers under my control.

[Question] If the Negro is put in possession of all his rights as a man, do you apprehend any danger of insurrection among them?

[Answer] I do not; and I think that is the only thing which will prevent difficulty. I think if the Negro is put in possession of all his rights as a citizen and as a man, he will be peaceful, orderly, and self-sustaining as any other man or class of men, and that he will rapidly advance. . . .

[Question] It has been suggested that, if the Negro is allowed to vote, he will be likely to vote on the side of his former master, and be inveigled in the support

of a policy hostile to the government of the United States; do you share in that apprehension?

[Answer] I have positive information from Negroes, from the most intelligent freedmen in those States, those who are leaders among them, that they are thoroughly loyal, and know their friends, and they will never be found voting on the side of oppression. . . . I think it vital to the safety and prosperity of the two races in the south that the Negro should immediately be put in possession of all his rights as a man; and that the word "color" should be left out of all laws, constitutions, and regulations for the people; I think it vital to the safety of the Union that this should be done.

U.S. Congress, Joint Committee. 1866. *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the First Session, Thirty-ninth Congress*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

EXTENSION OF VOTING RIGHTS TO FREEDMEN IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (1867)

Chapter VI—An Act to regulate the elective Franchise in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, from and after the passage of this act, each and every male person, excepting paupers and persons under guardianship, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who has not been convicted of any infamous crime or offence, and excepting persons who may have voluntarily given aid and comfort to the rebels in the late rebellion, and who shall have been born or naturalized in the United States, and who shall have resided in the said District for the period of one year, and three months in the ward or election precinct in which he shall offer to vote, next preceding any election therein, shall be entitled to the elective franchise, and shall be deemed an elector and entitled to vote at any election in said District, without any distinction on account of color or race.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That any person whose duty it shall be to receive votes at any election within the District of Columbia, who shall wilfully refuse to receive, or who shall wilfully reject, the vote of any person entitled to such right under this act, shall be liable to an action of tort by the person injured, and shall be liable, on indictment and conviction, if such act was done knowingly, to a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or to imprisonment for

a term not exceeding one year in the jail of said District, or to both.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That if any person or persons shall wilfully interrupt or disturb any such elector in the exercise of such franchise, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined in any sum not to exceed one thousand dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail in said District for a period not to exceed thirty days, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of the several courts having criminal jurisdiction in said District to give this act in special charge to the grand jury at the commencement of each term of the court next preceding the holding of any general or city election in said District.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted,* That the mayors and aldermen of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, respectively, on or before the first day of March, in each year, shall prepare a list of the persons they judge to be qualified to vote in the several wards of said cities in any election; to be qualified to vote in the several wards of said cities in any election; and said mayors and aldermen shall be in open session to receive evidence of the qualification of persons claiming the right to vote in any election therein, and for correcting said list, on two days in each year, not exceeding five days prior to the annual election for the choice of city officers, giving previous notice of the time and place of each session in some newspaper printed in said District.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted,* That on or before the first day of March the mayors and aldermen of said cities shall post up a list of voters thus prepared in one or more public places in said cities, respectively, at least ten days prior to said annual election.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That the officers presiding at any election, shall keep and use the check-list herein required at the polls during the election of all officers, and no vote shall be received unless delivered by the voter in person, and not until the presiding officer has had opportunity to be satisfied of his identity, and shall find his name on the list, and mark it, and ascertain that his vote is single.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That it is hereby declared unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, to promise, offer, or give, or procure or cause to be promised, offered, or given, any money, goods, right in action, bribe, present, or reward, or any promise, understanding, obligation, or security for the payment or delivery of any money, goods, right in action, bribe, present, or reward, or any other valuable thing whatever, to any person with intent to influence

his vote to be given at any election hereafter to be held within the District of Columbia; and every person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not exceeding two thousand dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding two years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Section 9. *And be it further enacted,* That any person who shall accept, directly or indirectly, any money, goods, right in action, bribe, present, or reward, or any promise, understanding, obligation, or security for the payment or delivery of any money, goods, right in action, bribe, present, or reward, or any other valuable thing whatever, to influence his vote at any election hereafter to be held in the District of Columbia, shall, on conviction, be imprisoned not less than one year and be forever disfranchised.

Section 10. *And be it further enacted,* That all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with this act be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Schuyler Colfax,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
La Fayette S. Foster,
President of the Senate, Pro Tempore.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 39th Cong., 2nd sess., ch. 6.

FIRST RECONSTRUCTION ACT (1867)

Chapter CLIII—An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the Rebel States.

WHEREAS no legal State governments or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas; and whereas it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States as hereinafter prescribed, and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the first district; North Carolina and South Carolina the second district; Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the third district; Mississippi and Arkansas the fourth district; and Louisiana and Texas the fifth district.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of the President to assign to the command of

each of said districts an officer of the army, not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to perform his duties and enforce his authority within the district to which he is assigned.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of each officer assigned as aforesaid, to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals; and to this end he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and to try offenders, or, when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose, and all interference under color of State authority with the exercise of military authority under this act, shall be null and void.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That all persons put under military arrest by virtue of this act shall be tried without unnecessary delay, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted, and no sentence of any military commission or tribunal hereby authorized, affecting the life or liberty of any person, shall be executed until it is approved by the officer in command of the district, and the laws and regulations for the government of the army shall not be affected by this act, except in so far as they conflict with its provisions: *Provided,* That no sentence of death under the provisions of this act shall be carried into effect without the approval of the President.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted,* That when the people of any one of said rebel States shall have formed a constitution of government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who have been resident in said State for one year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion or for felony at common law, and when such constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates, and when such constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same, and when said State, by a vote of its legislature elected under said constitution, shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitu-

tion of the United States, proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, and known as article fourteen, and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and senators and representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall be inoperative in said State: *Provided,* That no person excluded from the privilege of holding office by said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, shall be eligible to election as a member of the convention to frame a constitution for any of said rebel States, nor shall any such person vote for members of such convention.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted,* That until the people of said rebel States shall be by law admitted to representation in the Congress of the United States, any civil governments which may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same; and in all elections to any office under such provisional governments all persons shall be entitled to vote, and none others, who are entitled to vote, under the provisions of the fifth section of this act; and no person shall be eligible to any office under any such provisional governments who would be disqualified from holding office under the provisions of the third *article* of said constitutional amendment.

Schuyler Colfax.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

La Fayette S. Foster,

President of the Senate, Pro Tempore.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 39th Cong., 2nd sess., ch. 153.

SECOND RECONSTRUCTION ACT (1867)

Chapter VI—An Act supplementary to an Act entitled “An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the Rebel States,” passed March second, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to facilitate Restoration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That before the first day of September, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, the commanding general in each district defined by an act entitled “An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,”

passed March second, eighteen hundred sixty-seven, shall cause a registration to be made of the male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age and upwards, resident in each county or parish in the State or States included in his district, which registration shall include only those persons who are qualified to vote for delegates by the act aforesaid, and who shall have taken and subscribed the following oath or affirmation: "I,———, do solemnly swear (or affirm), in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a citizen of the State of———; that I have resided in said State for———months next preceding this day, and now reside in the county of———, or the parish of———, in said State (as the case may be); that I am twenty-one years old; that I have not been disfranchised for the participation in any rebellion or civil war against the United States, nor for felony committed against the laws of any State or of the United States; that I have never been a member of any State legislature, nor held any executive or judicial office in any State and afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; that I have never taken an oath as a member of Congress of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; that I will faithfully support the Constitution and obey the laws of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, encourage others so to do, so help me God"; which oath or affirmation may be administered by any registering officer.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That after the completion of the registration hereby provided for in any State, at such time and places therein as the commanding general shall appoint and direct, of which at least thirty days' public notice shall be given, and election shall be held of delegates to a convention for the purpose of establishing a constitution and civil government for such State loyal to the Union, said convention in each State, except Virginia, to consist of the same number of members as the most numerous branch of the State legislature of such State in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, to be apportioned among the several districts, counties, or parishes of such State by the commanding general, giving to each representation in the ratio of voters registered as aforesaid as nearly as may be. The convention in Virginia shall consist of the same number of members as represented the territory now constituting Virginia in the most numerous branch of the legislature of said State in the year eighteen hundred and sixty, to be apportioned as aforesaid.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That at said election the registered voters of each State shall vote for or against a convention to form a constitution therefore under this act. Those voting in favor of such a convention shall have written or printed on the ballots by which they vote for delegates, as aforesaid, the words "For a convention," and those voting against such a convention shall have written or printed on such ballots the words, "Against a convention." The persons appointed to superintend said election, and to make return of the votes given thereat, as herein provided, shall count and make return of the votes given for and against a convention; and the commanding general to whom the same shall have been returned shall ascertain and declare the total vote in each State for an d against a convention. If a majority of the votes given on that question shall be for a convention, then such convention shall be held as hereinafter provided; but if a majority of said votes shall be against a convention, then no such convention shall be held under this act: *Provided,* That such convention shall not be held unless a majority of all such registered voters shall have voted on the question of holding such convention.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the commanding general of each district shall appoint as many boards of registration as may be necessary, consisting of three loyal officers or persons, to make and complete the registration, superintend the election, and make return to him of the votes, list of voters, and of the person elected as delegates by a plurality of the votes cast at said election; and upon receiving said returns he shall open the same, ascertain the persons elected as delegates, according to the returns of the officers who conducted the said election, and make proclamation thereof; and if a majority of the votes given on that question shall be for a convention, the commanding general, within sixty days from the date of election, shall notify the delegates to assemble in convention, at a time and place to be mentioned in the notification, and said convention, when organized, shall proceed to frame a constitution and civil government according to the provisions of this act, and the act to which it is supplementary; and when the same shall have been so framed, said constitution shall be submitted by the convention for ratification to the persons registered under the provisions of this act at an election to be conducted by the officers or persons appointed or to be appointed by the commanding general, as hereinbefore provided, and to be held after the expiration of thirty days from the date of notice thereof, to be given by said convention; and the returns thereof shall be made to the commanding general of the district.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted,* That if, according to said returns, the constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the votes of the registered electors qualified as herein specified, cast at said election, at least one half of all the registered voters voting upon the question of such ratification, the president of the convention shall transmit a copy of the same, duly certified, to the President of the United States, who shall forthwith transmit the same to Congress, if then in session, and if not in session, then immediately upon its next assembling; and if it shall moreover appear to Congress that the election was one at which all the registered and qualified electors in the State had an opportunity to vote freely and without restraint, fear, or the influence of fraud, and if the Congress shall be satisfied that such constitution meets the approval of a majority of all the qualified electors in the State, and if the said constitution shall be declared by Congress to be in conformity with the provisions of the act to which this is supplementary, and the other provisions of said act shall have been complied with, and the said constitution shall be approved by Congress, the State shall be declared entitled to representation, and senators and representatives shall be admitted therefrom as therein provided.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted,* That all elections in the States mentioned in the said “Act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,” shall, during the operation of said act, be by ballot; and all officers making the said registration of voters and conducting said elections shall, before entering upon the discharge of their duties, take and subscribe the oath prescribed by the act approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled “An act to prescribe an oath of office”: *Provided,* That if any person shall knowingly and falsely take and subscribe any oath in this act prescribed, such person so offending and being thereof duly convicted shall be subject to the pains, penalties, and disabilities which by law are provided for the punishment of the crime of wilful and corrupt perjury.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That all expenses incurred by the several commanding generals, or by virtue of any orders issued, or appointments made, by them, under or by virtue of this act, shall be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That the convention for each State shall prescribe the fees, salary, and compensation to be paid to all delegates and other officers and agents herein authorized or necessary to carry into effect the purposes of this act not herein otherwise provided for, and shall provide for the levy

and collection of such taxes on the property in such State as may be necessary to pay the same.

Section 9. *And be it further enacted,* That the word “article,” in the sixth section of the act to which this is supplementary, shall be construed to mean “section.”

Schuyler Colfax,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

B. F. Wade

President of the Senate Pro Tempore.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 40th Cong., 1st sess., ch. 6.

THIRD RECONSTRUCTION ACT (1867)

Chapter XXX.—An Act supplementary to an Act entitled “An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the Rebel States,” passed on the second day of March, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and the Act supplementary thereto, passed on the twenty-third day of March, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is hereby declared to have been the true intent and meaning of the act of the second day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, entitled “An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,” and of the act supplementary thereto, passed on the twenty-third day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, that the governments then existing in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas were not legal State governments; and that thereafter said governments, if continued, were to be continued subject in all respects to the military commanders of the respective districts, and to the paramount authority of Congress.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the commander of any district named in said act shall have power, subject to the disapproval of the General of the army of the United States, and to have effect till disapproved, whenever in the opinion of such commander the proper administration of said act shall require it, to suspend or remove from office, or from the performance of official duties and the exercise of official powers, any officer or person holding or exercising, or professing to hold or exercise, any civil or military office or duty in such district under any power, election, appointment or au-

thority derived from, or granted by, or claimed other division thereof, and upon such suspension or removal such commander, subject to the disapproval of the General as aforesaid, shall have power to provide from time to time for the performance of the said duties of such officer or person so suspended or removed, by the detail of some competent officer or soldier of the army, or by the appointment of some other person, to perform the same, and to fill vacancies occasioned by death, resignation, or otherwise

Section 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the General of the army of the United States shall be invested with all the powers of suspension, removal, appointment, and detail granted in the preceding section to district commanders.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the acts of the officers of the army already done in removing in said districts persons exercising the functions of civil officers, and appointing others in their stead, are hereby confirmed: *Provided,* That any person heretofore or hereafter appointed by any district commander to exercise the functions of any civil office, may be removed either by the military officer in command of the district, or by the General of the army. And it shall be the duty of such commander to remove from office as aforesaid all persons who are disloyal to the government of the United States, or who use their official influence in any manner to hinder, delay, prevent, or obstruct the due and proper administration of this act and the acts to which it is supplementary.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted,* That the boards of registration provided for in the act entitled "An act supplementary to an act entitled 'An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,' passed March two, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to facilitate restoration," passed March twenty-three, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, shall have power, and it shall be their duty before allowing the registration of any person, to ascertain, upon such facts or information as they can obtain, whether such person is entitled to be registered under said act, and the oath required by said act shall not be conclusive on such question, and no person shall be registered unless such board shall decide that he is entitled thereto; and such board shall also have power to examine, under oath, (to be administered by any member of such board,) any one touching the qualification of any person claiming registration; but in every case of refusal by the board to register an applicant, and in every case of striking his name from the list as hereinafter provided, the board shall make a note or memorandum, which shall be returned with the registration list to the commanding general of the district, setting forth the

grounds of such refusal or such striking from the list: *Provided,* That no person shall be disqualified as member of any board of registration by reason of race or color.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted,* That the true intent and meaning of the oath prescribed in said supplementary act is, (among other things,) that no person who has been a member of the legislature of any State, or who has held any executive or judicial office in any State, whether he has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States or not, and whether he was holding such office at the commencement of the rebellion, or had held it before, and who has afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof, is entitled to be registered or to vote; and the words "executive or judicial office in any State" in said oath mentioned shall be construed to include all civil offices created by law for the administration of any general law of a State, or for the administration of justice.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That the time for completing the original registration provided for in said act may, in the discretion of the commander of any district be extended to the first day of October, eighteen hundred sixty-seven; and the boards of registration shall have power, and it shall be their duty, commencing fourteen days prior to any election under said act, and upon reasonable public notice of the time and place thereof, to revise, for a period of five days, the registration lists, and upon being satisfied that any person not entitled thereto has been registered, to strike the name of such person from the list, and such person shall not be allowed to vote. And such board shall also, during the same period, add to such registry the names of all persons who at that time possess the qualifications required by said act who have not been already registered; and no person shall, at any time, be entitled to be registered or to vote by reason of any executive pardon or amnesty for any act or thing which, without such pardon or amnesty, would disqualify him from registration or voting.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That section four of said last-named act shall be construed to authorize the commanding general named therein, whenever he shall deem it needful, to remove any member of a board of registration and to appoint another in his stead, and to fill any vacancy in such board.

Section 9. *And be it further enacted,* That all members of said boards of registration and all persons hereafter elected or appointed to office in said military districts, under any so-called State or municipal au-

thority, or by detail or appointment of the district commanders, shall be required to take and to subscribe the oath of office prescribed by law for officers of the United States.

Section 10. *And be it further enacted,* That no district commander or member of the board of registration, or any of the officers or appointees acting under them, shall be bound in his action by any opinion of any civil officer of the United States.

Section 11. *And be it further enacted,* That all the provisions of this act and of the acts to which this is supplementary shall be construed liberally, to the end that all the intents thereof may be fully and perfectly carried out.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 40th Cong., 1st sess., ch. 30.

SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS WITH LAND OWNERSHIP (1867)

How these experiments of the working of 1862 affected both those who superintended and those by whose labour it was carried out, may be seen by the following Extract:—"The success of one of our Superintendents in conducting two of the largest plantations for the Government was so great, that he has, in connection with some friends at the North, purchased eleven plantations, comprising about 8000 acres, and is carrying them on this season by means of the old men, the women, and children,—most of the young and able-bodied men being now enlisted in the army of the United States."—(*First Annual Report of the Educational Commission for Freedmen.*)

This Agent, there is little doubt, was Mr. Philbrick, whose operations are reported in the next Annual Report as having raised, at "perhaps a little lower than the average former cost," and with this inferior labour—mainly of women, children, and old men—two-thirds of an ordinary crop. In the same year these blacks were making sales of minor market commodities to at least 150,000 dollars.

Then, as to the Freedmen themselves. At the end of the first year, at the sale which took place in March, 1863, four plantations, containing 3,500 acres, were bought by the Freedmen living upon them. At the sales of 1864, further tracts of land were purchased by them for about 40,000 dollars. *All these purchases were made from the savings of two years.*

In relation to these facts, the *North American Review* declared it could be claimed that the coloured population of the Sea Islands had been brought in two years from a state of utter destitution and ignorance to ab-

solute prosperity and partial education, under all the disadvantages of military occupation and actual war, *by two comparatively feeble Societies in Boston and New York, aided by one in Philadelphia.*

It ought to be added that the Negroes of these Islands were regarded as the most "animalized" in all the United States, and their whole previous condition to have made up as desperate a case, for this kind of effort, as could well be conceived.

National Freedmen's Aid Union. 1867. *The Industry of the Freedmen of America.* Birmingham, AL: National Freedmen's Aid Union.

FOURTH RECONSTRUCTION ACT (1868)

Chapter XXV

An Act to amend the Act passed March twenty-third, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, entitled "An Act supplementary to 'An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the rebel States' passed March second, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to facilitate their Restoration." *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America an Congress assembled,* That hereafter any election authorized by the act passed March twenty-three, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, entitled "An act supplementary to 'An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States,' passed March two, [second,] eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and to facilitate their restoration," shall be decided by a majority of the votes actually cast; and at the election in which the question of the adoption or rejection of any constitution is submitted, any person duly registered in the State may vote in the election district where he offers to vote when he has resided therein for ten days next preceding such election, upon presentation of his certificate of registration, his affidavit, or other satisfactory evidence, under such regulations as the district commanders may prescribe.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the constitutional convention of any of the States mentioned in the acts to which this is amendatory may provide that at the time of voting upon the ratification of the constitution the registered voters may vote also for members of the House of Representatives of the United States and for all elective officers provided for by the said constitution; and the same election officers who shall make the return of the votes cast on the ratification or rejection of the constitution, shall enumerate and certify the votes cast for members of Congress.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 40th Cong., 2nd sess., ch. 25.

THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU REPORT (1870)

Operations in 1870—Report of General Howard

Gen. Howard's Annual Report on the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, shows that, in accordance with the Acts of Congress the force of officers and clerks has been reduced from 158 to 87. In Washington, 1,500 freedmen are cared for. The various asylums and sub-bureaus in the Southern towns are nearly all discontinued, and the work of the bureau is confined to the District of Columbia, where many of the destitute coloured people have been sent from all parts of the South. One man—sent from Louisiana—says Gen. Howard, is 113 years old. His early life was spent within sight of the hills on which this city is built, and he remembers well the first President, though he never was one of the famous "body-guard." This venerable man has given more than a century of productive labour to his country. Were his just wages paid him he would not now be an object of charity. And equally urgent is the case of nearly ever inmate of the asylum. No State nor city recognises them as citizens; no municipal government allows their claim for aid; unless, therefore, the United States Government continues to feed and clothe and shelter them, they must perish. I believe that Congress and the people will sanction whatever expenditures are necessary to support these national paupers, and to alleviate as far as possible their sufferings. The work of collecting and paying bounties to coloured soldiers has been continued through the year, and 1,087 of these claims have been collected and settled; 3,108 remain to be disposed of. The whole amount of back pay, bounties and pensions collected by the Bureau is 130,900. 65 dols.; all cases intrusted to the Commissioner—Gen. Howard—were settled without fees. The number of certificates and checks issued by the Treasury, and payable by Gen. Howard, was 9,107, representing 1,659,728. 86 dols. The whole amount paid since the passage of the Act (March, 1867) is 7,683,618. 61 dols. The evidence in 1,568 cases, filed by attorneys and claim agents, and suspended by the Second Auditor because the attorneys had failed to furnish the necessary evidence—by reason of death, retirement from business, willful negligence, or other causes—has been perfected through the agency of this Bureau. In addition to the above, 405 contested cases, referred to me by the Second Auditor have been taken up for investigation; and legal proceedings have been instituted against parties charged with frauds against the Government.

The educational branch of the Bureau has been continued to as great an extent as the limited fund

would permit, and a good work has been achieved. The number of schools reported is 2,639; the number of teachers, 3,300, and the pupils, 149,581. The number of schools has increased—standing now at 94, with an attendance of 8,147. Appeals are coming in from all parts of the South for further help. Many school buildings, it is reported, must remain closed on account of the withdrawal of Government assistance; but I am obliged to reply to all these appeals: My funds are expanded; there is nothing more to give. All I can do is to counsel the freedmen to make every effort and sacrifice necessary to keep their schools open, and to agitate the subject of free schools until they secure their establishment. A very great work remains to be done before that result can be attained. The people of the Southern States have been too much occupied with material interests, the restoration of industrial order and political reconstruction, to give to the subject of education the attention which its importance demands.

The expenditures for educational purposes during the last year have been 976,853. 89 dols. This includes 25,000 dols. transferred to Wilberforce University, Ohio, and 12,000 dols. to Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, by Act of Congress. The expenditures of the Bureau for all purposes during the last year has been 1,579,129. 55 dols., and the balance on hand August 31, 1870, was 200,146. 52. This sum will not be sufficient to settle outstanding claims, and will be no more than is needed to support the hospital and asylum in this city, and meet other current expenses until the next session of Congress.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, 17:7 (October 2, 1871).

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SPANISH AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS ON THE MERITS OF ABOLITION (1871)

Letter from Spanish Consul to Gov. Reed.

New Orleans, March 14, 1871

Governor,—The undersigned, Consul of Spain in New Orleans, has the honour to submit to your consideration the following request:—

It ranks prominent among the official duties of the undersigned to have his Government faithfully and reliably informed of the general condition of the country to which he has had the honour to be accredited as consular representative.

The abolition of Slavery decreed by the Spanish Government for Cuba and Porto Rico will, undoubtedly, give rise to questions of great moment, which should be met and decided with the utmost care and

impartial spirit; it is, therefore, very desirable that the opinion of his government be enlightened with such reliable data upon the subject as can be compiled in the country; and with such suggestions as experience may point out as just and proper.

To attain this end in the part allotted to him by virtue of his office, the undersigned begs leave to ask you to kindly consent in furnishing him at your earliest convenience, with such official and private information, recent statistics, &c., as will impartially show the results of abolition in your State, from an economical as well as a social point of view.

Your valuable opinion in the matter shall be gratefully received; and the undersigned shall take great pleasure in informing his Government of your kind compliance with his request.

The undersigned, finally, begs leave to tender the assurance of his highest personal regard, and to remain, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,
Carlos Vie

Governor Reed's Reply

Tallahassee, March 29, 1871

Sir,—Your favour of the 14th instant, referring to the decree of the Spanish Government abolishing Slavery in Cuba and Porto Rico, and inviting information in relation to the results and practical effects of the abolition of Slavery in this country, is received, and I have the honour to reply. It affords me great satisfaction to be able to say that the results in this State are decidedly beneficial to the people and the State.

The fact that freedom was accomplished by violence, and in opposition to the will of the slaveholder, instead of being inaugurated through concession and by his consent, has occasioned much embarrassment and prevented many advantages which would otherwise have been realised; but enough has been developed to show that it is highly conducive to the progress, wealth and prosperity of the State, as well as to the advancement of civilisation.

Before and for some time after the abolition of Slavery the theory of the South was, that the negroes would not work except under compulsion, and that cotton, the great staple of the South, could not be produced by free labour. The fallacy of this has been demonstrated by the cotton crop of 1870, which is equal to the average of the last four years before the war of undisturbed Slave labour.

It was also contended that, in freedom and deprived of the protection and care of their owners, the slaves would become vagrant and dissolute, and subject to disease and death, and soon the race would be exterminated.

It was confidently asserted that the reduction through this demoralisation would, in 1870, equal one-half the population of 1860. But what is the fact?

Though thousands perished during the war, and thousands more from being suddenly thrust out without subsistence or resource, destitute of medical attendance, and frequently subjected to vindictive opposition from their disappointed and enraged late owners, who still possessed the soil, still, from the census just completed, it is found that the negro population of the cotton States has increased since 1860 eight and three-fourths per cent.

In the State of Florida the increase in wealth and population, during the three years of Republican government just past, has been unparalleled in her previous history.

Her increase in population has been at least fifty per cent, and in industrial resources more than two hundred per cent.

The inevitable effect of Slavery is to concentrate the wealth in the hands of a few, while the effect of freedom is directly the opposite—to diffuse that wealth among the masses. Slavery degrades labour to a mere brute standard, while freedom ennobles it and makes it a fit associate with intellectual and moral cultivation.

In an educational and moral point of view the results of the abolition of Slavery are equally satisfactory, notwithstanding prejudice and intolerance have cheated the emancipated race of half its possible attainments. This branch of the subject opens a wide and interesting field of discussion and enquiry, which time will not permit me here to enter. The barbarism of Slavery and the beneficence of Freedom have been fully attested in the conduct and progress of the coloured race, even under all the adverse circumstances which have attended the country since emancipation, and I cannot but congratulate you and the nation which you represent on the recent decree of emancipation in Cuba and Porto Rico.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With high respect,

Your obedient servant,

HARRISON REED,

Governor of Florida.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, 17:7
(October 2, 1871).

SECOND CIVIL RIGHTS ACT (1875)

CXIV:—An act to protect all citizens in their civil and legal rights.

Whereas, it is essential to just government we recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political; and it being the appropriate object of legislation to enact great fundamental principles into law: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America and Congress assembled, That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. That any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons by law applicable to citizens of every race and color, and regardless of any previous condition of servitude, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in an action of debt, with full costs; and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or shall be imprisoned not less than thirty days nor more than one year: *Provided,* That all persons may elect to sue for the penalty aforesaid or to proceed under their rights at common law and by State statutes; and having so elected to proceed in the one mode or the other, their right to proceed in the other jurisdiction shall be barred. But this proviso shall not apply to criminal proceedings, either under this act or the criminal law of any State: *And provided further,* That a judgment for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved, or a judgment upon an indictment, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

Section 3. That the district and circuit courts of the United States shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses against, and violations of, the provisions of

this act; and actions for the penalty given by the preceding section may be prosecuted in the territorial district, or circuit courts of the United States wherever the defendant may be found, without regard to the other party; and the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, and commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with powers of arresting and imprisoning or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, are hereby specially authorized and required to institute proceedings against every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him to be arrested and imprisoned or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States, or territorial court, as by law has cognizance of the offense, except in respect of the right of action accruing to the person aggrieved; and such district attorneys shall cause such proceedings to be prosecuted to their termination as in other cases: *Provided,* That nothing contained in this section shall be construed to deny or defeat any right of civil action accruing to any person, whether by reason of this act or otherwise; and any district attorney who shall willfully fail to institute and prosecute the proceedings herein required, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by an action of debt, with full costs, and shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars: *And provided further,* That a judgment for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved against any such district attorney, or a judgment upon an indictment against any such district attorney, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

Section 4. That no citizen possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and any officer or other person charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors who shall exclude or fail to summon any citizen for the cause aforesaid shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined not more than five thousand dollars.

Section 5. That all cases arising under the provisions of this act in the courts of the United States shall be reviewable by the Supreme Court of the United States, without regard to the sum in controversy, under the same provisions and regulations as are now provided by law for the review of other causes in said court.

Approved, March 1, 1875.

U.S. Congress. *United States Statutes at Large*, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., ch. 114.

OBITUARY FOR WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON (1879)

William Lloyd Garrison

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society place this day upon their records a notice of the death of their lamented friend and fellow-labourer WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, which has already been briefly chronicled in the last issue of the Society's Journal.

It was in the year 1833 that the Anti-Slavery Society first extended its welcome to William Lloyd Garrison, when he for the first time paid a visit to this country. He had then left the shores of the United States as the recognised leader of the forlorn hope of a cause then passing through the fiery ordeal of persecution and reproach.

He arrived here at the moment when the full tide of anti-slavery feeling in England was bearing down alike the opposition of the West Indian slave-owners and the reluctance of the government of this country.

When he visited England for the last time, two years ago, this Society once more gladly welcomed him at a meeting at which many of their friends were able to be present. It was then their privilege to hear him recount the history of that great anti-slavery triumph in the United States of America which had crowned the long and laborious work of himself and his coadjutors.

In recording the great loss to the cause of freedom which this Society and the emancipated people of America have alike to deplore, this Committee feel no little satisfaction in recurring to this last occasion of meeting with their friend, as affording a landmark in the history of the great cause which they all had at heart, and as an occasion for them to thank God and take courage, in view of the formidable work still before them, in the constant and determined assault upon the vast empire of slavery and the slave-trade which still exists in Cuba and in the Eastern world.

London, July 31st, 1879.

We have great pleasure in reprinting the following beautiful lines from the American poet Whittier, written expressly to commemorate the death of this eminent Abolitionist, in which he so eloquently describes the high and holy path of active service on behalf of right, and in redress of wrong, still open to those who have gone from a life of activity and love on earth to

one of still greater activity and love in heaven: "Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?"

*The storm and peril overpast,
The bounding hatred shamed and still;
Go, soul of freedom! take at last
The place which thou alone canst fill.
Confirm the lesson taught of old,
Life saved for self is lost, while they
Who lose it in His service hold
The lease of God's eternal day.
Not for thyself, but for the slave
Thy words of thunder shook the world;
No selfish griefs or hatred gave
The strength wherewith thy bolts were hurled.
From lips that Sinai's trumpet blew
We heard a tender undersong;
Thy very wrath from pity grew,
From love of man thy hate of wrong.
Now past and present are as one;
Thy life below is life above;
Thy mortal years have but begun
The immortality of love.
Not for a soul like thine the calm
Of selfish ease and joys of sense;
But duty, more than crown or palm,
Its own exceeding recompense.
Go up and on! Thy day well done,
Its morning promise well fulfilled,
Arise to triumphs yet unwon,
To holier tasks that God has willed.
Go leave behind thee all that mars
The work below of man for man;
With the white legions of the stars
Do service such as angels can.
Wherever wrong shall right deny,
Or suffering spirits urge their plea,
Be thine a voice to smite the lie,
A hand to set the captive free!*

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, 21:9 (August 1879).

FREDERICK DOUGLASS OFFERS REFLECTIONS UPON EMANCIPATION (1883)

Friends and Fellow Citizens: I could have wished that some one from among the younger men of Washington, some one with a mind more fruitful, with a voice more eloquent, with an oratorical ambition more lofty; more active, and more stimulating to high endeavor than

mine, had been selected by your Committee of Arrangements, to give suitable utterance to the thoughts, feelings, and purposes, which this 21st anniversary of Emancipation in the District of Columbia is fitted to inspire. That such an one could have been easily found among the aspiring and promising young colored men of Washington, I am happy to know and am proud to affirm. They have been reared in the light of its new born freedom, qualified by its education, and by the elevating spirit of liberty, to speak the wise and grateful words befitting the occasion. The presence of one such, as your orator to-night, would be a more brilliant illustration of the wisdom and beneficence of the act of Emancipation, than any words of mine, however well chosen and appropriate. I represent the past, they the present. I represent the downfall of slavery, they the glorious triumphs of liberty. I speak of deliverance from bondage, they speak of concessions to liberty and equality. Their mission begins where my mission ends.

You will readily perceive that I have raised more questions than I shall be able for the present to answer. My general response to these inquiries is a mixed one. The sky of the American Negro is dark, but not rayless; it is stormy, but not cheerless. The grand old party of liberty, union, and progress, which has been his reliance and refuge so long, though less cohesive and strong than it once was, is still a power and has a future. I give you notice, that while there is a Democratic party there will be a Republican party. As the war for the Union recedes into the misty shadows of the past, and the Negro is no longer needed to assault forts and stop rebel bullets, he is in some sense, of less importance. Peace with the old master class has been war to the Negro. As the one has risen, the other has fallen. The reaction has been sudden, marked, and violent. It has swept the Negro from all the legislative halls of the Southern States, and from those of the Congress of the United States. It has, in many cases, driven him from the ballot box and the jury box. The situation has much in it for serious thought, but nothing to cause despair. Above all the frowning clouds that lower about our horizon, there is the steady light of stars, and the thick clouds that now obscure them, will in due season pass away.

Great, however, as is his advantage at this point, he is not altogether fortunate after all, as to the manner in which his claims are canvassed. His misfortune is that few men are qualified to discuss him candidly and impartially. They either exalt him too high or rate him too low. Americans can consider almost any other question more calmly and fairly than this one. I know of nothing outside of religion which kindles more wrath, causes wider differences, or gives

force and effect to fiercer and more irreconcilable antagonisms.

It was so in the time of slavery, and it is so now. Then, the cause was interest, now, the cause is pride and prejudice. Then, the cause was property. He was then worth twenty hundred millions to his owner. He is now worth uncounted millions to himself. While a slave there was a mountain of gold on his breast to keep him down—now that he is free there is a mountain of prejudice to hold him down.

Let any man now claim for the Negro, or worse still, let the Negro now claim for himself, any right, privilege or immunity which has hitherto been denied him by law or custom, and he will at once open a fountain of bitterness, and call forth overwhelming wrath.

It is his sad lot to live in a land where all presumptions are arrayed against him, unless we except the presumption of inferiority and worthlessness. If his course is downward he meets very little resistance, but if upward, his way is disputed at every turn of the road. If he comes in rags and in wretchedness, he answers the public demand for a negro, and provokes no anger, though he may provoke derision, but if he presumes to be a gentleman and a scholar, he is then entirely out of his place. He excites resentment and calls forth stern and bitter opposition. If he offers himself to a builder as a mechanic, to a client as a lawyer, to a patient as a physician, to a university as a professor, or to a department as a clerk, no matter what may be his ability or his attainments, there is a presumption based upon his color or his previous condition, of incompetency, and if he succeeds at all, he has to do so against this most discouraging presumption.

One ground of hope is found in the fact referred to in the beginning, and that is, the discussion concerning the Negro still goes on.

The country in which we live is happily governed by ideas as well as by laws, and no black man need despair while there is an audible and earnest assertion of justice and right on his behalf. He may be riddled with bullets, or roasted over a slow fire by the mob, but his cause cannot be shot or burned or otherwise destroyed. Like the impalpable ghost of the murdered Hamlet, it is immortal. All talk of its being a dead issue is a mistake. It may for a time be buried, but it is not dead. Tariffs, free trade, civil service, and river and harbor bills, may for a time cover it, but it will rise again, and again, and again, with increased life and vigor. Every year adds to the black man's numbers. Every year adds to his wealth and to his intelligence. These will speak for him.

There is a power in numbers, wealth and intelligence, which can never be despised nor defied. All ef-

forts thus far to diminish the Negro's importance as a man and as a member of the American body politic, have failed. We are approaching a momentous canvass. If I do not misread the signs of the times, he will play an important part in the politics of the nation during the next Presidential campaign, and will play it well.

If you wish to suppress it, I counsel you, my fellow citizens, to remove its cause. The voice of popular complaint, whether it is heard in this country or in other countries, does not and can not rest upon dreams, visions, or illusions of any kind. There must be solid ground for it.

The demand for Negro rights would have ceased long since but for the existence of a sufficient and substantial cause for its continuance.

Fellow citizens, the present hour is full of admonition and warning. I despise threats, and remembering as I do the depths from which I have come, and the forlorn condition of those for whom I speak, I dare not assume before the American people an air of haughtiness, but on the other hand I can not forget that the Negro is now, and of right ought to be, an American citizen in the fullest sense of the word. This high position, I take it, was not accorded him in sport, mockery or deception. I credit the American people with sincerity.

The amendments to the Constitution of the United States mean this, or they are a cruel, scandalous and colossal sham, and deserve to be so branded before the civilized world. What Abraham Lincoln said in respect of the United States is as true of the colored people as of the relations of those States. They cannot remain half slave and half free. You must give them all or take from them all. Until this half-and-half condition is ended, there will be just ground of complaint. You will have an aggrieved class, and this discussion will go on. Until the public schools shall cease to be caste schools in every part of our country, this discussion will go on. Until the colored man's pathway to the American ballot box, North and South, shall be as smooth and as safe as the same is for the white citizen, this discussion will go on. Until the colored man's right to practice at the bar of our courts, and sit upon juries, shall be the universal law and practice of the land, this discussion will go on. Until the courts of the country shall grant the colored man a fair trial and a just verdict, this discussion will go on. Until color shall cease to be a bar to equal participation in the offices and honors of the country, this discussion will go on. Until the trades-unions and the workshops of the country shall cease to proscribe the colored man and prevent his children from learning useful trades, this discussion will go on. Until the American people shall make character, and

not color, the criterion of respectability, this discussion will go on. Until men like Bishops Payne and Campbell shall cease to be driven from respectable railroad cars at the South, this discussion will go on. In a word, until truth and humanity shall cease to be living ideas, and mankind shall sink back into moral darkness, and the world shall put evil for good, bitter for sweet, and darkness for light, this discussion will go on. Until all humane ideas and civilization shall be banished from the world, this discussion will go on.

When the nation was in peril; when the country was rent asunder at the center; when rebel armies were in the field, bold, defiant and victorious; when our recruiting sergeants were marching up and down our streets from early morn till late at night, with drum and fife, with banner and badge, footsore and weary; when the fate of the Republic trembled in the balance, and the hearts of loyal men were failing them for fear; when nearly all hope of subduing the rebellion had vanished, Abraham Lincoln called upon the colored men of this country to reach out their iron arms and clutch with their steel fingers the faltering banner of the Republic; and they rallied, and they rallied, full two hundred thousand strong. Ah! then, my friends, the claims of the Negro found the heart of the nation a little more tender and responsive than now. But I ask Americans to remember that the arms that were needed then may be needed again; and it is best that they do not convert the cheerful and loyal brows of six millions into a black Ireland.

A nation composed of all classes should be governed by no one class exclusively. All should be included, and none excluded. Thus aggrieved classes would be rendered impossible.

The question is sometimes asked, when, where and by whom the Negro was first suspected of having any rights at all? In answer to this inquiry it has been asserted that William Lloyd Garrison originated the Anti-slavery movement, that until his voice was raised against the American slave system, the whole world was silent. With all respect to those who make this claim I am compelled to dissent from it. I love and venerate the memory of William Lloyd Garrison. I knew him long and well. He was a grand man, a moral hero, a man whose acquaintance and friendship it was a great privilege to enjoy. While liberty has a friend on earth, and slavery an earnest enemy, his name and his works will be held in profound and grateful memory. To him it was given to formulate and thunder against oppression and slavery the testimonies of all ages. He revived, but did not originate.

Fellow-citizens—In view of the history now referred to, the low point at which he started in the race

of life on this continent, and the many obstacles which had to be surmounted the Negro has reasons to be proud of his progress, if not of his beginning. He is a brilliant illustration of social and anthropological revolution and evolution.

We are now free, and though we have many of the consequences of our past condition to contend against, by union, effort, co-operation, and by a wise policy in the direction and the employment of our mental, moral, industrial and political powers, it is the faith of my soul, that we can blot out the handwriting of popular prejudice, remove the stumbling-blocks left in our way by slavery, rise to an honorable place in the estimation of our fellow-citizens of all classes, and make a comfortable way for ourselves in the world.

I have referred to the vast and wonderful changes which have taken place in the condition of the colored people of this country. We rejoice in those changes to-day, and we do well. We are neither wood nor stone, but men. We possess the sentiments common to right-minded men.

But do we know the history of those vast and marvellous changes and the means by which they were brought about? Do we comprehend the philosophy of our progress? Do we ever think of the time, the thought, the labor, the pain, the self-sacrifice, by which they were accomplished? Have we a just and proper conception of the noble zeal, the inflexible firmness, the heroic courage, and other grand qualities of soul, displayed by the reformers and statesmen through whose exertions these changes in our condition have been wrought out and the victory won?

The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was one of the most important events connected with the prosecution of the war for the preservation of the Union, and, as such, is worthy of the marked commemoration we have given it to-day. It was not only a staggering blow to slavery throughout the country, but a killing blow to the rebellion, and was the beginning of the end to both. It placed the National dignity and the National power on the side of emancipation. It was the first step toward a redeemed and regenerated nation. It imparted a moral and human significance to what at first seemed to the outside world, only a sanguinary war for empire.

It is, however, consoling to think that this limitation upon human foresight has helped us in the past and may help us in the future. Could William the Silent have foreseen the misery and ruin he would bring upon his country by taking up the sword against the Spanish Inquisition, he might have thought the sacrifice too great. Had William Lloyd Garrison foreseen that he would be hated, persecuted, mobbed, im-

prisoned, and drawn through the streets of his beloved Boston with a halter about his neck, even his courage might have quailed, and the native hue of his resolution been sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. Could Abraham Lincoln have foreseen the immense cost, the terrible hardship, the awful waste of blood and treasure involved in the effort to retake and repossess the forts and arsenals and other property captured by the Confederate States; could he have foreseen the tears of the widows and orphans, and his own warm blood trickling at the bidding of an assassin's bullet, he might have thought the sacrifice too great.

In every great movement men are prepared by preceding events for those which are to come. We neither know the evil nor the good which may be in store for us. Twenty-five years ago the system of slavery seemed impregnable. Cotton was king, and the civilized world acknowledged his sway. Twenty-five years ago no man could have foreseen that in less than ten years from that time no master would wield a lash and no slave would clank a chain in the United States.

Who at that time dreamed that Negroes would ever be seen as we have seen them to-day marching through the streets of this superb city, the Capital of this great Nation, with eagles on their buttons, muskets on their shoulders and swords by their sides, timing their high footsteps to the Star Spangled Banner and the Red, White and Blue? Who at that time dreamed that colored men would ever sit in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States?

With a knowledge of the events of the last score of years, with a knowledge of the sudden and startling changes which have already come to pass, I am not prepared to say what the future will be.

There is but one destiny, it seems to me, left for us, and that is to make ourselves and be made by others a part of the American people in every sense of the word. Assimilation and not isolation is our true policy and our natural destiny. Unification for us is life: separation is death. We cannot afford to set up for ourselves a separate political party, or adopt for ourselves a political creed apart from the rest of our fellow citizens. Our own interests will be subserved by a generous care for the interests of the Nation at large. All the political, social and literary forces around us tend to unification.

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