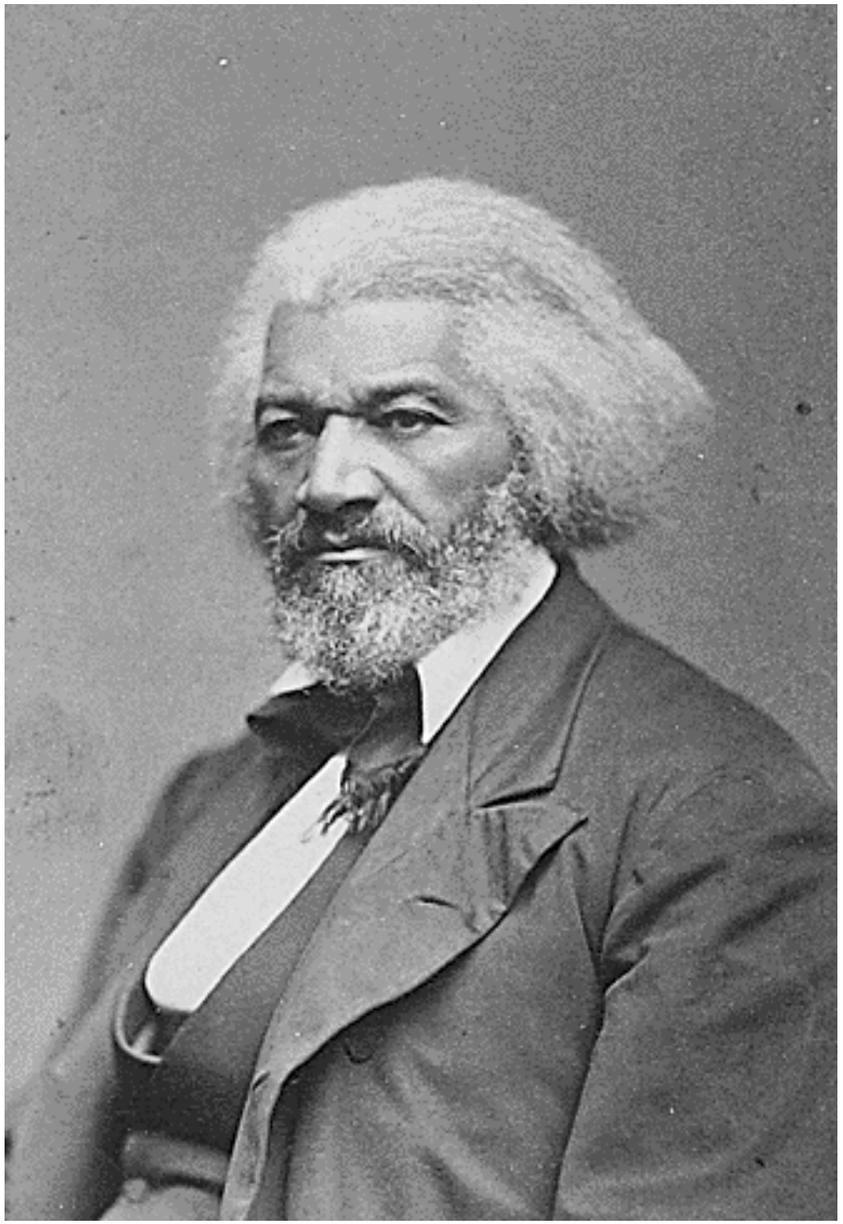
THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS PAPERS

Series Two: Autobiographical Writings

VOLUME 3: LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS



Frederick Douglass, ca. 1879
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Volume 3: Life and Times of Frederick Douglass
Book 2: Historical Annotations

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Abbreviations

ACAB	*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
ANB	*American National Biography*
ASB	*Anti-Slavery Bugle*
BDUSC	*Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*
BFASR	*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*
CH	*Church History*
ChR	*Christian Recorder*
CWH	*Civil War History*
DAB	*Dictionary of American Biography*
DANB	*Dictionary of American Negro Biography*
DHU-MS	Moorland-Spingarn Library, Howard University
DLC	Library of Congress
DM	*Douglass' Monthly*
DNB	*The Dictionary of National Biography*
EAAH	*Encyclopedia of African American History, 1619–1895*
FD	Frederick Douglass
FDP	*Frederick Douglass' Paper*
JAH	*Journal of American History*
JISHS	*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*
JNH	*Journal of Negro History*
JSH	*Journal of Southern History*
Lib.	*Liberator*
MdAA	Hall of Records Commission, Annapolis, Md.
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society
MdHM	*Maryland Historical Magazine*
MdTCH	Talbot County, Maryland, Courthouse
MVHR	*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*
NAR	*North American Review*
NASS	*National Anti-Slavery Standard*
NAW	*Notable American Women*
NCAB	*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*
NEQ	*New England Quarterly*
NHB	*Negro History Bulletin*
NNE	*New National Era*
NS	*North Star*
PaF	*Pennsylvania Freeman*
RH	*Rochester History*

BLANK VERSO

Historical Annotation

1.x George L. Ruffin] George Lewis Ruffin (1834–86), a lawyer and judge, was born in Richmond, Virginia, to free blacks. In 1853 his family moved to Boston, where he attended Chapman Hall School, became involved in the Republican party, and met Josephine St. Pierre, whom he married in 1858. Soon after their wedding, the couple left for Liverpool, England, hoping to escape the pervasive racial discrimination in America, but after six months they returned to Boston, where Ruffin took up barbering. During the Civil War, he participated in the Home Guard and the Sanitary Commission. In 1869 Ruffin graduated from Harvard Law School, becoming the first black to earn an L.L.B. degree from that institution. After joining the bar, Ruffin became involved in politics and was elected to the Massachusetts state legislature and the Boston Common Council. In addition to running a thriving law firm, Ruffin was appointed as a municipal judge in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and as Boston's consul resident for the Dominican Republic in 1883. J. Clay Smith, Jr., "In Freedom's Birthplace: The Making of George Lewis Ruffin, The First Black Law Graduate of Harvard University," *Howard Law Journal,* 39:201–35 (Fall 1995); Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York, 1982), 535.

3.9–10 Horace Walpole's prophecy] Fourth earl of Oxford, historian Horace Walpole (1717–97) laments what he perceives to be Europe's inevitable cultural decline. He shares his vision of future sites of renewed creativity and intellectual advance on the American continents in his letter of 24 November 1774 to Sir Horace Mann. Ruffin utilizes these sentiments in order to place Douglass's achievements as both former slave and American at the vanguard of this shift: "The next Augustan age will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will be, perhaps a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York, and in time a Virgil at Mexico and a Newton at Peru." Walpole to Mann, Strawberry Hill, 24 November 1774, in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, with Sir Horace Mann,* ed. W. S. Lewis et al., 48 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1937–83), 8:59–64; John Cannon et al., eds., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians* (New York, 1988), 439–40; *The Dictionary of National Biography,* 22 vols. (London, 1921–22), 20:627–33.

3.9 Xenophon] Xenophon (c. 428–c. 354 BCE), Greek historian and orator, was a contemporary of Socrates, whom he met while fighting in the Peloponnesian War. Xenophon produced fifteen works, including *Hellenica,* a contemporary history of Greece from 411 to 362 BCE. He probably intended to complete Thucydides's history of the Peloponnesian War but later extended his history to include the Spartan defeat at Mantineia. Xenophon also composed works of political science, adventure, and

instruction. Michael Grant, *Greek and Roman Historians: Information and Misinformation* (London, 1995), 9–10; Kelly Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1999), 2:1343–44; Cannon, *Blackwell Dictionary of Historians,* 459–60.

3.10 Thucydides] Thucydides (c. 460/455–c. 400 BCE), Greek historian and Athenian general, wrote *The Peloponnesian War,* a contemporary history covering all but the last seven years of the war in which he participated. Because of his interest in numbers, chronology, and causation, he is considered the first "scientific historian." Thucydides's history is often studied for its literary value as well as for its historical accounts. Grant, *Greek and Roman Historians,* 7–9; Boyd, *Encyclopedia of Historians,* 2:1193; Cannon, *Blackwell Dictionary of Historians,* 412–13.

3.15 Pantheon] A group of illustrious persons, but originally a term used for a temple to officially recognized gods.

3.16 *sui generis*] Of one's own class; singular.

3.19 of negro extraction] Douglass's mother was Maryland slave Harriet Bailey (1792–1825). The identity of his father is not certain, but since his skin color was considerably lighter than that of his siblings, Douglass concluded that it was a white man. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 5, 8.

3.29 a high officer in the National Government] At the time that George Ruffin composed this introduction, Douglass had held the following federal posts: assistant secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission (1871); marshal of the District of Columbia (1877–81); recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia (1881–86). McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 276–77, 289, 291–92, 306, 335.

3.30 a husband, father] Douglass married Anna Murray (c. 1813–82) in September 1838. The couple had five children: Rosetta Douglass Sprague (1839–1906); Lewis Henry Douglass (1840–1908); Frederick Douglass, Jr. (1842–92); Charles Remond Douglass (1844–1920); and Annie Douglass (1849–60). McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 73, 81, 97, 103, 161, 207, 365.

4.1 Douglass has now reached and passed the meridian of life] At the time that Ruffin composed this introduction, Douglass was approximately sixty-three years of age. As nearly as can be determined, Douglass was born in February 1818. Ledger books kept by his master, Aaron Anthony, contain a table, "My Black People," with the notation "Frederick Augustus son of Harriott Feby 1818." Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folders 95, 165, Dodge Collection, MdAA. Further evidence for the year 1818 is presented in Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 31–34, 218.

4.2 Garrison] William Lloyd Garrison (1805–79) was the foremost white abolitionist of the nineteenth century and was credited with the discovery of Douglass as a speaker at an antislavery meeting in Nantucket in 1841. He began his career as an apprentice printer on the Newburyport (Mass.) *Herald* at the age of thirteen. Garrison became editor of the Newburyport *Free Press* in 1826, but the paper closed within a year. He was then associated with a series of periodicals in Boston that advocated reform before Benjamin Lundy offered the young journalist the opportunity to write

for his antislavery newspaper. Garrison joined Lundy in editing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1829, during the last year of the paper's 1821–1830 run. In 1830 a libel suit against the editors forced the paper to close and landed Garrison in jail. After his release, he courted the wealthy merchants of New York and Boston in order to start the *Liberator* (1831–65), a weekly journal based in Boston in which he advocated an immediate end to slavery. Garrison's brand of abolition condemned any institution that would tolerate the existence of slavery, including churches, political parties, and even the United States itself and any scheme aimed at removing black people from the country. Instead, Garrison hoped to raise the public's awareness that slavery was morally wrong and thereby force its end in an almost millennial moment of emancipation. His approach appealed to both white and black antislavery advocates but earned him many enemies among those only moderately opposed to slavery and slaveholders alike. Seeing the need for greater action and organization beyond the pages of the *Liberator,* Garrison joined with other abolitionists to form the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1831. Two years later he helped found the larger American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1833 he established ties with English abolitionists after a trip to Great Britain, and he later brought the noted and notorious speaker George Thompson to the United States for a tour. Garrison also dedicated himself to women's rights, encouraging women to enter the public sphere by inviting them, via the *Liberator,* to form female antislavery societies. In addition to the thirty-three women's antislavery societies that flourished by 1838, Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society welcomed women as well as blacks into its ranks. However, female delegates were excluded from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 in London. The issue of women's participation in the antislavery movement and Garrison's absolute refusal to turn to politics to end slavery caused a division in the American Anti-Slavery Society. Brothers Lewis and Arthur Tappan, who opposed women's acting as speakers and who hoped to use politics toward abolition, broke with Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society, forming the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or the "New Organization" in 1841. Garrison's ideas were so closely associated with the "Old Organization" that the American Anti-Slavery Society became known simply as the "Garrisonians." With the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, Garrison believed that he had accomplished his life's work and that of the antislavery movement. He then resigned from the presidency of the American Anti-Slavery Society and closed the *Liberator.* Wendell Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children,* 4 vols. (New York, 1885–89); Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York, 1998); James Brewer Stewart, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Challenge of Emancipation* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1992); John L. Thomas, *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1963); *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. (New York, 1928–36), 7:168–72.

4.3 Gerrit Smith] Gerrit Smith (1797–1874), a New York businessman and land

speculator, became best known for his philanthropic work in such reforms as temperance and abolition. Between 1828 and 1835, he donated large sums of money to the American Colonization Society but abandoned that movement in 1835 when his sympathies shifted to the immediate abolitionists. In the 1840s he gave approximately 140,000 acres of land in upstate New York to three thousand black settlers, thus enabling them to qualify to vote. Smith was a founder and frequent candidate of the Liberty party, running for governor of New York on that ticket in 1840, and winning a seat in Congress in 1852. When the Free Soil merger with moderate antislavery Democrats and Whigs lured away many Liberty party supporters, Smith helped bankroll the Liberty party until 1860. Smith befriended Douglass when the latter moved to Rochester and frequently assisted in financing the *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Like Douglass, Smith supported John Brown, but psychological stress caused by the failure at Harpers Ferry brought on the first of a series of bipolar episodes that greatly reduced his subsequent reform activities. Ralph Volney Harlow, *Gerrit Smith: Philanthropist and Reformer* (1939; New York, 1972); Gerald Sorin, *The New York Abolitionists: A Test Case of Political Radicalism* (Westport, Conn., 1971), 269–87; Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 170–80; John R. McKivigan and Madeleine Leveille, "The 'Black Dream' of Gerrit Smith, New York Abolitionist," *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier,* 20:61–76 (Fall 1985); *NCAB,* 2:322–23; *DAB,* 17:270–71.

4.3 Giddings] Joshua Reed Giddings (1795–1864), antislavery congressman from Ohio, was first elected to the House of Representatives as a Whig in 1838. He vigorously opposed the "gag rule," the annexation of Texas, and the Mexican-American War. In 1842, while negotiations were underway with Great Britain over the *Creole* affair, Giddings introduced unpopular resolutions supporting the right of mutiny for slaves aboard the British ship. Widely opposed, Giddings immediately resigned his seat, appealed to his constituents, and won reelection by an overwhelming margin. In 1848 Giddings left the Whig party to join the Free Soilers and then allied himself with the Republicans after the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Passed over for renomination in 1858 on account of his antislavery radicalism and declining health, Giddings was a delegate to the 1860 Republican convention, at which he and his allies forced the adoption of a plank endorsing the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In the last three years of his life, Giddings served as the consul general to Canada. James Brewer Stewart, *Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics* (Cleveland, 1970); *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 6 vols. (New York, 1888–89), 4:478; *DAB,* 7:260–61; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (online).

4.3 Sumner] Best remembered as the victim of a vicious attack by a congressional colleague, the senatorial career of Charles Sumner (1811–74) from 1851 to 1874 was dedicated to the cause of emancipation. Born in Boston, Sumner attended and then taught at Harvard College. He engaged in a semisuccessful law practice but was thrust into politics by his outspoken opposition to the U.S. war against Mexico. He was a founder of the Free Soil party in Massachusetts, and a coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats elected him to the U.S. Senate in 1850. Immediately embroiling himself in the heated topic of slavery, Sumner became an outspoken advocate of emancipation and repeatedly opposed compromises proposed by Henry Clay and others. After one particularly scathing speech in the Senate against slavery, Sumner was brutally beaten with a cane by southern congressman Preston Brooks, causing Sumner to go through years of recovery before reentering the Senate. Sumner's lasting legacy was turning popular sentiment in the North toward emancipation, and after the Civil War Sumner continued to fight for the individual freedoms of blacks until his sudden death in 1874. Frederick J. Blue, *Charles Sumner and the Conscience of the North* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1994); David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1960); *DAB,* 18:208–14.

4.5–6 Emancipation of the slaves] After many drafts and revisions, President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation on 1 January 1863. In it Lincoln declared all the slaves in the Confederate states to be free, thereby deliberately granting all slaveholding Border States immunity. To address northerners' fears that the emancipation would cause a large-scale slave rebellion, Lincoln included pleas to ex-slaves to behave peaceably unless justifiably provoked. As an act of war, the legality of this proclamation was questionable, especially after the war's end. Thus beginning in 1864 the Senate debated the first draft of a constitutional amendment that would outlaw slavery. The first attempt at passage was defeated by the Democrats in the House of Representatives, and the issue languished until Congress reconvened in 1865. Lincoln's proactive approach to the bill's passage, coupled with the nation's growing weariness of the war, paid off in January 1865, when the bill passed Congress. A sufficient number of states had ratified the amendment by December of the same year, ending all constitutional questions regarding emancipation. Michael Vorenberg, *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Cambridge, Eng., 2001), 26–60, 89–114, 176–210.

4.16 "lost cause" at Appomattox] On 9 April 1865, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia to Union army forces commanded by General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, Virginia. Soon after the South's defeat in the Civil War, the "Lost Cause philosophy" surfaced. The notion of the "Lost Cause" effectively rewrote the war's purpose and outcome. As a result, the South's intent became a noble struggle for states' rights rather than a defense of slavery, and southerners argued that they were not defeated in the war but were simply outnumbered by the North. Heartily endorsed in the South, this revision of history, though inaccurate, was accepted well into the twentieth century and even influenced northern states' interpretation of the Civil War. Thus, the war was romanticized and glorified, while the memory of the cruelty of slavery that it abolished was diminished. Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* (New York, 1969), vii–xi; Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 37–38, 258–60, 452–53; Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "The American

Civil War and the Preservation of Memory," *Cultural Resource Management,* 25:5–9 (2002).

4.24–25 The odd proceedings…escape from slavery] Douglass's manumission was undertaken by friends and admirers whom he met during his first antislavery tour of the British Isles. In August 1846 Anna Richardson, a Quaker abolitionist from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, wrote Hugh Auld asking him whether Douglass's freedom had a price. Auld replied in October that he would manumit Douglass for £150 sterling. At that time, if not before, Anna Richardson together with her sister-in-law, Ellen Richardson, took steps to raise the purchase money and made arrangements with American abolitionists, in particular Ellis Gray Loring of Boston, to handle the details of the negotiation. On 24 November 1846, Walter Lowrie of New York City, whom Loring had apparently deputed to carry on the negotiations, notified Hugh Auld that the £150 had arrived in New York and directed him to produce proof of legal ownership of Douglass. At about this time, Lowrie also engaged the services of J. Meredith, a prominent Baltimore attorney, to act as go-between and to take care that the papers were in order. Less than a week later Thomas Auld filed a bill of sale in Talbot County signifying the transfer of Douglass to Hugh Auld, and on 5 December 1846, Hugh Auld filed Douglass's manumission papers in Baltimore County. Exactly one week afterward the transaction was consummated, with Hugh Auld handing over to Lowrie via Meredith a copy of the bill of sale from Thomas Auld, a deed of manumission for Douglass, and a receipt showing he had received $711.66 for Douglass's freedom. All these papers were placed in Douglass's hands shortly thereafter. Douglass to the Editor, Belfast *Protestant Journal,* in *Lib.,* 28 August 1846; Talbot County Records, V.60, 35–36, 30 November 1846, MdTCH (a copy is found on reel 1, frames 637–39, FD Papers, DLC); Deed of Manumission for "Frederick Bailey, otherwise called Frederick Douglass," 12 December 1846, Hugh Auld's Receipt of Payment, 12 December 1846, Walter Lowrie to Ellis Gray Loring, 15 December 1846, all on reel 1, frames 637–43, FD Papers, DLC; *NASS,* 11 November 1847; *NS,* 3 December 1847; Glasgow *Christian News,* 23 December 1847.

4.26 the John Brown raid…flight across the ocean] Douglass departed for England from Quebec City on 19 November 1859 under the threat of prosecution for "murder, robbery, and inciting to servile insurrection in the State of Virginia" in connection with John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Douglass was lecturing in Philadelphia when the news reached him of Brown's first attack on 16 October 1859. Fearing that letters found on Brown might be used to incriminate him, Douglass fled from Pennsylvania, making a circuitous and unobtrusive trip back to Rochester, New York. If not for the action of John W. Hurn, an admiring telegraph operator who delayed transmission of the order for Douglass's arrest by three crucial hours, Douglass might not have evaded the sheriff in Philadelphia. In early November, Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia requested federal help in apprehending Douglass, and federal officials did indeed visit Rochester, reportedly to seize Douglass. By that time, however, Douglass had fled to Canada and was making final preparations to sail

to Great Britain. Although he was criticized by some blacks for displaying cowardice, Douglass replied that he could expect no justice from a slaveholding judge and jury and that "there is no more dishonor in trying to keep out of the way of such a court, than there would be in keeping out of the way of a company of hungry wolves." Douglass to Amy Post, 27 [October] 1859, Amy Post Papers, NRU; Douglass to John W. Hurn, 12 June 1882, Frederick Douglass Mss., LNArc; *DM,* 2:162–63 (November 1859); Benjamin Quarles, *Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown* (New York, 1974), 114–15; idem, *Frederick Douglass* (Washington, D.C., 1948), 178–85.

4.28 Roderick Dhus and Douglases of the Lady of the Lake] Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), Scottish poet and novelist, was one of the most prominent British authors of the early nineteenth century. Scott published *The Lady of the Lake* in Edinburgh in 1810. Roderick Dhu, Ellen Douglas, and her father, Lord James of Douglas—a medieval Scottish chieftain—are the principal characters. Walter Scott, *The Complete Poetical Works of Scott* (Boston, 1900), 152–208; John Lauber, *Sir Walter Scott,* rev. ed. (Boston, 1989), 1–6; Frank N. Magill, *Critical Survey of Poetry: English Language Series,* rev. ed., 8 vols. (Pasadena, Calif., 1992), 6:2903–12; Margaret Drabble, ed., *The Oxford Companion to English Literature,* 5th rev. ed. (New York, 1998), 542, 875–76.

4.31 "hair breadth escapes."] The expression is from *Othello,* sc. 3, line 421. Ruffin might also be alluding to the title of William Troy's *Hair-breadth Escapes from Slavery to Freedom* (Manchester, Eng., 1861). John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Passages, Phrases and Proverbs Traced to Their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature,* 17th ed. (Boston, 2002), 212.

4.34 Tuckahoe plantation] Douglass's grandmother Betsey Bailey raised him on their master Aaron Anthony's farm, located on the banks of Tuckahoe Creek near Hillsborough, Talbot County, Maryland. Tuckahoe Creek is a tributary of the Choptank River that forms part of the eastern boundary of Talbot County. Tuckahoe is an Algonquin term for root or mushroom. Dickson J. Preston and Norman Harrington, *Talbot County: A History* (Centreville, Md., 1983), 140, 191, 256; Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (Indianapolis, 1931), 104–05; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 3, 9–10.

5.1–2 It is more…writer and speaker] Douglass launched his career as an itinerant abolitionist lecturer in 1841. By the following year antislavery newspapers were publishing his letters and accounts of his abolitionist activities. It was the publication of his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* in 1845 that made him an internationally-known celebrity. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 86–92, 116–18.

5.8 Longfellow] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) was one of the more prominent New England authors of the nineteenth century. Born in Portland, Maine, Longfellow graduated from Bowdoin College along with Nathaniel Hawthorne. He studied languages in Europe, accepted a professorship in modern languages at Bowdoin College (1829–35), and later relocated permanently to Cambridge,

Massachusetts, where he accepted the Smith professorship of French and Spanish at Harvard College. Early in his career, Longfellow published translations of foreign works, and by 1833 he had received considerable publishing success with his own prose and poetry. He was catapulted to literary stardom with the appearance of his prose romance *Hyperion* in 1839. In 1842 he published *Poems on Slavery,* a volume of poetry that made an important contribution to the antislavery movement. Over a long and highly productive career, Longfellow authored countless collections of poetry and prose. He is best remembered for his epic-style poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855), in which he portrayed Native Americans with dignity and respect; and *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858), treating the life and adventures of the Pilgrim leader. Cecil B. Williams, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (New York, 1964), 139–40; Newton Arvin, *Longfellow: His Life and Work* (Boston, 1963), 77–78; James D. Hart, *The Oxford Companion to American Literature,* 6th ed. (New York, 1995), 387–88; *ACAB,* 4:10–15; *DAB,* 11:382–87; John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography,* 24 vols. (New York, 1999), 13:886–89.

5.9 Village Blacksmith] "The Village Blacksmith" appears in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems* (1841). The eight-stanza poem describes a village blacksmith and his simple yet exemplary life. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Complete Poetical Works of Longfellow,* ed. H[orace] E. Scudder (Boston, 1922), 14–15; Hart, *Oxford Companion to American Literature,* 693.

5.10–11 "Something attempted, something done, / Has earned a night's repose."] The final two lines of the seventh stanza of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Village Blacksmith." Longfellow, *Complete Poetical Works,* 15.

5.24 Macaulay] Baron Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), British writer, parliamentarian, and bureaucrat in India, found great popularity as a historian during the nineteenth century. In the 1820s his essays, primarily book reviews, began appearing in the Whig *Edinburgh Review,* and the success of these works led Macaulay to devote much of his life to writing the five-volume *History of England from the Accession of James II* (1848–61). The endeavor required years of labor but garnered him even greater acclaim, and he became a best-selling author in the United States as well as in the British Empire. Critics point to the whiggish slant in Macaulay's interpretation, but nearly all admit his talent for narrative and the fundamental accuracy of his work. Boyd, *Encyclopedia of Historians,* 2:746–47; Cannon, *Blackwell Dictionary of Historians,* 259–60; *DNB,* 12:410–18.

5.25–27 a copy of…history we have] Ruffin seems to have erred in this attribution to Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), English historian, poet, and Whig member of Parliament. *DNB,* 12:410–18.

5.31 Col. Lloyd's plantation] Edward Lloyd V (1779–1834) of Wye House was the scion of Talbot County's first family. One of the state's largest landowners and slave owners, he was also Maryland's most successful wheat grower and cattle raiser of his era. As a charter member of the Maryland Agricultural Society, a founder of at least two banks, and a speculator in coal mines, he became the wealthiest of a long line of Lloyds that reached back to colonial Maryland. In terms of slaves alone, his holdings increased from 420 in 1810 to 545 in 1830. An eager student of politics as an adolescent and a frequent auditor of political debate at the Annapolis State House, Edward V became a Republican delegate to the state legislature as soon as he reached the age of majority in 1800. The following year, he was active in securing passage of a bill removing all restrictions to white male suffrage. From 1806 to 1808 he was a U.S. congressman, voting in 1807 against a bill to end the African slave trade. For the next two years he was governor of Maryland, and from 1811 to 1816 he returned to the state legislature. In 1819 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, from which he resigned in 1826 to return to the Maryland Senate, of which he was president until 1831. Edward V married Sally Scott Murray on 30 November 1797 and had six children with her. Settled by Edward Lloyd I in 1658, Wye House, the home plantation of the Lloyds, was situated on a peninsula formed by the Wye River on the north and the Miles River on the south. By 1790 Edward Lloyd IV, father of Edward Lloyd V, owned 11,884 acres in the region. The mansion house was built in 1784 and overlooks Lloyd's Cove on the Wye River. Aaron Anthony and his family lived in the "Captain's House," a brick outbuilding near the mansion. Douglass lived at Anthony's home at Wye House from August 1824 to March 1826. 1810 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 342; Oswald Tilghman, comp., *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661–1861,* 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1915), 1:184–210; H[enry] Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens, and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland* (Cambridge, Md., 1967), 51–80; Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore: Seventeen Maryland Rivers* (New York, 1944), 269–93; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 26, 30, 37–40, 48–54, 57, 74, 82, 199; *BDUSC* (online).

5.33 old Aunties and patriarchial Uncles] Slaves commonly used the terms "aunt" and "uncle" when referring to elder slaves, whether or not they were actual blood relatives. It is believed that this custom became prevalent during the early 1800s. Slave children were taught to use these titles out of deference and respect for their elders. Adults used these terms as a means of establishing familial connections where they no longer existed as a result of forced separations and to continue their traditional African family structures and customs. Slave owners reserved the terms "aunt" and "uncle" for older slaves whom they respected and preferred. The use of kinship language reinforced the hierarchy of the slave community. Owners who used the terminology probably hoped that they would be inserted into the list of people whom young slaves learned to treat with respect. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976), 216–27; Marie Jenkins Schwartz, *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 168; Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 226–27.

5.33 picanninies] Used as a racial designation, the term "picanniny" usually referred to young black children. The term signified that the children were unkempt, immodest, and wild. Most picanniny cartoons show them as having grotesque facial

features, such as bulging eyes, unruly hair, and large mouths. Because of this exaggeration, the picanniny image was used for comedic effect in everything from post cards to early motion pictures. Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films,* 4th ed. (New York, 2002), 7–9.

5.34–35 of every shade…the master race] Sexual relationships between enslaved men and women and slave owners were not uncommon in the South and often produced offspring of mixed race. Estimates based on 1850 and 1860 census slave schedules suggest that individuals of mixed race, or "mullatoes," made up at least 4.5 to 7.7 percent of the slave population in 1850 and 10 percent in 1860. Some historians believe the numbers may have been as high as 13 to 15 percent of the slave population. Although relationships did exist between slave mistresses and their male slaves, sexual unions between male slaveholders and female slaves were more common. A pregnancy resulting from such a relationship led to tension between slaves and slaveholders, and the birth of a light-skinned child raised troublesome questions in the slave quarters as well as in the big house. Plantation mistresses, who often acted as midwives to their slaves, could be particularly upset by the birth of mixed-race children, often knowing that their husbands or sons were likely to have fathered them. In most plantation communities, the birth of a light-skinned baby was not celebrated by the slaves. In fact, identifying the white fathers of mixed-race children could lead to punishment, and some enslaved women avoided confirming paternity in hopes of shielding their children from reprisal. As in Douglass's case, many mixed-race children never knew their fathers' identities. Ann Patton Malone, *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 218–24; Schwartz, *Born in Bondage,* 44–45; Berlin, *Generations of Captivity,* 182–83.

5.35 overseers] On the larger slave plantations, the job of overseer was a midlevel managerial position typically occupied by men under forty. They were expected to remain at their posts supervising slave activity and were discouraged from developing familial relationships. The tenure of an overseer was generally short. Both owners and slaves viewed them with disdain. Planters often sought to replace them with candidates who increased profitability, while most overseers were looking for a short-term financial gain in order to launch their own farms. The overseer's primary duties were to implement the owner's policies, discipline slaves, and to ensure steady crop production. The overseer was compensated financially and was supplied lodging, provisions, and sometimes one or more servants. Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 13–20; Randall M. Miller and John David Smith, eds., *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery* (Westport, Conn., 1997), 553–55.

5.35–36 negro Doctor learned in the science of roots and herbs] Rather than subject themselves to nineteenth-century "scientific" medical treatments, slaves would often self-medicate with their own treatments handed down over generations. This practice was a source of tension, since slave owners placed little confidence in using

native plants and herbs to treat illnesses, while slaves had more faith in their local conjuror's ability to heal than the plantation doctor. Local slave healers employed a mixture of homeopathy, traditional Western medicine, and claims that they possessed magical powers. However, when a slave became severely ill, most owners would demand treatment from a white doctor to prevent epidemics (and to protect their investments). For minor illnesses, though, blacks were generally allowed some control over their own medical care. Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 312–17.

5.36–37 black conjurer with his divination] Rooted in African religious and folk medicine practices, conjuring, voodoo, and witchcraft persisted in the South long after emancipation. Often identified as African-born, conjurers were believed to possess special knowledge of magic and herbal medicine. Conjurers might provide a talisman as a remedy for an ailment or as protection from an enemy. It was not unusual for healing and harming aspects to be present in a single process, and it was not unusual for black conjurers to have whites as well as blacks among their clientele. The conjurers might find their aid solicited in finding "true love," ensuring economic success, or thwarting enemies. Slave conjurers were regarded as powerful and often dangerous members of the slave community. Thriving on the fear they could elicit among other blacks, conjurers could work good or harm through their actions. Although the negative applications of their "charms" were their most dramatic practices, conjurers possessed knowledge of folk medicine that allowed them to perform a vital role as medical practitioners in the slave community. Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1978), 80–86, 275–88; Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), 38–40, 95–100; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 217–18, 223–24, 227.

5.37–38 Here was slave-breeding…beating to death] Shortly after the cotton gin's invention in 1794, cotton supplanted tobacco as the primary cash crop of the United States. This shift caused many slaveholders to relocate their plantations, paid employees, and slaves from the Upper South to the Lower South where the climate and soil were more conducive to growing cotton. Analyzing journals, diaries, accounts, and receipts from small farms in the Upper South, some historians have concluded that slave-selling and the separation of families were frequent, though often covert. Other historians analyzing similar data taken from major plantations claim that more often entire plantations were moved; in these cases, slave-selling was rare and the separation of families rarer. Demoralizing slaves through forced breeding and torture would have proven counterproductive to the goal of plantation profit. Analysis of smaller farms' records suggests that because slave marriage required only approval by the master and a male slave's selection of a mate, slave owners did employ an informal, quasi-consensual breeding practice. High mortality among slaves was most often a result of neglect: inadequate clothing, housing, sanitation, and provision of food, rather than more sensational abuse like whipping and murder.

Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974; Lanham, Md., 1984), 38–107; William A. Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 18–114.

6.3 in his gang] Ruffin uses the term "gang" loosely, referring to all the slaves held on the Lloyd plantation. At that time, Douglass was too young to participate in gang labor; in fact his life with Edward Covey in 1834 was his only experience of a situation comparable to the gang system. Instituted in the early 1800s and employed primarily on large plantations, the gang system developed unevenly, eventually becoming a popular form of organized slave labor because of its efficiency and its structured supervision. The gangs usually consisted of a group of slaves who worked together doing assigned daily tasks. Typically, two supervisors monitored their work, beginning with the driver—another slave who had earned the owner's trust. The driver reported to the white overseer who was in charge of the gang's progress, and it was he who dealt directly with the plantation owner. The gang system encouraged competition among slaves and focused on securing more "product" from each slave rather than more hours of work. Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York, 1989), 25–28; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 283–84.

6.12 Edmund Burke style] Whig member of Parliament and political philosopher, Edmund Burke (1729–97) has been considered the father of modern conservatism. He was an outspoken advocate of greater freedoms in Ireland, America, and India, yet he was critical of movements that upset the established order, such as the French Revolution. His oratory reflected his immense knowledge of literature and government, and he would often give speeches that were three hours long. Burke's stylized delivery was not meant for the masses, and even his colleagues would tire of his lengthy and detailed oratory. Never considered an easy man to get along with, Burke's temper increased in his later years to the point that he would become violent during his speeches, even throwing items at colleagues during his rants. His great intellect garnered him enough respect to be tolerated despite his outbursts. Edmund Burke, *Edmund Burke: Selected Writings and Speeches,* ed. Peter J. Stanlis (Garden City, N.Y., 1963), 1–37; *DNB,* 3:345–65.

6.13 Everett] Edward Everett (1794–1865), one of antebellum America's foremost orators, was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and educated at Harvard University. At age nineteen he was installed as pastor of the Brattle Street Church, Boston's most prestigious Unitarian congregation. In 1815 Everett accepted an appointment to teach Greek literature at Harvard and journeyed to Europe to prepare for his new duties, becoming the first American to be awarded a doctorate from the University of Göttingen. He returned to the United States in 1819, taught at Harvard, edited the *North American Review,* and, from 1825 to 1835, served in Congress, where he opposed Andrew Jackson on the national bank issue and conciliated proslavery southerners. In 1835 a coalition of Whigs and Anti-Masons secured him the governorship of Massachusetts, a post he held until 1839. During the next decade Everett served as minister to Great Britain (1841–45) and president of Harvard (1846–49). As secretary of state during the last four months of the Fillmore administration, he defended the right of the United States to intervene in Cuban affairs. Election to the U.S. Senate followed in 1853, but Everett's failure, on account of illness, to cast a vote on the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 generated so much protest from Massachusetts antislavery groups that he resigned. After several years on the lecture circuit, Everett ran for vice president on the Constitutional Union ticket in 1860. During the Civil War he supported Lincoln and frequently lectured on behalf of the war effort. At Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on 19 November 1863, his two-hour speech preceded Lincoln's briefer address. Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett: Orator and Statesman* (Boston, 1925); *DAB,* 6:223–26.

6.13 Sumner] Charles Sumner.

6.16 Fox] Charles James Fox (1749–1806) was an English Whig statesman who became a member of Parliament at the age of nineteen and during his career held the offices of lord of the Admiralty and commissioner of the Treasury. He initially supported Lord North, but during the American Revolution, Fox became an outspoken opponent of the coercive measures North advocated. For his opposition to North's administration, King George III removed Fox from his position in the Admiralty in 1774. In the speech to which Douglass refers, Fox warned the Parliament that Britain could not sustain a war with both the American colonies and France. He urged Britain to withdraw from the conflict with America and to concentrate on France. Later Fox was a strong opponent of William Pitt the younger, arguing vigorously against a renewed war with France. After Pitt's death in January 1806, Fox set out to negotiate a peace with France but died before his bill to abolish the slave trade came up for approval. George Otto Trevelyan, *The Early History of Charles James Fox* (1880; New York, 1971); Loren Reid, *Charles James Fox: A Man for the People* (Columbia, Mo., 1969); Edward Lascelles, *The Life of Charles James Fox* (New York, 1970); Magnus Magnusson, ed., *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), 535–36; *DNB,* 7:535–52.

6.16 Henry Clay] Henry Clay (1777–1852), a native Virginian, entered politics during the 1790s in his adopted state of Kentucky and rose quickly to national prominence. As a congressman, senator, secretary of state, founder of the Whig party, and regular presidential candidate, Clay espoused broadly nationalistic programs designed to avoid sectional antagonism caused by the issue of slavery. He figured prominently in the debates that led to the passage of the Missouri Compromise, and he was a leading architect of the Compromise of 1850. His support of the American Colonization Society earned him the lasting hostility of Garrisonian abolitionists. In Congress, Clay vigorously opposed abolitionist petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia. Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York, 1991); Richard H. Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom: Antislavery Politics in the United States, 1837–1860* (New York, 1976), 109; *DAB,* 4:73–79.

6.22 Ætna] Mount Aetna in Sicily was believed to have been named for the nymph Aetna, daughter of Uranus and Gaea. According to Simonides (c. 556–468 BCE), she mediated between Hephaestus and Demeter in a dispute over the possession of Sicily. Both Greek and Latin literature indicates that the mountain itself was the location of Hephaestus's forge, where he and the Cyclops made thunderbolts for Zeus. Sir William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology,* 3 vols. (London, 1849), 1:54.

6.27 Daniel Webster] Lawyer, politician, and brilliant orator, Daniel Webster (1782–1852) was born in New Hampshire and educated at Dartmouth College. His career as a successful lawyer led him into politics, and he served in numerous elected and appointed positions for the rest of his life. His service in the Senate is especially noteworthy for his speeches on Federalist issues, and he is considered by some to have been one of the best senators in United States history. Always a nationalist, Webster clashed with states' rights advocates, such as John C. Calhoun, in Congress. Usually, however, he was able to work out compromises to avoid talk of secession. He was an outspoken opponent of slavery, especially the spread of slavery in the expansion states. Robert V. Remini, *Daniel Webster: The Man and His Time* (New York, 1997); *ANB,* 22:865–68.

6.35 editor of newspapers, doing all of the editorial work] Although he had the help of many different assistants over the years, Douglass was the principal editorial voice of the *North Star* (1847–51), *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851–60), and *Douglass' Monthly* (1859–63), all based in Rochester, New York. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 147–59, 167, 169, 182, 230.

7.10–11 chained to desks…times at Oxford] Books were an expensive commodity in the Middle Ages; thus, university libraries tended to have small collections reserved for the use of graduate students. Libraries at Oxford and other universities divided their collections into two sections, one for lending and a chained (reference) area exclusively for study. In chained libraries, the best copies of important works were secured with chains to rods above the shelves. A student could pull a book down and lay it flat on the desk below but could take it no further. This system prevented theft, assuring that a text would be available when a scholar required it. Alan B. Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages* (Columbus, Ohio, 1999), 51–52, 88–90; Fred Lerner, *The Story of Libraries from the Invention of Writing to the Computer Age* (New York, 1998), 85, plate 7; Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* (London, 1931), 127–260.

7.12 Lyceum] The lyceum movement in the United States began in the 1820s as an attempt by the northeastern white Protestant middle class to build communal culture through public debate and lecture. Lyceums, organized by local associations, emphasized mutual instruction and social inclusiveness. Many individual lyceums, however, excluded blacks or admitted them without granting them the privileges white members enjoyed. By the 1840s, the lyceum's educational mission evolved, embracing not only scientific and literary topics but also inspirational lectures meant to spur moral and social reform. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, commercial entertainment rather than education became the primary focus of the movement. Combining education with entertainment, Douglass's lyceum oratory attempted to forge a new American public sensibility, one that supported integration, equal rights, and educational reform for the African American community. Angela G. Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing, Mich., 2005), 1–119.

7.19 Douglass' escape from Maryland] Douglass successfully fled slavery in Baltimore, Maryland, on 3 September 1838, briefly seeking refuge first in New York City, and soon thereafter in New Bedford, Massachusetts. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 71–74.

7.20 New Bedford] New Bedford, in Bristol County, Massachusetts, was one of the world's leading whaling ports in the nineteenth century. The whaling industry and related shipping operations boomed after the American Revolution and reached its peak in the 1850s. Whale oil for lighting was the largest export, and in 1856, when a new city hall was erected, the motto "Lucem Diffundo" (I Spread the Light) was placed on its seal. Kathryn Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Amherst, Mass., 2001), 18–36; Saul Cohen, ed., *The Columbia Gazetteer of the World,* 3 vols. (New York, 1998), 2:2153–54; James M. Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903–1941," *NEQ,* 72:163–206 (June 1999).

7.20–21 as a local Methodist preacher] In New Bedford, Douglass became a leading member of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church. In fact Douglass spoke from the pulpit even before offering his first antislavery oratory in 1841. In *My Bondage and My Freedom,* Douglass describes his association with the church, which he joined after moving his family to New Bedford, noting that he was "soon made a class leader and a local preacher." Although his second autobiography offers some details, his full involvement with the New Bedford church is not widely known. In his 1887 memoir, African Methodist Episcopal Zion church minister Thomas James recalled Douglass's activism in the New Bedford church in 1840. James took over the pastorate of the New Bedford African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church that year, and notes that he granted Douglass a license to preach. More details are provided by Douglass in an 1894 letter to James W. Hood. Hood was researching a book about the history of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church in America and solicited Douglass for his experiences with the New Bedford church. In his reply, Douglass describes his activities with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination as beginning in 1838, soon after his arrival in New Bedford. He wrote, "As early as 1839, I obtained a license from the Quarterly Conference as a local preacher, and often occupied the pulpit by request of the preacher in charge." Douglass credits his church activism as an important catalyst for his career as an antislavery activist, noting: "I look back to the days I spent in little Zion, New Bedford, in the several capaci-

ties of sexton, steward, class leader, clerk, and local preacher, as among the happiest days of my life." James W. Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church* (New York, 1895), 541–42; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:203; Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War,* 6–10; William L. Andrews, "Frederick Douglass, Preacher," *American Literature,* 54:592–97 (December 1982).

7.27–28 He became a member…American Anti-Slavery society] Inspired by the success of the British emancipation movement, a group of sixty-two American abolitionists, including Quakers, free blacks, New York evangelicals, and New England radicals such as William Lloyd Garrison, met in Philadelphia in December 1833 and founded the American Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison drafted most of the society's original Declaration of Sentiments, which endorsed a blend of immediatist principles and moral suasion tactics. By the time Douglass became a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society in the early 1840s, the organization had suffered a serious schism when many abolitionists had quit in protest at Garrison's stands on women's rights, religious orthodoxy, and an independent antislavery political party. Merton L. Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (DeKalb, Ill., 1974), 52–53, 113–26; James Brewer Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York, 1976), 51–52, 92–96.

7.38 England, Ireland, and Scotland] In 1845 Douglass embarked upon an antislavery tour of the British Isles, landing in Liverpool, England, on 28 August. After numerous successful speaking engagements, meeting some of the greatest abolitionists and politicians in Great Britain, and having his freedom purchased by British acquaintances, Douglass returned to the United States. His ship made landfall on 20 April 1847. *Lib.,* 26 September 1845, 23, 30 April 1847; Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford, eds., *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform* (Athens, Ga., 1999), 1–11.

8.8–9 that colored people…high intellectual position] Nineteenth-century arguments supporting the intellectual inferiority of blacks proceeded along three interconnected axes: scientific, aesthetic, and biblical. The ethnological conclusions of Josiah Clark Nott, George Robert Gliddon, Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz, and Samuel George Morton collectively formed the doctrines of what came to be known as the American School of Ethnology. These ethnologists posited a polygenist theory of racial origin, claiming that each race was a distinct species, based on what they considered empirical evidence of fixed intellectual inferiority. Morton's measurements of cranial capacity provided the bulk of this evidence, although Morton himself opposed slavery and believed that intellectual growth of blacks was impossible because of the hostile social environment in which they lived rather than because of heredity. Most ethnological treatises included a chapter on beauty, connecting a racist aesthetic to both moral and intellectual development. Conversely, white proslavery Christians in the South argued against polygenesis, classifying blacks as inferior members of the same species. They claimed that scripture provided a defense of slavery and that the mission of that institution was to Christianize those of African descent. Some clergymen justified enslaving dark-skinned races on a misinterpretation of Noah's curse on Ham. While most southern Christians did not believe that intellectual growth was impossible for slaves, they envisioned such progress as occurring slowly and in minuscule increments barely noticeable over the course of centuries. George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York, 1971), 43–96; David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, N.J., 2003), 167; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 116–57; William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–59* (Chicago, 1960), 92–97, 100; Christopher A. Luse, "Slavery's Champions Stood at Odds: Polygenesis and the Defense of Slavery," *CWH,* 53:379–412 (December 2007); Arthur Riss, "The Art of Discrimination," *English Literary History,* 71:251–87 (Spring 2004).

8.14–15 His encounter with the overseer of the eastern shore plantation] An allusion to Douglass's audacious fight with the Maryland yeoman farmer Edward Covey (c. 1806–75), who had been given oversight of Douglass by Thomas Auld for the year 1834. Covey started out as a farm-renter in Talbot County, Maryland, but managed to accumulate $23,000 in real estate by 1850. Covey's reputation as a slave breaker enabled him to rent or even to receive the free use of field hands from local slave owners anxious to have their slaves taught proper discipline. Harriet Lucretia Anthony, the great-granddaughter of Aaron Anthony, remembered that "Mr. Covey was really noted for his cruelty and meanness." Inventory of the Estate of Edward Covey, 15 May 1875, Talbot County Inventories, TNC#3, 578, MdTCH; Harriet L. Anthony, annotated copy of *Bondage and Freedom,* folders 93, 203, Dodge Collection, MdAA; 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 240 (free schedule); Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 117–31.

8.16 unwritten rule of law] According to Maryland law, death was the punishment for any slave who refused to surrender himself or herself or resisted apprehension. The code actually permitted the pursuer of a resisting slave to "shoot, kill, and destroy such negro or negroes." *The General Public Statutory Law and Public Local Law of the State of Maryland: From the Year 1692 to 1839,* 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1840), 1:65.

8.18–19 plotting with other…giving them passes] In 1836 Douglass and five other slaves plotted to escape via a stolen ship from Talbot County, Maryland, to the North. Douglass recounts this failed effort in chapter 19 of this autobiography.

8.19–20 the unequal…ship yard] Douglass was apprenticed as a ship's caulker in William Gardner's Baltimore shipyard in 1836. The attack on Douglass by white shipyard workers at Gardner's wharf occurred approximately eight months after he began employment there and is described in chapter 20 of this autobiography. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 58–63.

9.7 John Brown meeting] Newspaper reports vary significantly on the details of

the riotous events that overwhelmed the meeting at Boston Tremont Temple on 3 December 1860 to commemorate the first anniversary of John Brown's execution. Organized by James Redpath on behalf of "John Brown's Anniversary Committee," the meeting announced its goal as not only to honor Brown but also to discuss the question "How can American Slavery be Abolished?" With strong commercial ties with the South, Boston's business elite denounced the holding of such a gathering so soon after Abraham Lincoln's presidential election had frightened slaveholders. After three hours of heckling, skirmishing, and acrimonious debate between a proslavery mob and the abolitionists, the Boston police cleared the hall on the order of the mayor. Douglass, Redpath, and other abolitionists reconvened at a nearby black church and completed their commemoration of Brown. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:387–88; New York *Daily Tribune,* 4 December 1860; Boston *Post,* 4 December 1860; Boston *Semi-Weekly Courier,* 6 December 1860; *NASS,* 8 December 1860; *Lib.,* 14, 21 December 1860.

9.7 Tremont Temple] The foundation for the Tremont Theater and for what later became known as Tremont Temple was laid in May 1827 on Tremont Street in Boston, Massachusetts. The "Proprietors of Tremont Theater," a group of investors, chartered by the state legislature, owned the theater. Architect Isaiah Rogers designed the building to resemble a church with its heavy granite facade. On 24 September 1827, Tremont Theater opened under the management of local actor William Phelby. When he failed to turn a profit, investors replaced Phelby with a succession of managers. The Tremont ultimately could not compete against the long-established Boston Theater and closed its doors in May 1843. The Free Church, organized by antislavery activist Timothy Gilbert, bought the theater for $12,500 and converted it into a church, the Tremont Temple. Gilbert was determined that Tremont Temple be a church where individuals could worship according to their own dictates regardless of race or wealth. Consequently, the Free Church refused to extend membership to slave owners or anyone who did not share its views on temperance. In order to sustain the Temple, Gilbert leased out the large hall for political caucuses, concerts, and lectures given by such notables as Rufus Choate and the remaining portions of the building were leased as stores and offices. On 30 March 1852, the Tremont Temple was destroyed by fire. Its congregation quickly rebuilt the structure with the help of local Baptists who formed the Evangelical Baptist Benevolent and Missionary Society. The Temple was rebuilt two more times following fires in 1879 and 1892. In 1863 the Free Church was still having financial difficulties and joined forces with the neighboring Union Baptist Church to form the Union Temple Baptist Church under the direction of Justin Dewey Fulton. Tremont Temple was never identified with purely religious fervor, since its halls were rented out to various performers throughout the week regardless of whether they followed the dictates of the congregation that worshipped there on Sundays. In the twentieth century, church membership declined as conservative Protestant religious practices replaced popular revivalism. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston's Churches, 1885–1950* (New York, 2003), 103–05, 123–24; Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theater: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2002), 138, 257n; Donald C. King, *The Theatres of Boston: A Stage and Screen History* (Jefferson, N.C., 2005), 15, 22–24, 28–29, 39, 67, 105.

9.11 the mayor] Frederick Walker Lincoln, Jr. (1817–98), served as mayor of Boston from 1858 to 1860 and again from 1863 to 1866. Lincoln had been apprenticed at age thirteen to a maker of mathematical instruments and later became successful in a number of business fields. He served in the state legislature in 1847 and 1848 and in the Massachusetts constitutional convention of 1853. Lincoln was elected mayor by nonpartisan conservative coalitions and gained a reputation for efficient administration of the city's finances. Justin Winsor and Clarence F. Jewett, eds., *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630–1880,* 4 vols. (Boston, 1880–81), 3:262–73; Albert P. Langtry, ed., *Metropolitan Boston: A Modern History,* 5 vols. (New York, 1929), 1:231–32.

9.17 their leader, a rich banker] The "gentlemen's mob…of the 'DOLLAR STAMP,'" as Douglass labeled it, quickly seized control of the Tremont Temple meeting. Over the loud protests of Douglass and other abolitionists the meeting elected either Richard Sullivan Fay (1806–65) or James Murray Howe (?–c. 1872) as chair, or perhaps both men as cochairmen, of the proceedings. Son of a prominent Massachusetts judge, Fay had attended Harvard and briefly practiced law in Boston. After residing in England as a gentleman farmer from 1848 to 1853, Fay returned to Massachusetts and bought a large estate near Lynn, where he conducted experiments in forestry and animal husbandry. In 1860 he was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress on the Constitutional Union party ticket. Better fitting Ruffin's description was Howe, a businessman from Brookline, Massachusetts, and the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for the Massachusetts General Court in 1860. During the Civil War he recruited Brookline men for the Union army. Howe established a brokerage firm in Boston after the war. D. Hamilton Hurd, comp., *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1888), 1:353–54; James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant,* 2 vols. (1890; Lynn, Mass., 1897), 2:19–20; Harriet F. Woods, *Historical Sketches of Brookline, Mass.* (Boston, 1874), 417; Charles Knowles Bolton, *Brookline: the History of a Favored Town* (Brookline, Mass., 1897), 60, 73, 128; John Gould Curtis, *History of the Town of Brookline, Massachusetts: A Memorial to Edward W. Baker* (Boston, 1933), 266, 268.

9.26 Toussaint L'Ouverture] Born to a literate slave father, François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture (c. 1744–1803) was raised near Le Cap in the North Province of St. Domingo, which later became Haiti. Like his father, he learned to read while growing up as a slave on the plantation. When the slaves of St. Domingo revolted, L'Ouverture emerged as a capable military leader, commanding an army of 55,000 men to victory over the combined forces of England, France, and Spain in 1794. This

victory guaranteed him the role of leader of the new independent regime in Haiti. In 1802 he was taken prisoner by the French, who had returned to reclaim the island. While awaiting sentencing, L'Ouverture died of pneumonia in April 1803 after enduring ten months of harsh conditions in a French prison. Ralph Korngold, *Citizen Toussaint* (Boston, 1944); Martin Ros, *Night of Fire: The Black Napoleon and the Battle for Haiti* (New York, 1994); Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (New York, 1999), 904–05.

9.26–27 Alexander Dumas] Alexandre Dumas (1802–70), a French novelist and playwright, was one of the pioneers of the Romantic theater in France. During his career, he published more than 200 works of fiction. His best-known novels include *The Three Musketeers* (1844) and *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844–45). Ruffin lists him because Dumas's grandmother had been a black slave on the West Indian island of Santo Domingo. Jacques Barzun, ed., *European Writers: The Romantic Century,* 7 vols. (New York, 1985), 6:723–24; Frank N. Magill, ed., *Great Lives from History: Renaissance to 1900 Series,* 5 vols. (Pasadena, Calif., 1989), 2:665–69; Drabble, *Oxford Companion to English Literature,* 294.

23.8 Talbot County, Eastern Shore, State of Maryland, near Easton] Talbot County, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, had been an important tobacco-growing region since colonial times. In 1788 the state legislature designated Easton, until then known as Talbot Town, as the administrative center for state operations for all nine of the Eastern Shore counties. Preston and Harrington, *Talbot County,* 140, 191, 256; Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland,* 104–05.

23.13 ague and fever] A common symptom of malaria, ague is characterized by paroxysms of chills, fever, and sweating recurring in intervals.

23.14 Choptank river] The Choptank River is the longest and best known of all Eastern Shore rivers. It forms part of the eastern boundary of Talbot County. The Choptank begins in Delaware County, Delaware, and flows southeast into Maryland. At Cambridge, Maryland, the river's course turns westward and it flows into the Chesapeake Bay at a very wide mouth, permitting navigation far inland. Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore,* 170–84.

23.29–30 I suppose myself to have been born in February, 1817] As nearly as can be determined, Douglass was born in February 1818. Ledger books kept by his master, Aaron Anthony, contain a table, "My Black People," with the notation "Frederick Augustus son of Harriott Feby 1818." Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folders 95, 165, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Further evidence for the year 1818 is presented in Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 31–34, 218–19.

23.32 Betsey] Betsey Bailey (1774–1849), the maternal grandmother of Frederick Douglass, grew up a slave on the Skinner plantation in Talbot County, Maryland. In 1797 she became the property of Aaron Anthony, who acquired her and several other slaves through his marriage to Ann Skinner. Anthony moved her to his farm on Tuckahoe Creek in Talbot County. She married Isaac Bailey, a free black who earned

his living as a sawyer and lived with him in her cabin. There she bore nine daughters and three sons. She was also a midwife, a service for which Anthony paid her. Upon Anthony's death in 1826, Bailey was inherited by Andrew Skinner Anthony, Aaron's son; when Andrew died in 1833, she became the slave of John Planner Anthony. Despite this succession of masters and the death of her own husband, she remained in her cabin on the Tuckahoe Creek farm, living alone, nearly destitute, and going blind. In 1840 Thomas Auld, John Anthony's uncle, learned of Bailey's condition and sent for her, caring for her in his Talbot County home until her death. Douglass to Thomas Auld, 3 September 1848, 3 September 1849, in *NS,* 8 September 1848, 7 September 1849, reprinted in *Lib.,* 22 September 1848, 14 September 1849; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Aaron Anthony, Inventory of Negroes, Distribution of Negroes, folders 71, 77, Aaron Anthony Ledger A, 1790–1818, folder 94, Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folders 77, 159, 165–68, Anthony Family Papers, Harriet L. Anthony, annotated copy of *Bondage and Freedom,* folders 93, 180, all in Dodge Collection, MdAA; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 8, 16–20, 167.

23.33 Isaac Bailey] Born sometime before 1775, Isaac Bailey was a free black man and the husband of Betsey Bailey, a slave owned by Aaron Anthony. Isaac and Betsey lived together on Anthony's Tuckahoe Creek farm. A sawyer, Bailey was frequently employed by both Anthony and Edward Lloyd V to provide lumber for their plantations. On occasion, he would hire one of Anthony's slaves to assist him in his work. He also earned wages as a plowman and harvest laborer on Anthony's farms. Bailey appears in the 1820 Talbot County census as a free black presiding over a large household with four adult women and nine children. The 1840 census lists him as living with one adult woman and a young boy. Bailey died during the 1840s. Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folder 95, Aaron Anthony Ledger C, 1809–27, folder 96, both in Dodge Collection, MdAA; 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 336; 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 9; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 17–20.

24.3–4 seine-hauling] Catching fish with a net that hangs vertically in the water.

24.14–16 high privilege…upon her] On some plantations, elderly slave women cared for children under six years of age in communal "nurseries" during the day while the mothers worked. Many slave mothers assumed traditional family responsibilities like childcare, cooking, sewing, and cleaning for their own households, accomplishing these tasks either in the early morning hours, before the work day, or late at night. Some slaveholders manumitted their older slaves, both women and men, when their ability to work did not seem to justify the expense of keeping them. In other cases, the slave community itself cared for its aged members, delegating to them the tasks of caring for the youngest children: teaching them manners, prayers, and skills like fishing and feeding the animals. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985), 11–43; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 494–523.

24.17–18 practice of separating mothers from their children] While many pregnant slave women continued physical labor until mere weeks before their children were to be born, slaveholders, interested in each child as a new acquisition, often freed a mother for days or weeks to nurse a newborn. Some owners even established nursing schedules for the infants. Some mothers, like Douglass's, were hired out to other plantations and rarely saw their children. But it was more often the case that slave mothers shared cabins with their children and spent as much time caring for them as possible, given a demanding work day. During the day, young children were frequently neglected in the plantation nursery or cared for by siblings scarcely older than themselves. As a result, child mortality was high. However, many slave autobiographies attest to the love, compassion, and hope within slave families, relating stories of children fighting overseers who tried to beat their mothers, or of offspring choosing to remain in bondage with their mothers when offered an opportunity for escape or freedom. John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972; New York, 1979), 77–103.

24.24 grandmother's five daughters] Of the twelve children born to Betsey and Isaac Bailey, five daughters, all owned by Aaron Anthony were hired out. Milly Bailey (1790–?), the first child of Isaac and Betsey, worked on Aaron Anthony's Tuckahoe farms and had seven children. Betsey and Isaac's second child, Harriet (1792–1825), was hired out by Anthony to local farmers as a field hand from 1808 until her death. In February 1818, while serving Perry Steward, a tenant farmer on Anthony's Holme Hill Farm in Tuckahoe Creek, she gave birth to Frederick Augustus Bailey, her fourth of six or seven children. In late 1825 or early 1826, she died on the Holme Hill Farm. Jenny Bailey (1799–?), the third daughter of Betsey and Isaac, either worked on Anthony's Tuckahoe farms or was hired out to other local farmers. In 1825, after having had three children, Jenny ran away with her husband, Noah, and was never seen again. In retaliation, Anthony sold her two living children into the Lower South. The fourth daughter, Hester Bailey (1810–?), bore one child, and was last mentioned in 1827, when she was awarded to Thomas Auld after the death of Aaron Anthony. Priscilla Bailey (1816–?), the eleventh of Betsey and Isaac's twelve children, was given to Richard Lee Anthony upon the death of his father, Aaron Anthony, in 1826. Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folders 95, 165, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 8–9, 17–18, 21, 27, 34–35, 37, 62–65, 205–06, 219, 221.

24.32 Prichard's "Natural History of Man,"] James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848) was an English physician, notable for having held a favorable view on the origin and potential of blacks. In *The Natural History of Man,* he argues for monogenism, claiming that humans were originally black, their skin color becoming lighter over time. Prichard believed that racial varieties were inherent in the original structure of a being rather than imposed by external circumstances like climate. The figure to which Douglass refers is a sketch of the Egyptian Pharaoh, Ramses the Great, found in Prichard's book. James Cowles Prichard, *The Natural History of Man,* 3d ed. (London, 1848), 1–26, 157; George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (1813; Chicago, 1973), ix–cx.

24.36 Of my father I know nothing] In *Narrative* Douglass not only claims that his father was a white man but even intimates that he was rumored to be his first master, Aaron Anthony. However, this speculation becomes more doubtful in his subsequent autobiographies. "My father was a white man, or nearly white," Douglass adds to his original remark in *My Bondage and My Freedom,* while also mentioning that he cannot give any credence to the rumor that his father was Anthony. By the time he wrote *Life and Times,* Douglass had ceased to speculate about the actual identity of his father. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:35; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 22–23.

24.38 By its law…of its mother] A 1662 Virginia statute applies the civil law concept *partus sequitur ventrem,* stating that "all children borne in this country shall be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother." This law placed the offspring of black human beings in the same condition as the broods of tame and domestic animals, a departure from the English common-law rule that a child follows the status of the father. The reasoning behind this practice was that it benefited slaveholders economically and allowed them to avoid complex social situations that might undermine the emerging institution of slavery. V. Lynn Kennedy, *Born Southern: Childbirth, Motherhood, and Social Networks in the Old South* (Baltimore, 2010), 160–65; Paul Finkelman, "The Crime of Color," *Tulane Law Review,* 67:2063–112 (June 1993).

25.3–4 one drop of African blood] Douglass's reference to "one drop of African blood" predates the first legal statute (Tennessee, 1910) that explicitly stated that such a measurement should determine race. Virginia adopted its one-drop rule in the 1920s; however, during the nineteenth century, state courts classified race using definitions more complex than the one-drop rule. Some scholars write about this rule as though it had been adopted by all states in antebellum America through Reconstruction to the Jim Crow era and beyond. Although there is little evidence supporting this claim of widespread legislation, the one-drop rule as a social definition of race dictated, to an extant, the self-identification of blacks in the United States. F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pa., 1991), 15; Michael A. Elliot, "Telling the Difference: Nineteenth-Century Legal Narratives of Racial Taxonomy," *Law and Social Inquiry,* 24:611–36 (Summer 1999); Ariela J. Gross, "Litigating Whiteness: Trials of Racial Determination in the Nineteenth-Century South," *Yale Law Journal,* 108:109–88 (October 1998); Finkelman, "Crime of Color," 2063–112.

25.25 Mr. Lee's mill] Levi Lee owned a mill near Holme Hill Farm and the Tuckahoe River in 1820. In that year, he headed a large household of eight family members and six slaves. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 48; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 36.

25.28–29 pin-hook and thread line] A primitive fishing tackle composed of a

small hook made from or resembling a pin and a line spun from flax, cotton, or some other available fiber.

25.35 "Old Master."] Aaron Anthony (1767–1826), Frederick Douglass's first owner and possibly his father, was born at Tuckahoe Neck in what later became Maryland's Caroline County. Anthony's father was a poor and illiterate farmer who died when Aaron was only two years old. Despite his impoverished origins, Anthony acquired a rudimentary education and a small amount of property. He became the captain in 1795 of the *Sally Lloyd,* the family schooner of Edward Lloyd IV, the wealthiest planter in Talbot County. In 1797 he increased his wealth through his marriage to Ann Catherine Skinner, the daughter of an old and prominent Eastern Shore family, who brought with her the slave family into which Douglass was later born. Soon thereafter, Anthony became chief overseer and general manager of the Lloyd family's thirteen farms, one of the largest estates in the United States. He remained in this position for the rest of his life, all the while accumulating land and slaves of his own. By the time of his death in 1826, Anthony had become a moderately wealthy planter in his own right, accumulating three farms totaling 597 1/2 acres, thirty slaves worth $3,065, and personal property. His entire estate was valued at $8,042. Anthony Family Bible, Oxford Museum, Oxford, Md.; Harriet L. Anthony, annotated copy of *Bondage and Freedom,* folders 93, 58, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Inventory of Estate of Aaron Anthony, 13 January 1827, Talbot County Inventories, box 13, 5–9, MdTCH; Charles B. Clark, ed., *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* 3 vols. (New York, 1950), 1:491–92; Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore,* 285, 299–304; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 22–30; idem, "Aaron Anthony" (unpublished paper, Easton, Maryland, 1977), MdTCH.

26.9 Col. Lloyd] Edward Lloyd V.

26.12 Col. Lloyd's plantation] Wye House.

26.30–31 "toting"] American colloquialism meaning to transport a load.

26.33 newly and smoothly ironed bandana turban] Historians dispute the origins of the turban or bandana worn by female slaves in the American South. The historical record provides mixed evidence as to whether the tradition was a product of African heritage or the slave trade. Helen Bradley Foster, *New Raiments of Self: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1997), 275–81.

27.16 brother Perry] Perry Bailey (1813–80), Frederick Douglass's brother and the oldest of seven children born to Harriet Bailey, was the slave of Aaron Anthony. When Anthony died in 1826, Perry was inherited by Anthony's son, Andrew J. Anthony. Andrew died in 1832, leaving Perry, now married to a slave named Maria, to John P. Anthony, who sold Maria to a slave owner in Brazos County, Texas. Perry followed his wife to Texas, where a postemancipation labor shortage allowed him to earn "fifteen dollars gold wages a month." In 1867 Perry, Maria, and their four children traveled to Rochester to reunite with Frederick. Elated by this reunion, Douglass built a cottage for them on his Rochester estate, where the family stayed for two years. In 1869 Perry and Maria returned to Maryland's Eastern Shore, where Perry died sometime after 1878. Perry Downs to Douglass, 21 February 1867, FD Collection, DHU-MS; Douglass to J. J. Spellman, 11 July 1867, reprinted in New York *Independent,* 25 July 1867; Douglass to Theodore Tilton, 2 September 1867, FD Papers, NHi; Anna Downs to Douglass, 5 October 1869, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 497–99, FD Papers, DLC; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 175–77, 206.

27.16 sisters, Sarah] Sarah Bailey (1814–?) was Frederick Douglass's oldest sister and the second of seven children born to Harriet Bailey. Aaron Anthony owned Sarah, but after his death in 1826, she became the chattel of his son, Andrew Skinner Anthony. In 1832 Anthony sold Bailey, her son Henry, and four other slaves to Perry Cohee of Lawrence County, Mississippi. Douglass and Sarah remained separated until 1883, when she, then living in Louisville, Kentucky, and calling herself Mrs. Sarah Pettit, wrote to Douglass and reestablished their relationship. Sarah O. Pettit to Douglass, 26 September 1883, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frames 778–80, FD Papers, DLC; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, Sale of Slaves, Andrew S. Anthony to Perry Cohee, 14 July 1832, Talbot County Records, V.50, 192–93, both in MdTCH.

27.17 Eliza] Third of the six children born to Harriet Bailey, and the sister of Frederick Douglass, Eliza Bailey (1816–c. 1876) was a slave owned by Aaron Anthony. When Anthony died in 1826, Eliza became the property of Thomas Auld, Anthony's son-in-law. Eliza married Peter Mitchell, a free black who worked as a field hand in Talbot County, with whom she had nine children. In 1836 Mitchell bought Eliza and their then two children from Thomas Auld for one hundred dollars. After settling on an acre of land that they rented from Samuel and John Hambleton of Talbot County, they raised their own vegetables and meat and hired themselves out as a domestic and a field hand, respectively. Eliza and her brother Frederick were separated after the latter's escape from slavery in 1838. On 6 June 1844 Mitchell freed Eliza and their other children because state laws no longer required removal from Maryland upon manumission. Eliza and Frederick were reunited in 1865 when Douglass stopped in Baltimore while on a speaking tour. Lewis Douglass to Douglass, 9 June 1865, FD Papers, DHU-MS; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, Sale of Slaves, Thomas Auld to Peter Mitchell, 25 January 1836, Talbot County Records, V.52, 258, Manumission of Eliza Mitchell, 1 July 1844, Talbot County Records, V.58, 234–35, all in MdTCH; New York *Independent,* 2 March 1865; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 164–65, 184, 206–07, 229.

28.16 Aunt Katy] Kate Emblem (1789–?) was the daughter of Sarah Emblem who was owned by Aaron Anthony. She had seven children and presided for years over Anthony's kitchen. At the distribution in 1827 following Anthony's death, she and her children were awarded to Richard Anthony. After his death a year later, she was transferred to Andrew Anthony. Upon his death in 1833, she was assigned to

White Barwick, the new husband of Andrew's widow, Ann. Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folders 95, 159, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 27, 91, 225.

30.1 virago] A manlike female, heroic warrior.

30.5 Her death] Harriet Bailey died on the Holme Hill Farm after a long illness in late 1825 or early 1826. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 64.

30.29–30 slavery in…mildest form] According to historian Barbara Jeanne Fields and others, the attitudes of and actions taken by slaveholders in Maryland were similar to those in other southern states, so in terms of provisions and treatment, enslavement in the border state did not differ much from the Lower South. Still, the brisk pace of slave trading and the prevalence of small-scale slaveholding, both of which disrupted the fabric of families, did make practices in Maryland remarkable and, in some ways, more bitter than elsewhere. Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 23–26; Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 14–20; Frank Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War* (Charlottesville, Va., 2004), 61–62, 173; Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York, 2005), 86–87, 98–99.

31.6 home plantation of Col. Edward Lloyd, in Talbot County] Wye House.

31.7–9 It was far…in its neighborhood] As late as 1833 the community of St. Michaels did not have a public school for the children of local planters and farmers. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 110.

31.12 Page] Joel Page (1784–1832) was born in Conway, Franklin County, Massachusetts. In 1805 he graduated from Yale College and sometime soon after that became the resident tutor in the household of Edward Lloyd V. Among his tutees over the years was Edward Lloyd VI. Page became a beloved member of the Lloyd household and remained there until he died in 1832 of complications related to psychological disorder. He was interred in the Lloyd burial grounds. Franklin Bowditch Dickson Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College,* 6 vols. (New York, 1911), 5:788; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:211; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 59, 221.

31.17 mechanics] White artisans in the South identified themselves as mechanics in the early nineteenth century. White mechanics distinguished themselves from free black artisans by virtue of their legal rights and moral obligations to their communities as taxpayers and as citizens. Unlike their eighteenth-century predecessors, nineteenth-century mechanics embraced the principles of market capitalism as a natural precondition of their advancement in the traditional artisan hierarchy through a process of material accumulation. Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989), 49–51; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness,* rev. ed. (New York, 2003), 52.

31.25–27 this plantation…own vessels] The Maryland property holdings of Edward Lloyd V were extensive. When Douglass first came to Wye Plantation in 1824, Lloyd reportedly held about 900 acres comprised of the plantation and a dozen outlying farms. Each of the individual farms was operated by an overseer and employed the labor of 18 to 47 slaves. At the time the slave population of the estate was 181, including the 15 slaves held by Aaron Anthony. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 48.

31.33 Tilghmans] In 1820 several male members of the Tilghman family, all of whom lived in Talbot County, each owned large numbers of slaves. John owned fifty-two; William H. had twenty-two; Robert owned forty-four; William G. held sixty-nine; and James had thirty-five. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 7, 22, 25, 50.

31.33 Goldsboroughs] The Goldsborough family was part of the antebellum political, economic, and social elite of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Their colonial ancestors had received large land grants from the Calverts, which had been parlayed into a vast tobacco fortune. Located in Talbot County, the Goldsborough family estate possessed twenty-eight slaves by 1790. The Goldsboroughs were active in the Federalist and Anti-Jacksonian parties and exerted great influence over the recruitment of potential leadership to local and national political offices. Judge Robert Goldsborough IV (1740–98) served in the Maryland constitutional convention and then the state senate. His son, Robert Henry Goldsborough (1779–1836), served as a U.S. senator (1813–19) and cemented the family's hold over Talbot County politics. Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790–1840* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 163–64; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:408–14; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 10–11.

31.33 Loockermans] While the Loockermans resided in several Eastern Shore counties, including Caroline, Talbot, and Queen Anne, their original plantation was in Dorchester County, where Jacob Loockerman, a naturalized Dutchman from New Amsterdam, settled about 1680 and soon began holding a series of prominent official positions. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Loockermans played important roles in Eastern Shore affairs. Jacob Loockerman (1759–1839) was the clerk of court in Talbot County for many years and lived at Oak Hill, near Easton, where by the late 1820s he owned twenty-two slaves and 1,210 acres of land. His son, Theodore Richard Loockerman (1798–1851), a leading Easton lawyer, represented Talbot in the state legislature and was president of the Branch Bank at Easton at the time of his death. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland,* 333, 338; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:415, 480–81, 617; 2:21; Joseph S. Ames, "Genealogies of Four Families of Dorchester County: Harrison, Haskins, Caile, Loockerman," *MdHM,* 11:193–202 (June 1916), 11:295–300 (September 1916).

31.33 Pacas] Also referred to as Peakers, a common, local corruption of their name, the first Paca to appear in Maryland was Robert, who in 1660 was brought to the Western Shore county of Anne Arundel as an indentured servant. The death of his master soon after their arrival allowed Robert to marry his widow and inherit her siz-

able land holdings. Despite his success as a farmer and grocer, Robert's estate was encumbered with debt upon his death, and his stepson, widow, and son sought new opportunity in Baltimore County after extinguishing the debt. As land was cheaper there, they began investing heavily in it, and its value soon increased and laid the foundation for the family's prosperity. The Pacas became affluent planters in Baltimore and Harford Counties and often served in official positions in the government, church, and militia. The most famous Paca in the eighteenth century was William (1740–99), who by the 1760s was a very successful attorney in Annapolis. William, however, became a leading opponent of British colonial policy from the time the Stamp Act was imposed in 1765. He later became a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He contributed much of his own money to the patriot cause and during the Revolution and afterward held numerous important governmental and judicial positions. In 1770 his wife inherited half of Wye Island in Queen Anne's County, and he died there in 1799. Pacas continued to live there at elegant Wye Hall in the nineteenth century and to socialize with the nearby Lloyds and Tilghmans. Gregory A. Stiverson and Phebe R. Jacobsen, *William Paca: A Biography* (Baltimore, 1976); *ACAB,* 4:618; *DAB,* 14:123–24.

31.34 Skinners] The Skinner Family was spread throughout the Eastern Shore but had been in Talbot County since the 1660s, when Andrew Skinner I purchased a large plantation on a small peninsula in the Miles River Neck district of the county; this plantation was the principal Skinner residence in Talbot County throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Skinners farmed tobacco there until after the Revolution, when they made the conversion with many others in the region to wheat and corn cultivation. Richard Skinner was very active in county affairs at the time of the Revolution, serving as its clerk of court (1777–85) and as a select member of the local Committee of Observation in 1775. Prominent members of the family in the early nineteenth century included the prosperous Andrew Skinner, who in 1830 owned forty-one slaves; Elizabeth Skinner, who held twenty-nine in the same year; and Mordechai Skinner, who owned twenty-seven in 1820. The history of Frederick Douglass and his ancestors, the Baileys, is bound up with that of the Skinners. In 1746 an inventory of the estate of the recently deceased Richard Skinner indicated his ownership of Douglass's great-grandmother, Jenny Bailey. In 1797, when Ann Catherine Skinner married Aaron Anthony, she brought into his possession her slaves, Betsey Bailey and her daughters, Harriet and Milly. At this time Anthony removed them to his Tuckahoe farm. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 18; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 18, 39; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:21, 46, 65, 69; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 3–7, 16–17, 214; Preston and Harrington, *Talbot County,* 115.

31.34 Gibsons] Jacob Gibson (1759–1818), a slave owner locally feared for his volatile temper, resided at Marengo, a plantation bordering the Lloyd property. Appointed an associate judge for Talbot County in 1802, Gibson won election to the legislature in 1806. Residents remembered him because of his numerous vitriolic broadsides and newspaper essays as well as his physical assaults on his enemies. The 1810 U.S. census listed him as the owner of thirty-four slaves, whom Gibson reputedly ruled over as a stern taskmaster. Gibson's plantation belonged to his son Fayette at the time to which Douglass refers. 1810 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 342; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:231–56; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 60, 221.

32.4–5 no slave was…his brother slave] Maryland passed several laws designed to regulate the treatment of slaves. A 1715 law empowered courts to give freedom to a slave whose master repeatedly denied adequate food, shelter, and rest, or who physically punished a slave by dismemberment or cauterization. A 1751 law guaranteed, at least for a few years, a trial by jury to slaves accused of crimes. Another law, passed in 1752, allowed the manumission of only those slaves who were in good health and under fifty years of age. As Douglass suggests, however, the actual enforcement of laws against physical abuse was rare. Because slaves could not testify against whites in a court of law, a case of abuse could be proved only if a white person was willing to stand up for them in court. John Codman Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1858–62), 1:251–54; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 446.

32.7 they could themselves own no property] U.S. Civil Code, article 35, stated that a slave "can possess nothing or acquire any thing but what must belong to his master." The only exception was the Civil Code of Louisiana. Article 175 of the Louisiana Civil Code allowed slaves to possess property, but only the property his master allowed him. U.S. courts upheld the right of masters regarding decisions in the matter of slave property ownership made by state legislatures. William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* (1853; New York, 1968), 89–92; Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, "Institutions and the Law of Slavery: Slavery in Capitalist and Non-Capitalist Cultures," *American Quarterly,* 9:159–79 (Summer 1957).

32.32 Long Point] A tract of land between the Miles and Wye Rivers at the southernmost end of the Broad Creek Neck between Harris Creek and Broad Creek, in Talbot County, Maryland. In the nineteenth century the property was owned by the Harrison family, who lived in the mansion house built by Ralph Elston in the late eighteenth century. Swepson Earle, *The Chesapeake Bay Country* (Baltimore, 1923), 363–64; idem, ed., *Maryland's Colonial Eastern Shore* (1916; Bowie, Md., 1996), 37–38.

32.32 Miles river] Originally known as the St. Michaels River, the twelve-mile-long Miles River lies entirely within Talbot County. The right-angled river flows southwest for its first eight miles and then flows northwest to meet the Chesapeake Bay at the town of St. Michaels. Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore,* 236, 239–40, 255.

32.33 the Wye] Maryland's Wye River is an estuary on the Eastern Shore that extends about thirteen miles south from a point east of Queenstown to Eastern Bay. A

branch, the Wye East River, about fifteen miles long, extends south and southeast from near Wye Mills, along the borders of Talbot and Queen Anne Counties, to the Wye River near its mouth. Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore,* 294–308; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3497.

32.34 "Swash,"] In the sense used here, swash is a body of water moving forcibly or dashing against an object.

32.36 large sloop, the "Sally Lloyd,"] In 1819 Edward Lloyd V ordered the construction of a new sloop to replace the aging schooner *Elizabeth & Ann,* which carried his crops to markets in Baltimore and Annapolis and brought back supplies to his scattered Talbot County farms. Thomas Auld had supervised the construction, in Joseph Kemp's St. Michaels shipyard, of the replacement vessel named the *Sally Lloyd* in honor of the colonel's daughter, Sally Scott Lloyd. Auld remained in Lloyd's employment as the master of the *Sally Lloyd,* which was manned by a slave crew. The latter gained celebrity status among the Lloyd slaves because of their contact with the world outside the rural plantations and their ability to purchase small items in the cities for resale to other slaves. Various account books and cash books, Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi.

32.37 favorite daughter of the Colonel] Sally Scott Lloyd Lowndes, daughter of Edward Lloyd V, was the namesake of her mother, Sally Scott Murray Lloyd. She married Charles Lowndes, a U.S. Navy officer, on 24 May 1824. Colonel Lloyd purchased an estate called the Anchorage on the Miles River as a gift for the couple. Their son, Lloyd Lowndes, served as governor of Maryland from 1896 to 1900. Rossiter Johnson, ed., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans,* 10 vols. (Boston, 1904), 7:67; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:207; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 47, 224.

33.1 Sevier] During the years 1809–12 and possibly thereafter, William Sevier worked for Aaron Anthony, probably as an overseer on his farms. In 1820 he was between twenty-six and forty years old. At that time Sevier occupied a small red frame house on the east side of Wye House's Long Green, and was Edward Lloyd V's overseer for the more than 150 slaves at the main plantation. Aaron Anthony Ledger A, 1790–1818, folders 94, 19, Aaron Anthony Ledger C, 1809–27, folders 96, 1, 3, 13, 87, 119, 124, 177, 286, 291, both in Dodge Collection, MdAA; 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 7; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 70–71, 222.

33.2 my old master's] Aaron Anthony resided in a two-story brick structure that dated back to the 1660s. Anthony and the Lloyd family had split the cost of remodeling the house in 1808, and it thereafter became popularly known as the "Captain's House." The house had a wooden kitchen, slightly separated from the main dwelling for safety considerations, where Douglass spent much time as a youth. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 27–28.

33.15 the *great* house] Wye House, the principal residence of Edward Lloyd V, located on the plantation of the same name, was built to replace the original house destroyed by British troops during the American Revolution. Still standing, Wye

House is a large wood-frame building, constructed in the "five-part" design, with a central block and corridors on each side and another wing at the end of each corridor. Douglass visited there in June 1881, and several younger members of the Lloyd family escorted him around the grounds. Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore,* 271; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 192–96.

33.34 "none to molest them or make them afraid."] Micah 4:4.

34.15–17 business of twenty…than a thousand] Edward Lloyd V owned numerous plantations and farms in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi, as well as across Maryland. Historical sources estimate that he owned in excess of 700 slaves. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 42–43.

34.21–22 Georgia traders] Douglass probably refers to slave traders from states in the Lower South, such as Georgia. Major slave traders would ship their "cargo" by water to southern ports such as Savannah, Charleston, or Mobile, although New Orleans was the predominant destination. Austin Woolfolk was the leading trader in Maryland and northern Virginia in the 1820s and 1830s and was known by reputation to slaves throughout the region. Winfield H. Collins, *The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States* (1904; Port Washington, N.Y., 1969), 100–05; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 686–88.

34.26 "Uncle" Harry] Henry Bailey (1820–?) was the youngest of twelve children born to Douglass's maternal grandparents, Isaac and Betsey Bailey. Henry was owned by Aaron Anthony of Talbot County; when Anthony died in 1826, Henry became the property of Richard Lee Anthony. When Richard died in 1828, Thomas Auld, Richard's brother-in-law, became Henry's master. Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 18, 109, 206.

35.15 epsom salts and castor oil] Epsom salts (the popular name for magnesium sulfate), castor oil, laudanum, paregoric, sugar of lead, and mercurial ointment were common treatments for ailments in the early nineteenth century. Elizabeth Barnaby Keeney, "Unless Powerful Sick: Domestic Medicine in the Old South," in *Science and Medicine in the Old South,* ed. Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt (Baton Rouge, La., 1989), 286–88; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 313.

35.16 "Lord's prayer,"] The modern name given to the prayer offered by Jesus and taught to his disciples, as related in Matt. 6:9–13 and Luke 11:2–4. The prayer contains petitions relating to the fulfillment of God's will and to human needs. David Noel Freedman et al., eds., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 6 vols. (New York, 1992), 4:356–62.

36.9 Andrew] Andrew Skinner Anthony (1797–1833) was the eldest son of Aaron and Ann Catherine Skinner Anthony and the nephew of Edward Lloyd V. His father apprenticed him as a young man to James Neall, a cabinetmaker, in Easton, Maryland. After completing his apprenticeship, Anthony migrated to Indiana, where he married Ann Wingate of Martin County in 1823. He and his bride returned to

Talbot County shortly thereafter. In 1826 Andrew's father died, and he inherited a third of his estate, including eight slaves. Although he increased his estate and his holding of slaves to twenty, Andrew suffered from alcoholism and operated a whiskey shop in his final years. John Manross to Douglass, 14 January 1856, General Correspondence File, reel 1, frames 654–56, FD Papers, DLC; Harriet L. Anthony, annotated copy of *Bondage and Freedom,* folders 93, 176, Dodge Collection, MdAA; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 51; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 26, 29, 218, 224.

36.10 Richard] Richard Lee Anthony (1800–28), the second of three children born to Aaron and Ann Catherine Skinner Anthony, was trained as a blacksmith for five years prior to inheriting land, money, and slaves after his father's death in November 1826. Harriet L. Anthony, annotated copy of *Bondage and Freedom,* folders 93, 173–74, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 27–29, 52, 91, 218.

36.10 Lucretia] Lucretia Planner Anthony Auld (1804–27) was the third child and only daughter of Aaron and Ann Catherine Skinner Anthony. In 1823 she married Thomas Auld, a boarder in her father's household and an employee of Edward Lloyd. Lucretia subsequently moved to Hillsborough, Maryland, where her husband opened a store and served as town postmaster. Following the deaths of her father and her brother Richard Lee, Lucretia and her older brother Andrew inherited their father's estate. Her portion included the young slave Frederick Douglass. She died in 1827 and was survived by one child, Arianna Amanda Auld. Auld Family Bible (courtesy of Carl G. Auld); McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 27; Preston, Young Frederick Douglass, 28, 30, 62, 87–88, 223; Preston and Harrington, Talbot County, 191; Emerson B. Roberts, "A Visitation of Western Talbot," MdHM, 41:244–45 (September 1946).

36.10–11 Captain Thomas Auld] Born in St. Michaels, Maryland, Thomas Auld (1795–1880) was the eldest son of Hugh and Zipporah Auld. Trained as a shipbuilder, Auld supervised the construction of the Lloyd sloop, the *Sally Lloyd,* and subsequently became its captain. In 1823 he met and married Lucretia Anthony while a boarder in the Anthony home. Shortly thereafter Auld became a storekeeper in Hillsborough, Maryland, and inherited Douglass along with ten other slaves from the estate of Aaron Anthony. He later kept a store in St. Michaels, where he also served as postmaster, before retiring to a nearby farm. The 1850 census listed him as a "farmer" with $8,500 worth of real estate. References to Thomas Auld in Douglass's *Narrative* and public speeches are generally uncomplimentary, although Douglass disclaimed any personal hostility toward his former owner. Reconciliation occurred in the post-Reconstruction period when Douglass visited the dying Auld in St. Michaels. Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 1169 (free schedule); *NASS,* 25 November 1845; *NS,* 8 September 1848, 7 September 1849; Baltimore *Sun,* 19 June 1877; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 342–43; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:395; Preston, "Aaron Anthony," 5; Roberts, "Visitation of Western Talbot," 235–45.

36.11 Aunt Esther] Hester Bailey, the sister of Douglass's mother.

36.13–14 He owned about thirty slaves] Aaron Anthony owned precisely thirty slaves at the time of his death in 1826. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 27.

36.16 seven or eight hundred dollars] Douglass undoubtedly inflated the estimates of Aaron Anthony's profits from selling slaves in the 1820s. Prices in the Chesapeake Bay region in that decade varied greatly depending on the age, gender, and physical condition of the individual slave, but typical prices averaged closer to $150. Slave traders bought at low prices in the Upper South and often made profits of one-third to one-half by selling those slaves in the southwestern Cotton Belt. Robert H. Gudmestad, *A Troublesome Commerce: The Transformation of the Interstate Slave Trade* (Baton Rouge, La., 2003), 8, 19–21; Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade,* 28–29; Alrutheus A. Taylor, "The Movement of Negroes from the East to the Gulf States from 1830–1850," *JNH,* 8:367–83 (October 1923).

36.20 Daniel Lloyd] Daniel Lloyd (1811–?) was the sixth child and youngest son of Edward Lloyd V. Daniel became a farmer and increased his wealth steadily, expanding the number of slaves he owned from eighteen to thirty-six between 1840 and 1850. By the latter year, he possessed real estate valued at $25,000. After the death of his father, Lloyd resided at the nearby Wye Heights Plantation, earlier built for Edward Lloyd VI and his wife. Daniel's son, Henry, was Maryland's governor in the 1880s. 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 59; 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 11a (free schedule), 14 (slave schedule); Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 54–55, 61, 81, 221; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:207, 212.

36.27 Edward] Born in the Annapolis home of his maternal grandparents, Edward Lloyd VI (1798–1861) was the oldest child and principal heir of his father's great wealth. Educated at the Wye House plantation by tutors, the younger Lloyd received charge of a nearby plantation, where his father built him the beautiful Wye Heights mansion upon his marriage in 1824 to Alicia McBlair, daughter of a Baltimore merchant. She died prematurely in 1838 after bearing five children. After inheriting the bulk of his father's land holdings, Lloyd successfully shifted from tobacco to grain farming and weathered the agricultural depression that struck most of the Eastern Shore in the 1840s and 1850s. Lloyd also purchased cotton-growing land in Mississippi in 1837 and later added more in Arkansas and Louisiana. He transferred some of his swelling slave population to those new plantations. Though reputedly a stern disciplinarian, he did try to avoid separating families during these relocations and when sales occurred. A lifelong Democrat, Lloyd served as a delegate to the Maryland constitutional convention of 1850 and as a state senator (1851–52). 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 6–10 (slave schedule); Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:210–21; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 42–43, 44–45, 70, 192; J. Donnell Tilghman, "Wye House," *MdHM,* 48:89–108 (June 1953).

36.27 Murray] James Murray Lloyd (1803–47) was the middle son of Edward Lloyd V and Sally Murray Scott. When he married, his father built a mansion for him called Presqu'ile, which quickly became a Talbot County showplace. In 1840 he was one of the region's wealthiest farmers, owning 113 slaves. 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 60; Stella Pickett Hardy, *Colonial Families of the Southern States of America* (New York, 1911), 387; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:207, 222; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 47, 49–50, 69–70.

38.9–10 a young woman…most cruelly abused] Henny Bailey (1816–?), a cousin of Frederick Douglass, was one of seven children born to Milly Bailey, a slave on one of Aaron Anthony's farms. Henny was apparently ill fitted for work: Anthony estimated her value at fifty dollars in 1826, less than half the value he placed on her younger cousin Frederick. When Anthony died in 1826, his son-in-law, Thomas Auld, inherited Bailey and four other slaves. Sometime before 1840, Auld granted Bailey her freedom. The last record of Henny's existence is an entry in the 1840 U.S. Census, which identifies her as a free black living in St. Michaels district. Aaron Anthony, Inventory of Negroes, Distribution of Negroes, folder 71, Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812–26, folders 96, 159, both in Dodge Collection, MdAA; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 91, 174, 225.

38.11 Plummer] This individual is probably either James Plummer or Philemon Plummer. Both men were longtime residents of Talbot County and, at various times during Douglass's youth, worked for Aaron Anthony as overseers on his Tuckahoe farms. Philemon Plummer is listed in Anthony's accounting records for 1819. Aaron Anthony Day Books, folders 97, 30, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 71, 222.

39.7–9 For some cause…than the overseer] Slaves' preference for masters above overseers resulted from the power structure of master-overseer-slave relationships. To slaves, the virtually powerless, the overseer was a palpable symbol of their enslavement. The overseer controlled their lives, calling them to work, keeping them motivated in the fields, and punishing their transgressions. In contrast, masters, who often distanced themselves from day-to-day labor, provided what comforts slaves had and sometimes offered mercy when a slave appealed an overseer's decision. In this way, masters deflected dissatisfaction away from themselves and onto overseers. John Spencer Bassett, *The Southern Plantation Overseer, as Revealed in His Letters* (1925; New York, 1968), 3–5; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 555–56.

39.18 Esther] Hester Bailey, the sister of Douglass's mother.

39.21–22 "Ned" Roberts] Ned Roberts (1810–?) was a slave owned by Edward Lloyd V. It was 1825 when Aaron Anthony discovered that his slave Hester Bailey was continuing to see Ned Roberts. Return Book, 1 January 1824, Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi.

39.23–24 Some slave-holders…two such persons] In writing of "two such persons," Douglass means more than two strong and attractive slaves whose progeny would increase the owner's wealth. Although slaves could be permitted to "marry" by their masters, the American slave code did not recognize such unions as contractual or legal. Rather, they were merely "moral" arrangements. Some masters promoted slave marriage because such arrangements conformed to their own religious beliefs and because they felt it might render their slaves easier to discipline. On large plantations, slaveholders saw slave marriage and family life as a way to promote contentment among bondsmen in order to discourage escape. "Abroad" marriages—those between slaves owned by different masters—were more likely to engender some dissatisfaction. The most compelling reason for slaveholders to promote marriage, however, was economic: to increase their population of slaves. By law, the offspring of the Lloyd slave Ned Roberts and Aaron Anthony's Hester Bailey would have belonged to the latter master. Also a marriage of these two slaves would not have shared the negative features of most abroad marriages, because of the geographical proximity of the Anthony and Lloyd households. Douglass's comment therefore seems to allude to more sinister motives for Anthony's desire to keep the couple apart. These motives may be seen in Douglass's description of Hester's torture at her master's hands. Wilma King, *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995), 1–19; Blassingame, *Slave Community,* 77–104; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow,* 11–43; E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Slave Family," *JNH,* 15:198–259 (April 1930).

39.32–35 The fear…their owners] Their legal status as chattel or real estate placed slaves, male and female alike, wholly at the mercy of their masters. While several slave women's narratives confirm instances of rape by owners, owners' sons, and overseers, it is unclear how often such exploitation occurred. Although rape of slave women was assumed by abolitionists to be the common practice of slaveholders, available evidence of the distribution of persons considered mulattoes among freemen and slaves in the antebellum South does not necessarily support that assumption. Conversely, the enforced submission of female slaves and high rates of miscarriage and infant mortality in the slave population may suggest hidden evidence of a more widespread practice. Goodell, *American Slave Code,* 105–21; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 146–242, 325–29; Ira Berlin, Marc Favreau, and Steven F. Miller, eds., *Remembering Slavery: African Americans Talk about Their Personal Experiences of Slavery and Freedom* (New York, 1998), 146–48; Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross,* 126–38; Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow,* 11–43; Wilbert E. Moore, "Slave Law and the Social Structure," *JNH,* 26:171–202 (April 1941).

39.35–36 Slavery provided…the race] Because most American slave codes defined slaves as either personal property or real estate of slaveholders, a slave could not be party to a contract. Therefore, slaves were unable to enter into a legal marriage. Nonetheless, some masters recognized quasi-marriage—contubernium, the factual

state of two slaves or a slave and a freeman dwelling together. This union did not preclude a slave owner's interference and could be broken without legal consequence through sale of one of the slaves, adultery, or forced breeding of one of the partners. William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown: An American Slave* (London, 1849), 149–62; Goodell, *American Slave Code,* 105–21; Moore, "Slave Law and the Social Structure," 171–202; John Roberts, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (London, 2005), 180.

40.28 Edward] Ned Roberts.

41.14–15 One of…ran away] Jenny Bailey and her husband Noah ran away from Aaron Anthony in 1825. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 21, 27, 37, 64–65, 205–06.

41.19–21 there were several…stolen from Africa] Douglass's claim is certainly plausible, although African-born slaves on the Eastern Shore of Maryland would have been rare by the time of his childhood in the 1820s. Even at its peak in the mid-eighteenth century, the slave trade in that region was composed mostly of slaves shipped from the English Caribbean colony of Barbados, not directly from Africa. Maryland's importation of slaves dwindled in the late eighteenth century on account of a stagnant agricultural economy and high duties passed by the legislature to discourage black population growth. Federal legislation made further slave importation illegal after 1 January 1808, although a small illicit trade may have continued thereafter. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground,* 4–6, 14–15; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 382–84, 442–43; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 11–12, 42.

41.31–32 savage mutilations] Penal code punishment for slaves in noncapital cases precluded imposing fines, because they could own no property. Instead, branding, castration, ear cropping, irons, and deportation were used to enforce obedience from offending slaves who committed noncapital crimes such as rape and theft. In capital cases, burning, breaking on the wheel, decapitation, and hanging were meted out as punishment for crimes such as treason, murder, and poisoning of their masters. Punishments inflicted on slaves by their owners were similar to those devised by lawmakers in noncapital cases. Punishments administered by owners far exceeded the number carried out by the state and were probably more severe in nature. In addition, dismemberment and isolation were common forms of plantation punishment. By the mid-1800s most of the most severe punishments such as bodily mutilation were not publicly or privately practiced. Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 603–05.

42.7 Mr. Lloyd's sloop] The *Sally Lloyd.*

42.14 Nellie] Nelly Kellem (c. 1787–?) was the wife of Harry, a favored deck hand aboard Colonel Lloyd's sloop, the *Sally Lloyd.* Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 70, 222.

43.4 Rigby Hopkins] Rigby Hopkins was a Methodist minister who had long lived and farmed in Talbot County. In 1830 he was between fifty and sixty years old and had within his household two white males, six white females, and one black female. Whereas in 1820 he owned seventeen slaves, in 1830 he had none, possibly indicating a preference for renting black labor by then. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 19; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 31; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 130.

43.35 uncles Harry, Peter, and Jake] One of the slave crew of the *Sally Lloyd,* Harry was Harry Kellem, husband of Nelly. The business records of Edward Lloyd V give the birth year for a slave named Peter as 1799. Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi.

44.17 Ireland, in the days of want and famine] In the 1840s over 75 percent of the Irish population was dependent upon agriculture, most cultivating potatoes on small plots. A partial potato crop failure occurred in the fall of 1845. The potato blight spread in 1846, resulting in a complete crop failure and a famine throughout the country. In 1847 the blight was less severe, but living conditions, especially among the poor, were still terrible. Famine and starvation left people susceptible to disease, fever, dysentery, scurvy, cholera, influenza, and typhus. During the famine and afterward, England continued to export grain and animal products from Ireland. Government relief efforts were, on the whole, too little and too late. They consisted of the importation of Indian corn from the United States as a basic food source, employment of the poor through public works, the building of workhouses, and the establishment of soup kitchens and fever hospitals. Some private charity was helpful at a local level, with the Quakers as leading contributors. The most noticeable effect of the famine was the loss of population. From 1841 to 1851 there was a loss of two million people, mainly on account of mass emigration. Starvation caused the deaths of 20,000 from 1846 to 1851, and 339,000 died from disease. From 31 August 1845 to 6 January 1846, Frederick Douglass visited Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Belfast while on an abolitionist speaking tour of Ireland. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:xcvi–xcvii; Edward Norman, *A History of Modern Ireland* (London, 1971), 108–17; Noel Kissane, *The Irish Famine: A Documentary History* (Dublin, Ire., 1995), 27, 46–48, 75, 107–08, 123.

44.21–24 "I am going away…O, yea! O, yea!"] Douglass recalled this song in both of his earlier autobiographies. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 1:20, 2:57.

44.33–38 "I did not…ineffable sadness."] Douglass offers a close paraphrase of his statement in the *Narrative.* He repeated the passage in *My Bondage and My Freedom. Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 1:20, 2:58.

45.5–6 The songs…their joys] Slaves' songs were an important and regular part of work and home life. Both secular and sacred music enabled bondsmen to communicate with one another in improvised codes that their owners did not understand. Because they employed techniques like innuendo, these songs could be sung in front of whites as a form of resistance. When in a master's presence, slaves sang songs that seemed to reflect a more positive view of their situation than was the case. However, the majority of antebellum slave songs focused on the oppressive conditions of daily life and work, such as cruel treatment at the hands of a master or overseer. Some songs

celebrated runaways and rebels, or featured satirical treatments of patrollers, slave traders, and even slaves themselves. Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1977; New York, 2007), 3–30; Blassingame, *Slave Community,* 105–48; Paul Finkelman et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1619–1895: From the Colonial Period to the Age of Frederick Douglass,* 3 vols. (New York, 2006), 2:406.

45.13 their monthly allowance of food] A peck is equal to one-fourth of a bushel, or two gallons. The ration allowed Douglass and the others enslaved by the Anthony family was only one gallon, or one-eighth bushel of cornmeal per week. Masters typically distributed staples to their slaves, who were in turn responsible for the preparation of their own meals. A standard weekly ration for an adult slave was three to four pounds of pork, and a peck of cornmeal; however, Thomas Auld's slaves received only half of the standard ration of cornmeal. Slaves supplemented their weekly allotment by adding vegetables and fruit from a master's orchards, by growing their own vegetables to eat or to sell, by hunting and fishing, and by taking food and ingredients from the master's kitchen. House slaves tended to be fed better than field slaves and would frequently give food to both children and adults who were not allowed in the master's house. On some large plantations cooking was a communal activity, but most often a mother would either cook her family's evening meal in the morning before work hours, place a meal on the fire to cook slowly during the day, or prepare a meal quickly after returning from the fields. George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography,* 19 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1972), 1:67–73; *EAAH,* 2:30.

45.21–22 yearly allowance of clothing] Adult male and female slaves typically received clothing allotments twice a year, winter and fall. For each clothing allowance men received two shirts, two pairs of pants, and during the winter months they received a jacket and wool hat. Women's clothing allowance consisted of two dresses, and they were given coats, cloaks, and caps for the colder winter months. There is not much evidence available about children's clothing, except that often they went without clothing as they were too young to work; if they did receive clothing, boys would get shirts that reached below their knees, and girls, prior to puberty, would wear a one-piece frock. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 49; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 118–20.

46.3–6 The slaves worked…the overseer's horn] Work patterns of the slavery economy followed the rhythmic patterns of the season according to crop productions. Tobacco was the least intensive of all plantation crops to harvest because it did not require a rigorous processing regime like sugar. When slaves were not engaged in growing the staple crop, more time was spent in subsistence activities, and men often practiced skilled trades on the plantation. Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 238–40.

46.14 "turning row,"] The unplanted end of a cultivated furrow where horse or mule and plow make their turn to go back up a new row.

46.34 crashy tow-linen] A light coarse fabric, used for draperies and towels.

47.4–5 arrayed…every day."] Douglass quotes Luke 16:19.

47.10 Muscovite] A greenish-black gooselike duck having heavy red wattles.

47.11 Guinea fowls] Guinea fowls can be any of several common African birds of the family *Numididea.* Several types of Guinea fowl have been domesticated and raised for flesh and eggs. The most common variety has a bony casque on its head, and dark gray plumage spotted with white.

47.11 pea-fowls] A peacock or peahen.

47.17 drums] A name of various American Sciaenoird fish with the ability to make a drumming noise.

47.17 crocus] A freshwater drum-fish.

47.17 terrapin] Any of the various edible North American turtles living in fresh or brackish water.

47.25 McDermott] In 1824 Aaron Anthony hired William McDermott to work for Edward Lloyd V. McDermott lived and ate at Anthony's house at least through the spring of 1825. Aaron Anthony Ledger A, 1790–1818, folders 94, 42–43, Dodge Collection, MdAA.

47.33 aromatic coffee from Java] An island in the Malay archipelago. In the mid-nineteenth century, "java" became slang for coffee.

48.15–16 gigs, phaetons, barouches, sulkeys] A gig is a light two-wheeled one-horse carriage. A phaeton is a species of four-wheeled open carriage, of light construction, usually with two seats facing forward. A barouche is a four-wheeled carriage with a half-head behind that can be raised or let down at pleasure, having a seat in the front for the driver, and seats inside facing each other. A sulky is a light two-wheeled carriage or chaise, seated for one person.

49.4 viands] A choice or tasty dish of food.

49.5 gourmandizer] Glutton.

49.6 dyspepsia] A generic term in the nineteenth century for disorders of the digestive organs, especially the stomach, usually involving weakness, loss of appetite, and depression of spirits.

49.7 lumbago] A rheumatic affection in the lumbar regions of the body.

49.7 gout] A usually hereditary disease, mainly occurring in male subjects; characterized by painful inflammation of the smaller joints that often spreads to the larger joints and the internal organs.

49.10–11 old and young Barney] Old Barney was Barnett Sampson (c. 1768–?). He was listed as fifty-five years old in January 1824. Old Barney was owned by Edward Lloyd V and was the father of Young Barney, Barnett Bentley (c. 1810–?). Return Book, 1 January 1824, Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi.

49.14 farrier] One who both shoes horses and treats their ailments.

49.14 ostler] Variant of "hostler," one who takes care of horses and mules.

49.14–15 could bleed, remove lampers from their mouths] Lampers, or lampas,

is an equine disease that manifests as a congestion of the mucous membrane in the hard palate of the mouth.

49.31 fetlocks] Part of a horse's leg where the tuft of hair grows behind the pastern joint, a part analogous to the human ankle; the tuft itself.

50.20 William Wilks] William Wilks (c. 1791–?) was a slave of Edward Lloyd V. Sometime in the first half of the 1830s he purchased his freedom and moved to Baltimore. In that city, Wilks worked as a general laborer and resided on Lexington Street, east of Park Street. Return Book, 1 January 1824, Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1835–6* (Baltimore, 1835), 275; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1837–8* (Baltimore, 1837), 472.

50.33 Austin Woolfolk] Austin Woolfolk of Augusta, Georgia, became a slave trader serving the Southwest, which rapidly expanded following the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. He settled in Baltimore in 1819 to avail himself of both the large surplus slave population in the state and the excellent shipping facilities that the port afforded. During the 1820s he lived on Pratt Street to the west of the city's commercial center. Woolfolk's business prospered as he sent agents throughout Maryland ready to pay high prices in cash for young black males. He annually transported from 230 and 460 slaves to markets in New Orleans, many of them having been purchased from planters on the Eastern Shore. In the 1830s, however, Woolfolk's business declined as a result of increased competition from larger firms, a decrease in the number of slaves for sale owing to manumissions and owner emigrations, and the heightened opposition of Marylanders to the interstate slave trade. Deyle, *Carry Me Back,* 98–100, 179–80; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 50, 58, 76–80, 96, 102; William Calderhead, "The Role of the Professional Slave Trader in a Slave Economy: Austin Woolfolk, a Case Study," *CWH,* 23:195–211 (September 1977).

52.8 Austin Gore] Austin Gore (1794–1871), also referred to as Orson Gore in the Lloyd family account and cash books, was the overseer of Edward Lloyd V's Davis's Farm plantation, where in l822 a young slave named Bill Denby died. A friend of Gore's later challenged Douglass's assertion that Gore coolly murdered Denby, insisting that he was "a respectable citizen living near St. Michaels, and...a worthy member of the Methodist Episcopal Church;...all who know him, think him anything but a murderer." Lloyd apparently tolerated Gore's brutal actions, because he later promoted him to be overseer of the much larger Wye House plantation. The 1830 U.S. census listed Gore as the head of a household that contained three boys and two girls under age ten, his wife, and an elderly woman. A. C. C. Thompson, "To the Public—Falsehood Refuted," reprinted in *NASS,* 25 November 1845, and in *Lib.,* 12 December 1845; Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 14.

53.11 Bill Denby] Bill Denby (c. 1802–22) lived with twenty-two other slaves, including his family, on Davis's Farm, one of several Talbot County plantations owned by Edward Lloyd V. Plantation records indicate that Denby, a prime field hand, died sometime during the year 1822. Return Book, 1 January 1822, 1 January 1823, Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 72–73, 213.

53.37–38 St. Michaels] The town of St. Michaels, Talbot County, Maryland, was incorporated in 1805 by the Maryland General Assembly. It is believed to have been established early in the seventeenth century, although the exact date has been debated, one account placing the building of a Reformed Church on that site in 1672. Located on the Miles River, the town became the local place of embarkation for vessels bound for Baltimore. Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:375–77, 381–85.

54.5 Thomas Lambdin] Thomas H. W. Lambdin (c. 1807–?) had labored at a number of trades by 1850: shipwright, schoolteacher, town bailiff for St. Michaels (1848), and miller (1850). In 1850 he was married, had five young children, and owned real estate valued at $1,000. In a rebuttal to Douglass's negative characterization, a Maryland friend described Lambdin as "too good-natured and harmless to injure any person but himself." Thompson, "To the Public—Falsehood Refuted"; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:395.

54.12 Mrs. Giles Hicks] No court records of this murder have been found. Douglass probably learned of this incident from his wife Anna Murray Douglass who grew up in Caroline County. A Mr. and Mrs. Giles Hicks resided in Caroline County, Maryland, in 1820. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 92; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 74.

54.34 Beale Bordley] John Beale Bordley (1800–82) was the son of Matthias Bordley (1757–1828) and the grandson of John Beale Bordley (1727–1804), a noted agriculturalist and Revolutionary War era patriot from Maryland. Often called simply Beale Bordley, John Beale Bordley was born on his father's Wye Island estate, across the river from the Lloyd plantation, and remained there until his mid-twenties, when he moved to Philadelphia to study law with Pennsylvania Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson. Quickly tiring of the law, Bordley developed a very successful career as a portrait painter of prominent figures in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. A number of his paintings are held by the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser,* 14 March 1882; Francis Sims McGrath, *Pillars of Maryland* (Richmond, Va., 1950), 393; idem, "A Letter to Eileen," *MdHM,* 24:306 (December 1929); Eugenia Calvert Holland and Louisa MacGill Gary, comps., "Miniatures in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society," *MdHM,* 51:342, 346, 353 (December 1956); Anna Wells Rutledge, "Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society," *MdHM,* 41:35–36, 43 (March 1946).

56.16 the good Samaritan] The good Samaritan, mentioned in Luke 10:33, generally refers to a kind and helpful person. Ebenezer Cobham Brewer, ed., *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* ed. John Ayto (New York, 2005), 598; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:149–50.

56.17 balsam] An aromatic oily or resinous medicinal application, usually for external application, for healing wounds or soothing pain.

56.33 termagant] An overbearing or nagging woman.

57.3–4 sack-cloth] Coarse textile used for bags or for wrapping bales.

58.1 Hugh Auld] Born in Talbot County, Maryland, Hugh Auld (1799–1861) moved to Baltimore as a young man. There he worked as a ship carpenter, master shipbuilder, and shipyard foreman, and occasionally served as a magistrate. Prior to moving to Baltimore, Hugh married Sophia Keithley. From 1826 to 1833 and again from 1836 to 1838, the young Frederick Douglass lived and worked in their household, lent to them by his owner, Hugh's brother Thomas. In 1845, Hugh, incensed by Douglass's depiction of his family in the *Narrative,* bought Douglass, then on a lecture tour of Britain, from his brother Thomas. According to the *Pennsylvania Freeman,* Auld was determined to reenslave Douglass and "place him in the cotton fields of the South" if the fugitive ever returned to the United States. In 1846 two British abolitionists, Anna and Ellen Richardson, offered to buy Douglass from Auld; in exchange for $711.66 (£150 sterling) raised among British reformers, Auld signed the manumission papers that made Douglass a free man. Walter Lourie to Ellis Gray Loring, 15 December 1846, General Correspondence File, reel 1, frame 644, Benjamin F. Auld to Douglass, 11, 27 September 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frames 240–41, 257–58, Douglass to Benjamin F. Auld, 16 September 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frames 246–47, J. C. Schaffer to Helen Pitts Douglass, 21 October 1896, General Correspondence File, reel 8, frames 92–93, all in FD Papers, DLC; Talbot County Records, V.60, 35–36, 30 November 1846, MdTCH (a copy is found on reel 1, frames 637–39, FD Papers, DLC); Hugh Auld Family Genealogical Chart, prepared by Carl G. Auld, Ellicott City, Md., 5 June 1976; *PaF,* 26 February 1846; *Lib.,* 6 March 1846; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 81, 84–85, 92, 143, 173–75.

58.21 Tom] Tom Bailey (1814–?), the fourth of Milly Bailey's seven children and Douglass's cousin, was a slave belonging to Aaron Anthony. When Anthony died in 1826, Bailey became the property of Thomas Auld. Auld granted Bailey his freedom in 1845. The last record of Bailey's existence is a letter to Douglass from his son Lewis, who visited Talbot County in 1865. During his visit, Lewis wrote, he met with Bailey, who was still living in St. Michaels. Lewis Douglass to Douglass, 9 June 1865, FD Papers, DHU-MS; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 91, 174, 206, 221, 230.

58.31 sixpence] In Britain sixpence is a coin equivalent to six pennies.

58.32–33 shooting-crackers] Probably firecrackers.

58.35 Market house] Baltimore's first market house, though planned in 1751, was not completed until 1763. For the next twenty years, the market house in Baltimore at the corner of Gay and Baltimore Streets was the sole point of activity for provisions commerce. At that point the growing population, diverse in class and separated by location, demanded more markets to address new needs. Plans for three new markets followed. The Centre or Marsh Market and the Hanover Market shared the proceeds of the sale of the grounds of the first market house to finance their creation. The fourth and last market that existed during Douglass's time in Baltimore, the Lexington Market, was developed in the western precincts of Baltimore. Centre or Marsh Market in Harrison Street became a locus for wholesaling, shipping, and finance. Hanover or Camden Market on Howard's Hill functioned primarily as a wholesale produce market. Douglass probably had the most vivid recollection of the third market site, the Fells Point or Broadway Market, nearest the residence of Hugh and Sophia Auld. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), 205–11; Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore, 1980), 19–20, 55, 175.

59.3–4 quitted the quarter-deck] The portion of the upper or spar-deck that extends between the stern and aftermast and is used as a promenade by the superior officers or cabin passengers.

59.13 dome of the State house] The state house at Annapolis, Maryland, completed in 1799, is a brick building topped by a tall, white-painted octagonal wooden dome. Writers' Program of the Work Project Administration in the State of Maryland, comp., *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State* (1940; New York, 1973), 181–82.

59.17–18 Smith's wharf, not far from Bowly's wharf] Smith's Wharf and Bowley's Wharf were two sturdily built wharves below Pratt Street in Baltimore's inner harbor, the Basin, west of Fells Point. The city directory at times spelled the latter as "Bowly's Wharf." *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827* (Baltimore, 1827), 18–19; Olson, *Baltimore,* 60.

59.20 Curtiss, on Loudon Slater's hill] Although no Curtiss is listed as a victualer or butcher, common designations for those operating a slaughterhouse, Baltimore city directories from 1824 through 1829 list variously a James Curtain, Thomas Curtain, and a W. Curtain as victualers. They may have been located on the western corner of what was called Loudenslager, not Loudon Slater's, Hill in the northeastern portion of the city. This area did in fact have a number of abattoirs in it. *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1824* (Baltimore, 1824), 74; *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827,* 70; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1829* (Baltimore, 1829), 78.

59.20 Rich] Rich (1817–?) was one of the slaves who served as the crew of the *Sally Lloyd* appearing in the business records of Edward Lloyd V. Various account books and cash books, Land Papers—Maintenance of Property, Land Volume 39, reel 10, Lloyd Family Papers, MdHi.

59.21 my new home on Aliceanna street] Neither the 1824 nor 1827 Baltimore directory, the only extant directories in this period, lists Hugh Auld's residence. The Baltimore City Commission on Historical and Architectural Preservation established that Hugh Auld's house was on the southeast corner of Aliceanna and Durham, formerly Happy Alley, streets in Fells Point. Contemporary sources spell the street "Alisanna" (1824) or "Alice Anna" (1827). *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1824,*

343; *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827,* 1 (street register); Fielding Lucas, Jr., comp., *Plan of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1836); Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 223.

59.22 Gardner's ship-yard] William Gardner, a ship carpenter or shipbuilder, resided on Fleet Street, Fells Point, between 1827 and 1836. The shipyard of George and William Gardner was at the "lower end of Fountain Street," on the eastern edge of the Fells Point wharf area. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1831* (Baltimore, 1831), 141, 5 (street register).

59.22 Fell's point] Fells Point, first settled by William Fell in 1726, was a separate enclave east of Baltimore center not annexed to Baltimore until 1773. This hooked piece of land jutting into the outer harbor had been a shipbuilding site since the mid-eighteenth century. After the War of 1812 it was the construction site for the famous Baltimore clipper ships. By the time of Douglass's arrival, Fells Point was a heavily populated neighborhood whose residents worked in shipbuilding and other maritime pursuits. Shipyards and wharves for unloading cargo lined its waterfront. Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* 54, 59–60, 292–94; Olson, *Baltimore,* 52–53, 85.

59.22 Mrs. Hugh Auld] Sophia Keithley Auld (1797–1880) was born in Talbot County, Maryland, to Richard and Hester Keithley. Her parents were poor, devout Methodists who held to the antislavery teachings of their church. Before marrying Hugh Auld, she worked as a weaver. Soon after their marriage, the couple moved to Baltimore, where Hugh worked as a ship carpenter, master shipbuilder, and shipyard fireman. Between 1826 and 1833, and again in 1836–38, the young slave Frederick Douglass lived and worked in their household. Both Douglass and Sophia Auld retained enormous affection for each other long after Douglass had established himself in the North. Douglass tried to visit Auld in Baltimore during the Civil War. Years after her death, Auld's son Benjamin told Douglass that "mother would always speak in the kindest terms of you, whenever your name was mentioned." Benjamin F. Auld to Douglass, 11 September 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frame 240, FD Papers, DLC; Baltimore *Sun,* 5 July 1880; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 87, 165–66, 168.

59.24 Thomas] Thomas Auld (1824–48), the son of Hugh and Sophia Auld and the nephew of Thomas Auld, Aaron Anthony's son-in-law, was the charge of the young slave Douglass. He died in an unsuccessful attempt by the brig *Tweed* to rescue a sinking British vessel. Benjamin F. Auld to Douglass, 11 September 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frame 240, FD Papers, DLC; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 148, 228.

60.28 Sophia] Sophia Keithley Auld.

62.28 to do so was unlawful] In fact, unlike in many other slave states, there was no legal proscription against slave literacy in Maryland. In Baltimore small black-operated schools accepted slaves as well as free blacks. There is even evidence that slaves taught in some of these schools. The city offered other opportunities for slaves to learn to read through the wide availability of reading materials and contact with sympathetic free blacks and whites willing to help them learn. Phillips, *Freedom's Port,* 163–67; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 446.

62.28–29 if you give…take an ell] A paraphrase of the old English proverb "For whan I gaue you an ynche, ye tooke an ell." An ell is an antiquated English unit of length equal to forty-five inches. John Heywood, *Proverbs and Epigrams of John Heywood* (1562; New York, 1967), 78.

65.23 Webster's spelling-book] The first version of the spelling book, *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783), by Noah Webster (1758–1843), a Connecticut teacher, editor, and Federalist politician, rapidly became the standard spelling and pronunciation guide in the new nation. In 1788 the title became *The American Spelling Book,* and *The Elementary Spelling Book* in 1829. Harry R. Warfel, *Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America* (New York, 1936); Richard J. Moss, *Noah Webster* (Boston, 1984); *DAB,* 19:594–97.

66.15–16 Knight, on Thames street] Nathaniel Knight (1778–1854) trained as a printer in Salem, Massachusetts, and in 1800 moved to Baltimore, where he opened a bookstore on Market Street. Knight was a prominent member of the community, serving as a justice of the peace, a member of Washington Lodge No. 3 of the Freemasons, an officer with the Charitable Marine Society of Baltimore, and a warden in Mount Calvary Episcopal Church. Knight lived at Fells Point at 23 Thames Street in 1827. *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827,* 155; John L. Sanford, *Studies in Freemasonry* (Baltimore, 1924), 49–53.

66.17 "The Columbian Orator,"] Boston schoolteacher and bookseller Caleb Bingham (1757–1817) authored the *Columbian Orator* (1797), one of the first textbooks on English grammar and rhetoric published in the United States. It contained short extracts from speeches by such famous orators as William Pitt, George Washington, Charles James Fox, and Cicero, as well as plays and poems on the themes of patriotism, education, and freedom. The *Columbian Orator* remained one of the most popular textbooks of its kind in America through the 1820s. Bingham himself contributed an essay on oratorical skills, "General Directions for Speaking," whose rules Douglass followed in his early years as a public speaker. *NCAB,* 8:19; *DAB,* 2:273–74.

66.22–23 short dialogue between a master and his slave] The anonymous "Dialogue between a Master and Slave" is a conversation between a master and slave in which the slave is caught trying to run away for the second time. Caleb Bingham, *Columbian Orator* (Boston, 1827), 240–42.

66.32 quondam] Formerly.

67.4 O'Connor's mighty speeches, on the subject of Catholic Emancipation] Although editions of *Life and Times* published during Douglass's lifetime attribute the speech on Catholic Emancipation to Richard Sheridan (1751–1816), the Irish orator, playwright, and politician who entered Parliament in 1780 and championed Irish and other reform causes, the only speech extracted in Douglass's source, the *Columbian Orator,* is "Mr. Sheridan's Speech against Mr. Taylor," which is not on Catholic

"emancipation." Douglass is probably referring to another selection in the anthology titled "Part of Mr. O'Connor's Speech in the Irish House of Commons, in Favor of the Bill for Emancipating the Roman Catholics, 1795." Arthur O'Connor (1763–1852), a liberal Protestant member of the Irish Parliament, was a strong supporter of Catholic rights, including "Catholic emancipation," or the right of Catholics to hold office and sit in Parliament. O'Connor resigned his seat after delivering this speech. Bingham, *Columbian Orator,* 130–31, 243–48; *DNB,* 18:78–85, 41:394–95.

67.4–5 Lord Chatham's speech on the American War] The *Columbian Orator* contained several speeches given by William Pitt (1708–78), first earl of Chatham, also known as "the elder Pitt." A prominent British statesman, Chatham first entered Parliament in 1735 and became secretary of state from 1756 to 1757. Though in ill health by the time of the American Revolution, Chatham spoke out against Britain's harsh policies toward the American colonies and urged an amicable settlement. The *Columbian Orator* printed parts of four such speeches Chatham made before Parliament, in January 1775, May 1777, and two in November 1777. The most strongly worded of the speeches warned against the dangers of the British army's engaging the services of North American Indians against the colonists. Pitt changed his mind regarding the war, however, when it was proposed to make peace on any terms, and on 2 April 1778 he addressed the House of Lords and secured a majority against the resolution. While answering questions concerning his position, Chatham collapsed and died in the house chamber. Jeremy Black, *Pitt the Elder* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992), 288–99; Magnusson, *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary,* 297; *DNB,* 15:1240–53.

67.5–6 William Pitt] William Pitt (1759–1806), often referred to as "the younger Pitt," was the second son of the earl of Chatham. He was elected to Parliament in 1781 and became a noted opponent of Lord North's policies in the American Revolution. At the age of twenty-four he became the youngest prime minister of Britain, a post he held for seventeen years. Pitt was a reformer who sought positive relations with the United States and Ireland, a reduced national debt, parliamentary reform, and a reorganization of the British East India Company. When the king refused to approve his bill emancipating Catholics, he resigned in protest in 1801, but was persuaded to return in 1804 when war with France seemed imminent. John Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt,* 3 vols. (New York, 1969–96); Magnusson, *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary,* 1166–67; *DNB,* 15:1253–72.

67.6 Fox] Douglass refers to a speech concerning American affairs delivered to the British Parliament in 1778 by Charles James Fox. Bingham, *Columbian Orator,* 172–75.

68.23 like the blows of…prophet upon his ass] Douglass refers to the story of Balaam's ass in Num. 22:21–30.

69.17 *"abolitionists."*] Antislavery sentiment had existed in a few religious groups such as the Quakers since colonial times. Inspired by a combination of religious evangelicalism, Enlightenment philosophy, and transformations in the marketplace, an organized movement to end the slave trade and then emancipate all slaves emerged first in Great Britain and then the United States in the first third of the nineteenth century. Movements for gradual emancipation in various northern states triumphed in the decades immediately following the American Revolution. In the same era, an effort was launched to colonize slaves and free blacks in Africa. Proponents of immediate emancipation formed a national abolitionist organization in 1833 and quickly developed a network of local societies, newspapers, and itinerant speaking agents across the North. Although some support for more gradual abolition persisted in the Border States in the 1830s, Douglass is correct that most slaveholders there became increasingly paranoid about abolitionism's sowing discontent among their bondsmen. Merton L. Dillon, *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619–1865* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990), 64, 92, 101, 138–41, 171–74; John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830–1860* (New York, 1979), 11–27, 51–56; Peter Hinks and John McKivigan, eds., *Encyclopedia of Antislavery and Abolitionism,* 2 vols. (Westport, Conn., 2007), 1:33–35, 303–09.

69.35 *Baltimore American*] The Baltimore *American* was the oldest newspaper in Maryland. It was first published by Alexander Martin, a native of Boston, on 14 May 1799. The *American* was a firm ally of the Whig party and became prominently identified with the Union cause and the Republican party. Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* 609.

69.37–38 a certain day…presented to Congress] The sending of petitions to Congress, calling for an end to the slave trade and to slavery in the District of Columbia, dated back to the early years of the federal government. In 1828 a national petition drive had helped force the House of Representatives to vote on abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. The newly organized movement for immediate emancipation adopted the petition strategy in the 1830s and deluged Congress with antislavery memorials bearing thousands of signatures. Louis Filler, *The Crusade against Slavery, 1830–1860* (New York, 1960), 3, 99; Russell B. Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830–1860* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), 41–51.

70.21–22 The insurrection of Nat. Turner had been quelled] The Nat Turner Rebellion took place in the early morning of 22 August 1831 in Southampton County, Virginia. Nat Turner (1800–31), a literate and intelligent slave living at the home of Joseph Travis, led the slave uprising. The rebellion began at the Travis home with the deaths of Sally and Joseph Travis and Putnam Moore, the child who had inherited the ownership of Nat Turner, and lasted until the early hours of Sunday, 23 August. Best estimates determine that sixty to eighty slaves from the region took up arms to join the fight for freedom. Turner, already long harboring antislavery sentiment, was motivated to action by religious visions and perceived supernatural significance to natural phenomena, beginning with a solar eclipse on 12 February 1831. Approximately fifty-five to sixty whites died in the rebellion in Southampton County. All white people were targeted victims, including women and children. The rebellion was put down by

the local militia. Turner evaded capture until he was found hiding in the woods less than two miles from the Travis home on 30 October. He was executed by hanging on 11 November 1831. Stephen B. Oates, *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion* (1975; New York, 1990); Scot French, *The Rebellious Slave: Nat Turner in American Memory* (Boston, 2004), 2–3, 79–80; James T. Baker, *Nat Turner: Cry Freedom in America* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1998), 21–41; *ACAB,* 6:187; *DAB,* 19:69–70; *ANB,* 22: 31–32.

70.23 cholera] The first known widespread incidence of cholera in Baltimore reached the city in the summer of 1832. J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1874), 460; Olson, *Baltimore,* 92.

70.33 white Methodist minister, named Hanson] The Reverend James M. Hanson (1782–1860) was a popular local Methodist Episcopal Church minister throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century, who was highly regarded for his commitment to strengthening the organization of the Baltimore Annual Conference. Hanson was repeatedly elected to represent Baltimore in the church's quadrennial conferences. James Edward Armstrong, *History of the Old Baltimore Conference from the Planting of Methodism in 1773 to the Division of the Conference in 1857* (Baltimore, 1907), 154, 158, 216, 223, 228, 242, 391.

71.1 Charles Lawson] In 1830 Charles Lawson, a free black, lived in Fells Point and was over fifty-five years old. He had five people in his household. Lawson was a drayman for ropemaker James Ramsey. He was a member of Baltimore's Bethel African Methodist Church and, although he was much older, became close friends with Douglass. Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, D.C., 1925), 43; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 97–98.

71.2 "cast all my care upon God."] Douglass paraphrases 1 Peter 5:7, "Casting all your care upon him; for he careth for you."

71.25 Beverly Waugh] Beverly Waugh (1789–1858) was the son of a substantial farmer from Fairfax County, Virginia. He became a traveling preacher for the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1809, a deacon in 1811, and an elder in 1813. Douglass probably first met Waugh in 1827, when the minister was the presiding elder of the East Baltimore Station, which included the Wilks Street Church, attended by the Hugh Auld family. In 1836 Waugh was elected a bishop by the General Conference, and in 1852 he became senior bishop of the church. H. B. Ridgaway, "Beverly Waugh," in *Lives of Methodist Bishops,* ed. Theodore L. Flood and John W. Hamilton (New York, 1882), 225–62; *DAB,* 19:558.

71.26–27 Methodist Episcopal church] Methodism began as an evangelical movement within the Church of England. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was founded in 1784 at the General Conference, sometimes called the Christmas Conference, in Baltimore, Maryland. Because of the split in the denomination caused by the American Revolution, the Anglican Church refused to ordain a bishop for America. This refusal prompted John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, to ordain Thomas Coke, who, along with Francis Asbury, would serve as the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Reverend Beverly Waugh was elected bishop in 1836. *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1832), 14; Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 4 vols. (New York, 1845–53), 4:240.

72.12 'Ask, and it shall be given to you.'] Douglass quotes Matt. 7:7.

72.16–17 the mercy seat] In Exodus, the mercy seat refers to a slab of gold placed upon the Ark of the Covenant, housed in the Tabernacle. God commanded Moses to build the Tabernacle, a sanctuary in the wilderness. The priests went to the mercy seat to commune with God. Exod. 25:17–22.

72.19 wharf of Mr. Waters] George P. Waters was a ship chandler and grocer who operated both of his businesses near the wharf he owned at the south end of Fell Street in Fells Point. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1833* (Baltimore, 1833), 189, 15 (street register); *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1835–6,* 267; Lucas, *Plan of the City of Baltimore.*

72.20 scow] A large flat-bottomed boat propelled by a pole.

73.5 Durgin & Bailey] John Durgin and Thomas Bailey operated a shipwright business on Philpot Street in Fells Point in the late 1820s and the 1830s. Douglass later recalled that as a boy he carried Auld's dinner to him while Auld was employed as a carpenter at this shipyard near the Auld home. Bailey continued as a ship carpenter in the same area into the 1830s. Douglass to Benjamin F. Auld, 24 March 1894, SC-163, Mrs. Howard V. Hall Collection of Auld Family Papers, MdAA; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1829,* 94; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1831,* 21; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1835–6,* 12.

73.8 starboard] Right side of a ship, when looking forward from the stern.

73.9 larboard] Obsolete word used to identify the left or port side of a ship, when looking forward from the stern.

73.10 aft] Near the stern, or hinder part, of a ship.

73.13 steam-box] Device for containing the steam in a steam engine.

73.18 Bethel church] American Methodists founded the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, creating national autonomy for their denomination. Many free blacks were attracted to the Methodist Church for its inclusiveness; however, as the institution of slavery grew, so did racial discrimination within American Methodist congregations. In 1787 the black members of St. George's Church in Philadelphia withdrew after white congregants attempted to forcibly remove Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and William White to the area surrounding the church walls as the men knelt in prayer. This incident became the catalyst for the formation of two black churches in Philadelphia: an Episcopal church, St. Thomas, where Jones served as rector; and the Bethel African Methodist Church, led by Allen but governed by the white leadership of St. George's. Both churches were dedicated in 1794, but disputes between the Bethelites and the white elders were frequent and bitter. Facing similar problems

within their Methodist congregations, black Methodists in Baltimore established their Bethel Church in 1797. Daniel Coker assumed leadership of the Baltimore church in 1801. Allen and Coker together started the independent African Methodist movement in America; by 1816, several black Methodist congregations existed. Representatives of these congregations met at Bethel Church in Philadelphia in April 1816 and resolved to form a separate body, the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America. While adhering to most of the Methodist discipline, the African Methodist Episcopal Church emphasized education, political agitation, and social action. Daniel A. Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville, Tenn., 1888); James T. Campbell, *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa* (New York, 1995), 10–14; Harry V. Richardson, *Dark Salvation: The Story of Methodism as It Developed among Blacks in America* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976), 62–116; George A. Singleton, *The Romance of African Methodism: A Study of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1952), 1–25; *ACAB,* 4:685; *DANB,* 484; *NCAB,* 4:188.

73.31 copy-book] Copybooks were used in the United States from the late eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries to teach elementary school children penmanship. The books contained writing samples for students to imitate on empty lines. Edward L. Dejnozka et al., eds., *The American Educators' Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991), 138–39.

74.23–24 Richard, died...himself died] Douglass errs slightly. Aaron Anthony died on 14 November 1826, and his son, Richard Lee Anthony, died one year and six months later, on 18 May 1828. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 223n6.

74.26 Hillsborough] Hillsboro or Hillsborough is a small town in Caroline County, Maryland, located on Tuckahoe Creek about six miles west northwest of Denton. It was named for Lord Hillsboro, a relative of Lord Baltimore. R. Bernice Leonard, *Tavern in the Town* (St. Michaels, Md., 1992), 7; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1283.

74.27 Master Thomas] Thomas Auld.

74.29 intestate] without leaving behind a valid will. Bryan A. Garner, ed., *Black's Law Dictionary,* 7th ed. (St. Paul, Minn., 1999), 827.

74.36–75.1 valued and divided] Aaron Anthony's heirs, Richard Anthony, Andrew Anthony, and Thomas Auld, agreed to the division of his slaves on 27 September 1827. Twenty-eight slaves, including Frederick Douglass, made up the division and were valued at $2,805. Frederick was among the slaves awarded to Thomas Auld, widower of Lucretia Anthony Auld. Aaron Anthony, Inventory of Negroes, Distribution of Negroes, folder 77, Dodge Collection, MdAA; Aaron Anthony Slave Distribution, 22 October 1827, Talbot County Distributions, V.JP#D, 58–59, MdTCH.

75.24 hay-mow] A stack of hay, or a hayshed or barn, or the compartment of a barn in which hay is stored.

75.33 sot] One who repeatedly drinks to excess; a drunkard.

76.26 Plummer] James or Philemon Plummer.

77.14 Lucretia, was dead] Aaron Anthony's daughter Lucretia Auld died on 6 July 1827. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 223n6.

77.15 Amanda] Born in Hillsborough, Maryland, Arianna Amanda Auld Sears (1826–78) was the only child of Thomas and Lucretia Anthony Auld. With her mother's death in 1826 and her father's subsequent remarriage, she fell under the charge of her stepmother, Rowena Hambleton Auld. In 1843 she married John L. Sears, a St. Michaels schoolteacher who later became a Philadelphia coal merchant, with whom she bore four children. The Sears family returned to Maryland in the early 1860s, settling in Baltimore. Auld's childhood acquaintance with Frederick Douglass was reestablished in 1859, when he called upon her while on a speaking engagement in Philadelphia. Douglass and Auld maintained a warm friendship over the years that followed; after her death in 1878, Auld's husband, John, wrote to Douglass, "God bless you for your kindness to her." John L. Sears to Douglass, 10 January 1878, Thomas E. Sears to Douglass, 1 February 1878, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frames 215–16, 225, FD Papers, DLC; Auld Family Bible (courtesy of Carl G. Auld); New York *Herald,* 6 September 1866; Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* 6 September 1866; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 30, 106–07, 168–70; Roberts, "Visitation of Western Talbot," 245.

77.25 "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,"] Published in 1845 by the American Anti-Slavery Society, with accompanying prefatory letters by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, Douglass's first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,* was released to the antebellum American public when the author was twenty-seven years old. The *Narrative* achieved widespread success not only in the United States but also in the United Kingdom and Europe. In the eight years following its initial publication, Douglass's *Narrative* was translated into French, German, and Dutch and was published in over twenty U.S. editions, selling at least 30,000 copies by 1853. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 1:xvii, xxv, xxxii.

77.28–78.37 "Now all the property…a few dim cinders."] While Douglass quotes this passage verbatim from his first autobiography in *My Bondage and My Freedom,* he appears to have revised the passage somewhat here. None of his revisions changes the passage's essence; however, the substitution of the word "cinders" for "embers," implying a loss of meager warmth, may suggest that Douglass felt greater bitterness about his grandmother's circumstances as he crafted his third autobiography. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 1:39–41, 103–104.

78.14 Whittier] Born to Quaker parents, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–92) tended his family farm near Haverhill, Massachusetts, in his youth. Inspired by poets Robert Burns and John Milton, Whittier's first published poem, "The Exile's Departure," appeared in William Lloyd Garrison's Newburyport *Free Press* in 1826. Garrison encouraged Whittier's father to allow his son to attend the Haverhill Academy in Boston for a year. Again with Garrison's help, Whittier secured his first editorial position in 1829 at a political weekly, the *American Manufacturer,* in Boston.

There he became acquainted with the abolitionist movement and was one of the founding members of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Whittier was elected to a term in the Massachusetts state legislature in 1835, and two years later friends published the first collection of his poems, *Poems Written during the Progress of the Abolition Question in the United States.* Whittier worked as a corresponding editor for the antislavery journal the Washington *National Era,* which published many of his antislavery poems, until he cofounded the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1857. Roland H. Woodwell, *John Greenleaf Whittier: A Biography* (Haverhill, Mass., 1985); *DNB,* 20:173–75; *ANB,* 23:320–21.

78.15–26 'Gone, gone…stolen daughters!'] First stanza of the 1838 poem, "The Farewell of a Virginia Slave Mother to Her Daughter Sold into Southern Bondage," by John Greenleaf Whittier, is among his collection of antislavery poetry. John G. Whittier, *The Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier,* 4 vols. (Boston, 1892), 3:56.

79.1 Rowena Hambleton] Rowena Hambleton Auld (1812–42) was the eldest daughter of William Hambleton, a wealthy slave owner in Martingham, Maryland. She became the second wife of Thomas Auld on 21 May 1829. Auld Family Bible (Courtesy of Carl G. Auld); Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 106–07; Roberts, "Visitation of Western Talbot," 245.

79.2 William Hambleton] William Hambleton (c. 1783–1855) was descended from an old Eastern Shore family and lived at Martingham, a Talbot County plantation. He was the father of Rowena Hambleton Auld and the brother of "Purser" Samuel Hambleton, who had won national fame as a hero at the Battle of Lake Erie. In 1850 Hambleton possessed real estate valued at $10,000 and owned ten slaves. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 1016 (free schedule), 32 (slave schedule); Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 108–09, 130.

79.10 Aunt Milly] Milly Bailey.

79.10 Henny] Henny Bailey.

80.3 "Uncle Tom"] An allusion to the humble, pious, long-suffering attitude of the title character of Harriet Beecher Stowe's antislavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1951), 2:1794.

80.4 Stowe] Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe (1811–96), author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), was the daughter of the outspoken New England Presbyterian minister Lyman Beecher. She began writing early in life and pioneered the use of slang and regional dialects in her works. Although *Uncle Tom's Cabin* remains the most famous of Stowe's writings, she published a number of others widely read in the nineteenth century, including *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856), *Little Foxes* (1866), and *My Wife and I; or Harry Henderson's History* (1871). Stowe never spoke publicly on behalf of abolition, but her name was one of those most closely associated with the cause. Stuart C[lark] Henry, *Unvanquished Puritan: A Portrait of Lyman Beecher* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1973), 291; Joan D. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life* (New York, 1994).

80.11 sloop "Amanda"] This sloop was owned by the Auld family and used to carry goods between St. Michaels and Baltimore. Named for Thomas Auld's daughter Amanda Auld Sears, the *Amanda* was piloted by Captain Ed Dodson. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 105.

81.16 "stars shall fall from heaven,"] Douglass cites a portion of Matt. 24:29.

81.38 home larder] A room where meat and other food are stored.

82.20–21 "bless them…His kingdom."] Douglass paraphrases Deut. 28:5, "Blessed *shall be* thy basket and thy store."

83.37–38 a Methodist camp-meeting, held in the Bay side] The Bayside in Talbot County, Maryland, is believed to have been a center of Methodism for the area, beginning about 1777. In that year, itinerant minister Joseph Cromwell preached at Wye, St. Michaels, and Bayside. The Methodist circuit riders were not permitted to use the worship facilities of existing denominations and often held "camp meetings" out of doors. In Talbot County these meetings were first held in Bayside on a farm near St. Michaels. The Bayside meeting Thomas Auld attended occurred on 16 August 1833. Following that date, Auld's name appears somewhat regularly as a member of various committees in the minutes of the quarterly meetings held for St. Michaels Methodist Circuit. Thomas H. Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism" (Sardis Chapel, M. E. Church, St. Michaels, Md., 1894), 551, 561–62, MdAA; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:302–05, 307.

83.39–84.1 Master Thomas came out with a profession of religion] Thomas Auld first appears in the records of the St. Michaels Methodist Circuit following the August 1833 camp meeting held at Bayside. Auld served on several committees for the circuit, including a planning committee for an 1836 camp meeting, but the circuit records do not show him as an exhorter or class leader. He may have served in those capacities, however, because in August 1836 he was listed as a steward, which was above both class leader and exhorter in the circuit hierarchy. Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 564.

84.21–22 narrow space…colored people] Black participation at camp meetings and similar religious services was heavily segregated in antebellum Maryland. A plank partition separated the seating arrangements between the races at camp meetings. In addition, blacks sat behind the preaching platform and whites in front. The partition was removed only on the last day of the meeting, when blacks circled the gathering and joined whites to worship and sing in a "ring shout." J. Gordon Melton, *A Will to Choose: The Origins of African American Methodism* (New York, 2007), 133–34; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground,* 35, 78; Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness,* 21–22.

85.16–17 "He can't go to heaven with our blood on his skirts,"] This quotation appeared in *My Bondage and My Freedom* as *"He can't go to heaven with our blood in his skirts,"* which may be an adaptation of Jer. 2:34, "Also in thy skirts is found the souls of the poor innocents." *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:112.

85.23–24 Methodist Discipline] Douglass quotes the written statement on the ineligibility of slaveholders for church membership guiding the clergy of the

Methodist Episcopal Church. The document, often referred to as the "Methodist Discipline," was actually *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 191–92.

86.10 fabled vine of Jack and the bean-stalk] An allusion to the nursery tale, popular among many peoples in varying forms. In the English version, Jack exchanges his poor mother's cow for a handful of beans that miraculously produce stalks reaching the sky. Jack climbs up them and steals treasures from the ogre's castle—a bag of gold, a wonderful lamp, and a hen that lays golden eggs, thus redeeming his family from poverty. Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 731.

86.19 Reverend George Cookman] Born into a wealthy family in Hull, England, George Cookman (1800–41) received a careful education and began working in his father's merchant firm by the age of twenty. In 1821–23 he visited the United States on business and during this sojourn became convinced of his duty to preach the gospel. Despite his father's protestations, he resolved to settle permanently in America and become a Methodist minister. Soon after migrating in 1825, Cookman became a popular figure in the Methodists' Philadelphia Conference, preaching throughout parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. His powerful sermons won him the position of chaplain to the U.S. Congress. As revivals were sweeping the Eastern Shore, Cookman became the minister of the St. Michaels Methodist Episcopal Church in the summer of 1829 and labored to hold it in the denomination. He remained in that position at least through the early 1830s. By 1830 Cookman was married and had two young sons. He had some antislavery leanings and apparently persuaded Samuel Harrison, one of Talbot County's largest slaveholders, to emancipate all his adult male slaves in his will. In March 1841 President William Henry Harrison entrusted Cookman with special dispatches to be delivered to England. Unfortunately, the *President* was lost at sea, and Cookman was among the 100 passengers who perished. 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 6; Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 665–67, 675–78, 680, 707; Matthew Simpson, ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism,* 5th rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1882), 255–56; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 114–15, 226; *ACAB,* 1:722.

86.20 Storks] The Reverend Levi Storks was the circuit preacher of the Talbot Circuit of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1832 and 1833. When the British invaded the Eastern Shore in 1814, Storks served as a private in a local regiment. In 1820 he was probably an overseer in Talbot County, and in 1834 he married Anne G. Nicholson. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 6; Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 717, 723; William M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812–1815* (Baltimore, 1913), 451; Edith G. Bevan, "Maryland Bookplates," *MdHM,* 39:93–94 (March 1944).

86.20 Uriey] In 1832 William Uriey (c. 1810–80) was a circuit preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church's Talbot Circuit, which included St. Michaels Parish. Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 717.

86.20 Hickey] William—or possibly Thomas—Hickey was a Methodist preacher who in the 1830s rode a circuit that included St. Michaels Parish. Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 723; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 114, 226.

86.20 Humphries] Joshua Humphries (c. 1801–79) entered the Methodist Episcopal ministry in 1829 and soon became a prominent member of that faith in Talbot County. In 1834 he was the presiding elder and circuit preacher for the Talbot Circuit. Humphries continued in charge in the Talbot Circuit in 1835, when he issued an important report on the state of Sunday schools. Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 675, 730; J[ames] M. McCarter and B[enjamin] F. Jackson, eds., *Historical and Biographical Encyclopaedia of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1882), 410.

86.20 Cooper] Ignatius Taylor Cooper (1806–?) was born in Dover, Delaware, and attended school there and later at Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland. Admitted to the bar in 1828, he began a promising career in Dover in law and politics. But Cooper converted to Methodism during revivals sweeping the area in 1831 and by 1834 abandoned his profession in order to devote himself fully to preaching the gospel. His first circuit appointment was in Talbot County, and his colleague was the Reverend Joshua Humphries. In 1837 he was assigned to Philadelphia, where he remained and ministered to a number of churches until his retirement in 1860, when he removed to Camden, Delaware. McCarter and Jackson, *Historical and Biographical Encyclopaedia of Delaware,* 249–51.

86.24 colonization ideas] Antislavery moderates saw colonization as one way to phase slavery out of the United States. The American Colonization Society, organized in 1816, bought tracts of land in West Africa for the purpose of African American emigration. This idea was challenged in the late 1820s and 1830s by such writers as David Walker and William Lloyd Garrison, who spoke out in favor of the immediate emancipation of slaves. The idea of colonization ebbed and resurged during the Civil War. The idea of colonizing African Americans in the Caribbean gained some support from Abraham Lincoln as well as Democrats and conservative Republicans. Some moderate antislavery advocates saw colonization as an alternative to immediate emancipation. Gerrit Smith was at one time a colonizationist. John R. McKivigan, *The War against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830–1865* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), 29–30; Walter M. Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide: A Biography of William Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 123; Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 1:33–35.

86.27 Samuel Harrison] Samuel Harrison (?–1837) was one of the wealthiest slaveholders in Talbot County. In 1802 he inherited a lucrative import and export business from his father, Thomas Harrison. He increased his fortune in the 1810s by lending money and supplies to those engaged in the then booming shipbuilding industry of Talbot County, and by 1830 he owned eighty-four slaves. At the request of his friend and confidant, the Reverend George Cookman, Harrison stipulated in his will that all adult male slaves were to be manumitted upon his death. 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 42; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:379, 383, 389–90, 397; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 115, 226.

86.36 Mason and Dixon's line] Disputes between Pennsylvania on the north and Maryland and Virginia on the south were resolved when English surveyors Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon determined and marked the precise borders between these colonies in 1763–67. Hubertis M. Cummings, *The Mason and Dixon Line: Story for a Bicentenary, 1763–1963* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1962).

86.38 the ill-fated steamship "President,"] The British steamship *President* departed New York on 10 March 1841 bound for Liverpool but never arrived. London *Times,* 26 March, 3, 5, 12 April 1841; *NCAB,* 13:167.

87.2 Sabbath-school] A school for moral and religious instruction, with the Bible as textbook, meeting on the Sabbath, under direction of the church and forming part of the regular services thereof. Joseph F. Anderson, *Methodist Dictionary: A Brief Work on Methodist Terminology* (New York, 1909), 77.

87.9 pious young man named Wilson] Nathan Wilson (c. 1797–c. 1861), an unmarried Quaker about fifty years old, taught at a local school for whites in the early 1840s near Denton in Caroline County, only a few miles from Talbot County. Although Quakerism was no longer the influential religious force on the Eastern Shore that it had been in the eighteenth century, numerous Quakers remained in the region, and some continued to argue against slavery and for teaching the slaves to read the scriptures. This particular teacher could plausibly have been interested in opening a Sabbath school for blacks, as could have any of the other various Quaker Wilsons who populated Talbot and other Eastern Shore counties. Among other local whites interested in black education was Louisa Hambleton, from the Eastern Shore's famous first family, who unsuccessfully attempted to open a Sabbath school for St. Michaels' slaves in 1843. Robert W. Todd, *Methodism of the Peninsula; or, Sketches of Notable Characters and Events* (Philadelphia, 1886), 249–53; Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 687; Kenneth Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore, 1970), 219, 245.

87.11 James Mitchell] James Mitchell (1809/10–?) was a free black sawyer born in Maryland who in 1850 lived in the St. Michaels district of Talbot County with his wife and four children. He was the brother of Peter Mitchell, who married Eliza Bailey, Douglass's sister. James and his brothers rented land from Samuel and John Hambleton. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 100; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 115, 164–65.

87.24 class-leaders] Appointed by the preacher in charge, a class leader conducts meetings for prayer, self-examination, and testimony, among members of the church, to whom he may give such advice, counsel, and encouragement from time to time as the individual cases may seem to require. He is essentially a subpastor. Anderson, *Methodist Dictionary,* 25.

87.24 Wrightson Fairbanks] Wrightson Fairbank or Fairbanks (c. 1806–?) was a resident of Talbot County who in 1850 worked as a merchant and headed a household that included his wife, four children, and two female relatives. He owned neither land nor slaves. Fairbanks was an active member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in St. Michaels and ran unsuccessfully for the board of trustees of the parish in September 1835. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 80; Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 725.

87.24 Garretson West] Garretson West (1800–53) was famous among Methodists in St. Michaels, Maryland, for his religious enthusiasm and moral zeal. Although he worked first as an oysterman and later as a teamster, West devoted himself primarily to spurring public prayer, exhorting the faithful at the Methodist classes he led, and—despite his illiteracy—conversing at length with others over the meaning of various biblical passages. In 1829 West was elected to the board of trustees of the Methodist church in St. Michaels and held that position until 1836. He also was appointed that church's sexton in 1830 and again in 1836. At the time of his death, West was married, had at least one child, and had accumulated little wealth. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 80; Todd, *Methodism of the Peninsula,* 113–23; Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism," 672–74, 680–81, 701, 707, 727; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:400–401; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 116.

87.28 I should get…did into him] One of the mob of supposedly pious men who disbanded Douglass's Sabbath school meeting at St. Michaels compares Douglass to Nat Turner, leader of the slave revolt that occurred in Southampton County, Virginia, from 21 to 23 August 1831. Turner's band, which consisted of no more than seventy followers, mostly slaves, killed at least fifty-seven whites before being dispersed and captured by the local militia. Approximately seventeen of Turner's followers were executed; the remainder were transported. Turner himself was not captured until October 1831; at that point he supposedly dictated his "Confessions" to a local lawyer. Tried and sentenced to death on 5 November 1831, Turner was executed by hanging on 11 November 1831. Although some accounts of the revolt discuss Turner's having been shot at, none confirms that he was injured by bullets. However, Douglass himself, in an address delivered in Boston, Massachusetts, on 30 May 1848, states, most likely for rhetorical purposes, that Turner was "pierced by a hundred American bullets" after his capture. Richmond *Enquirer,* 4 November 1831; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:131; Herbert Aptheker, *Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion* (New York, 1966); Henry Irving Tragle, comp., *The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831: A Compilation of Source Material* (Amherst, Mass., 1971); Oates, *Fires of Jubilee;* John W. Cromwell, "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection," *JNH,* 5:208–34 (April 1920); *ACAB,* 6:187; *DAB,* 19:69–70.

87.38 Henny] Henny Bailey.

88.2–4 "That servant…many stripes."] Luke 12:47.

88.5 joist] Timbers that stretch across a room parallel to one another to which a floor or ceiling is attached.

88.10 Sarah (Mrs. Cline)] Sarah Auld Cline (1811–?) was the fifth daughter of Hugh and Zipporah Auld and was the sister of Thomas. Auld Family Bible (courtesy of Dickson J. Preston).

88.30–31 Mr. Hambleton's] Probably William Hambleton.

90.34 Poplar Island] A low, wooded island, about two miles long and one-half mile wide, located in the Chesapeake Bay, off the coast of Talbot County, Maryland. Poplar Island is at the south entrance to the Eastern Bay, seventeen miles west of Easton. Leon E. Seltzer, ed., *The Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World* (1952; New York, 1970), 1499; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2481.

90.35 Keat Point] Actually Kent Island, the largest and most historic of Chesapeake Bay islands. Today the island is the eastern anchor of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 929; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1534.

91.4 Covey] In *My Bondage and My Freedom,* Douglass gave the woman's first name as Susan, but no further biographical information is available. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:124.

91.4 Kemp] Elizabeth Doyle Kemp (c. 1787–?) probably owned a farm adjacent to the farm that Edward Covey rented from her son, John. Married to the shipbuilder Thomas Kemp in Baltimore in November 1809, Elizabeth moved with him in 1816 to a 236-acre farm, Wades Point, west of the town of St. Michaels in Talbot County. After his death in March 1824, most of his property was divided between his two eldest sons, Thomas and John, but provisions were also made for Elizabeth. In 1830 she was the head of a household that comprised five white males, two white females, six male slaves, and three female slaves. 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 38; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 118; M. Florence Bourne, "Thomas Kemp, Shipbuilder, and His Home, Wades Point," *MdHM,* 49:271–89 (December 1954).

91.5–6 Bill Smith] Bill Smith (1804–?) was a slave owned by Samuel Harrison of Rich Neck Manor and hired out as a servant to Edward Covey in 1834. Smith probably received his freedom in 1837, as Samuel Harrison's will stipulated that all adult male slaves should be freed upon his death. Simpson, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism,* 225; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 119, 122–23, 128, 226.

91.20 wales] A streak or ridge raised on the skin by the stroke of a whip.

91.36–37 "in hand," and…"off hand" ox] In a team of harnessed animals, the in-hand one is directly under control of the driver. Harold Merton Chesley, *Do It with Oxen* (Dora, Mo., 1975), 22–23.

92.8 "whoa," "back," "gee," and "hither,"] The command "hither" calls a team to or toward a place; "whoa" is a command to stop; "gee" is a command to turn right. Chesley, *Do It with Oxen,* 22–23.

93.12 cart body] Part of the vehicle that holds the load.

93.13 axle-tree] Wheel axle.

93.21 cut up a caper] The act of dancing in a frolicsome manner. The phrase is also used in a more general sense to describe odd behavior, as in "He cuts strange capers."

94.28 black gum tree] A tree of the eastern, central, and southern United States having close-grained wood, egg-shaped leaves, and small blue-black fruits with nearly ribless stones.

94.29 *ox goads*] Rods or sticks, fitted with a spike at one end.

95.16 a very Turk] One who is cruel, hardhearted, or tyrannical.

97.37 few rods] A rod equals sixteen and a half feet, or about five meters.

98.24 North Point] North Point, on the Chesapeake Bay east of Baltimore, is located at the mouth of the Patapsco River at the tip of Patapsco River Neck. To reach northern ports from Baltimore, ships traveled around North Point and headed north on the bay to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, which opened to navigation in 1830. Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* map preceding p. 13; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860* (New York, 1951), 41–42.

98.26–27 I shall not be required to have a pass] The laws and social customs of the South gave whites the authority to stop any African American deemed suspicious. In the early nineteenth century most southern states enacted pass laws that required blacks to carry proof of their free status. Failure to produce this evidence would result in arrest. Any white person could arrest a suspected fugitive or discipline any slave. In many states, blacks who lost their free papers would be treated as a slave until their free status was proven. Although any white could make an arrest, formal power usually rested with locally organized patrols of men who rode through a district, arrested runaways, stopped any slaves away from their home plantation to examine their passes, and generally instilled fear in the black population. Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1974), 94–95; Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820–1860* (New York, 1964), 80–81.

99.35 feeding the "fan,"] Supplying any of the various devices used in the winnowing process to separate the wheat from the chaff in the milling process.

104.22–24 "bind heavy burdens…of their fingers."] Douglass slightly misquotes Matt. 23:4.

106.18 William Groomes of Easton] William H. Groomes (1787/88–?) was a longtime resident of Talbot County who had fought with the local militia during the War of 1812 and afterward became a prominent merchant in Easton. By 1850 Groomes was married with three children, owned seven slaves, and held real estate valued at $27,000. During the Civil War, his wealth and that of many others increased as a result of the economic boom on the Eastern Shore from supplying the federal army. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 67 (free schedule), 25 (slave schedule); Preston and Harrington, *Talbot County,* 225; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:189.

106.19 "Sandy."] Sandy Jenkins was a slave owned by William Groomes of Easton, Maryland, who often hired him out to farmers in Talbot County. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 125–26, 131, 134–36, 138–39, 227.

106.19 Kemp] Douglass here refers to John Kemp, the son of the shipbuilder Thomas Kemp, who inherited Thomas's 236-acre homestead upon his death in 1824. According to the federal census, Kemp had three free blacks living in his household in 1830 who probably were hired hands. It would thus be no surprise if he also hired slaves such as Sandy annually. By 1841 Kemp was a prosperous Eastern Shore farmer

with a large variety of domestic animals, several outbuildings, an orchard of 250 trees, and "eight head of blacks." 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 31; Bourne, "Thomas Kemp," 287–88.

106.22 "Poppie Neck,"] Pot-pie Neck is a local name for a section of the Tilghman Peninsula west of Harris Creek in Talbot County, Maryland. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 227.

107.5 Hugh Hambleton] Hugh Hambleton of St. Michaels was a member of an old Eastern Shore family whose local roots reached back to the mid-seventeenth century. In 1840 he was married and had at least four children and eight slaves. 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 40.

107.19 "Pot-pie" river] This is a local nickname for Cummings Creek. The headwaters of Cummings Creek begin at the town of Wittman, which is called Pot Pie by local residents. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 126.

108.36–37 had more respect for the day than for the man] Douglass paraphrases Mark 2:27.

109.21 throwing down some blades] Douglass was probably feeding the horses corn or hay. The term blades can refer to the leaves of a cereal grass or corn.

109.25 slip-knot] A knot tied so it slips along one line.

110.14 cousin Hughes] William Hughes.

110.17–18 "might as well…as a lamb."] English proverb dating to the seventeenth century. G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases: A Historical Dictionary* (London, 1929), 562.

111.1 Hemsley] Philemon Hemsley (?–c. 1822) was a member of an old Eastern Shore family and the son of William Hemsley (1736/37–1812), a prominent Maryland legislator and prosperous Queen Anne County planter. In 1813 Philemon married the former Ann Fiddeman and by 1820 had become a wealthy planter in his own right in Talbot County, owning thirty-three slaves. After his death, the size of his estate diminished; by 1830 Ann was left with only three female slaves. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 46; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 3; Edward C. Papenfuse et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789,* 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1979–1985), 1:432–33.

111.27 Samuel Harrison] Originally identified by Douglass as Samuel Harris, the slaveholder to whom Douglass referred was Samuel Harrison.

112.32–33 law of Maryland…resisted his master] According to Maryland law, death was the punishment for any slave who refused to surrender himself or herself or resisted apprehension. The code permitted the pursuer of a resisting slave to "shoot, kill, and destroy such negro or negroes." *General Public Statutory Law and Public Local Law of Maryland,* 1:65.

113.12–13 "Hereditary bondmen, know…strike the blow?"] Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* Canto II, stanza LXXVI.

114.8–9 days between Christmas…slaves as holidays] In the antebellum South, many slaveholders celebrated Christmas by engaging in sensual overindulgence and

encouraging it in their slaves. Typically, slaves were free from labor, free to sleep in, and free to travel. They might visit family on other plantations or attend religious revival meetings. Some owners allowed slaves to sell their labor and whatever wares they might have produced during the course of the year. Douglass believed that slaveholders encouraged dancing, sexual relations, and drinking among slaves to degrade them. However, many blacks eagerly partook in the merrymaking because drinking, dancing, and marriages were forbidden on most plantations the remainder of the year. Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York, 1996), 258–301; Penne L. Restad, *Christmas in America* (New York, 1995), 75–95.

114.27 "jubilee beating"] Because slaves seldom had the means to obtain many musical instruments, they often improvised and used their feet to tap out a tune in coordination. "Patting juba," or jubilee beating, as Douglass called it, took the form of a variety of dances that were usually accompanied by song. During holidays, and especially Christmas, dances and parties were common on southern plantations. Some favorite "patting juba" dances included "Cuttin' the Pigeon Wings," which found the dancers flapping their arms as well as "patting" with their feet; and "Set de Flo," which involved couples facing each other in turn while "patting" the floor. Blassingame, *Slave Community,* 125; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 572–73.

116.27–28 Mr. William Freeland's] Douglass refers to the farm of William Freeland, the son of William and Elizabeth Freeland of Talbot County, Maryland. He was a modestly prosperous farmer and slaveowner near St. Michaels. The 1820 U.S. census lists William as a young adult between sixteen and twenty-five years of age. Between 1820 and 1830, and perhaps later, he lived in a household headed by his mother. They shared their home with two white boys and six slaves. By 1830 the Freelands' household had shrunk: Elizabeth and William now lived with only one young white man and four slaves. 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 10; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 35.

117.4 "trifles light as air."] *Othello,* sc. 9, line 1774.

117.37–39 "Howbeit, that was…which is spiritual."] 1 Cor. 15:46.

118.11 Father Lawson] Charles Lawson.

119.26–27 the great…for himself] Inspired by John 5:39, popular tradition considers the "priesthood of all believers" or the "universal priesthood" as one of the three foundational points of Protestant theology, along with biblical authority and salvation through faith. The concept of universal or common priesthood has been interpreted as conveying each believer's direct access to God without the mediation of priests. While Martin Luther, in his writings between 1520 and 1533, does argue that the laity partakes in the spiritual estate to the same extent as "priests" do, he does not contend that all those baptized are able to or should preach. In fact, Luther's writings indicate that he retained a clear distinction between the office of ministry and the congregation. However, subsequent interpretations of Protestant doctrine advocate practices (Methodism's commission of lay preachers and the Quaker meeting, for example) that collapse this distinction. Norman Nagel, "Luther and the Priesthood of

All Believers," *Concordia Theological Quarterly,* 61:277–98 (October 1997); B. A. Gerrish, "Priesthood and Ministry in the Theology of Luther," *CH,* 34:404–22 (December 1965).

124.20–21 "A man…be guilty,"] The most concise statement of this fundamental legal principle is in the anonymously authored public letters from "Junius" to leading eighteenth-century English government officials. In his letter to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield of 21 January 1772, "Junius" declared that "favorable circumstances, alleged before the judge, may justify a doubt whether the prisoner be guilty or not; and where the guilt is doubtful, a presumption of innocence should in general, be admitted." *Junius: Stat Nominus Umbra,* 2 vols. (1797; London, 1801), 2:242.

124.37–38 "O Canaan…of Canaan,"] Douglass quotes a variation of the spiritual "Sweet Canaan." A published version includes the lyrics "Oh, de land I am bound for, Sweet Canaan's happy land I am bound for." Thomas P. Fenner, ed., *Religious Folk Songs of the Negro as Sung on the Plantations* (Hampton, Va., 1909), 62.

125.3–9 "I thought I heard…Much longer here,"] From "Run to Jesus," a song Douglass gave to the Fisk University "Jubilee Singers." The group's biographer notes that Douglass presented them with the song in Washington, D.C., with the statement that it "first suggested to him the thought of escaping from slavery." J. B. T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers; with Their Songs,* rev. ed. (Boston, 1880), 188.

125.31 contemplated departure out of our Egypt] An allusion to the Israelites departing Egypt under the leadership of Moses, as recounted in Exodus.

126.24–25 Hired kidnappers infested the borders] The plantation aristocracies developed watch systems: during their normal correspondences and social visits, plantation owners exchanged information about how, when, where, and why their slaves escaped. Southern states established a system of patrols that guarded the borders and actively pursued slaves. These paramilitary organizations had legal authority to search almost anywhere for fugitive slaves. Several states passed complementary laws that provided lucrative rewards for the return of escapees. These complementary laws caused the kidnapping of freedmen in free states with increasing frequency. As a response, a new occupation arose: slave catcher. Typically, the slave catcher was an impoverished white nonslaveholder in great need of the substantial reward the return of a fugitive slave could afford him. John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York, 1999), 149–82; Stanley W. Campbell, *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850–1860* (1968; Chapel Hill, N.C., 1970), 10–11; Carol Wilson, *Freedom at Risk: The Kidnapping of Free Blacks in America, 1780–1865* (Lexington, Ky., 1994), 2, 40, 58–59, 117.

127.28–29 "Rather bear the ills…we knew not of."] Slightly misquotes *Hamlet,* sc. 8, lines 1619–20.

127.36 Patrick Henry] Patrick Henry (1736–99), a Virginia patriot, lawyer, and Revolutionary statesman, attended the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia and was governor of Virginia from 1776 to 1779. Douglass paraphrases Patrick Henry's speech in a Virginia revolutionary convention on 23 March 1775. William Wirt, *The Life and Character of Patrick Henry,* rev. ed. (New York, 1832); *DAB,* 7:554–59.

132.15 constable] Constables were the first law-enforcement officials in the American colonies. Their duties varied, but generally constables sealed weights and measures, surveyed land, announced marriages, executed warrants, meted out punishment, and kept the peace. The emergence of centralized police forces in the mid-nineteenth century minimized the necessity for constables. William G. Bailey, *The Encyclopedia of Police Science,* 2d ed. (New York, 1995), 114–15.

132.17 Tom Graham] Thomas Graham was the constable for St. Michaels Parish in 1833 and the next-door neighbor of Thomas Auld. In 1830 he was between the ages of forty and fifty, married, the father of one son, and the owner of one female slave. He appears to have died between 1840 and 1850, as he was not listed in the census for the latter year. After the publication of the *Narrative,* Graham publicly disputed Douglass's characterization of his treatment by Auld. 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 39; 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 48a; *Lib.,* 20 February 1846; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 116, 136–37.

133.12 Betsey Freeland] Elizabeth Freeland was one of eleven children born to William and Nancy Needle Hambleton of Old Martingham, Talbot County, Maryland. As a Hambleton, she joined a clan of prominent landowners, merchants, and professionals. She married William Freeland of Talbot County, who died between 1810 and 1820. She is listed in the 1820 U.S. Census as the head of a household that included three white boys, a young white adult male, and six slaves. She appears again in 1830, presiding over a home that included two white men and four slaves. One of those white men was her son, William. 1810 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 338; 1820 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 10; 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 35; Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:455–58.

134.11 "the day of the oppressor will come at last."] A loose paraphrase of Job 15:20.

135.20 Joseph Graham] Joseph Graham (c. 1797–?) was the sheriff of Talbot County in 1836. By 1830 he was married and the father of two young daughters. Graham was still alive in 1878 when Douglass returned to visit Talbot County. 1830 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 36; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 139, 190.

135.25 imps] Children of the devil, particularly applied to fiends or evil spirits.

136.20 Sol. Lowe's hotel] Solomon Lowe was a prominent tavernkeeper in Easton, Maryland, for more than thirty years. The first of several taverns he operated was across from the Easton courthouse and began operations as early as 1802. In 1814 he opened a larger tavern and hostelry, called the Union Tavern, on the northeast corner of Washington and Goldsborough Streets, but sometime later moved his operations to a larger brick hotel that boasted twenty-two rooms at the corner of Washington and Federal Streets. Wherever its location, Lowe's tavern was a popular hall for balls, banquets, and foxhunts. It was also known to be headquarters for out-of-town slave

traders and traveling salesmen. The establishment served as the office for the local newspaper and the site of the annual slave auction, which was first held at the tavern in 1818. Leonard, *Tavern in the Town,* 153–54; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 78.

139.20 "Cousin Tom"] Tom Bailey.

139.33 "Little Tommy"] Thomas Auld, Jr.

140.12 since heard of his death] Thomas Auld, Jr., drowned at sea on 3 February 1848. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 148.

140.21 professedly for the Mexican government] Baltimore was a substantial shipbuilding center, and it is likely that Gardner's shipyard completed commissions for foreign governments as Douglass suggests. In the late 1820s and 1830s, Baltimore shipbuilders launched steamboats for domestic transport, merchant ships for U.S. and British firms, and even a gun-ship for the Brazilian government. Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* 293.

140.33 cant] To tilt or turn over.

140.38 cold-chisel] A strong chisel entirely of iron or steel highly tempered, so as to cut cold iron.

141.2 *bowse*] To haul an object by means of a tackle.

141.16–18 In the country…seen pretty clearly] Early in the nineteenth century, slave labor was not considered a serious competitive threat by most skilled white workers in the South, but as the pressures of expanded commerce and industry reached the South, white labor began to complain of competition from inexpensive slave labor. In some areas, slaveholders pitted skilled slaves directly against white artisan workers, a strategy that added to the growing feelings of hostility. White workers responded to the threat of competition from slave labor in several ways. In cities, where competition was especially intense, white workers sometimes vandalized or destroyed buildings erected by black carpenters, or otherwise damaged work completed by slave labor. Hostility was sometimes expressed in direct physical confrontation with slave workers, and many white workers simply refused to work in a racially mixed setting. White labor also mobilized politically against the threat posed by both slave labor and that of free black workers. Artisan workers frequently petitioned southern state legislatures and lobbied for laws restricting the use of slaves in certain occupations. As Douglass suggests, it was common for white wage laborers to adopt the concept of "white slavery" to describe their subordinate position in industrializing America. The use of the term and the implied comparison between wage labor and black slavery was popularized during the 1830s campaign for the ten-hour day. By the middle of the nineteenth century reformers, labor leaders, and other activists expanded the concept of "white slavery" to include the plight of debtors, small employers, and even slaveholders, as well as wage laborers. The concept was attributed to any white men or women who faced political, economic, or social constraints from the wealthy and privileged in American society. Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York, 1990), 122–23; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness,* 66–67, 71–73; Berlin, *Slaves without Masters,* 96–97; James Sidbury, "Slave Artisans in Richmond, Virginia, 1780–1810," in *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850,* ed. Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher (Baltimore, 1995), 53–54.

142.3 Baltimore] Douglass was apprenticed as a ship's caulker in William Gardner's Baltimore shipyard soon after he was sent back to that city in late spring 1836 as punishment for his failed escape attempt. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 59–60; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 143–44, 200.

142.21 Dunkin] Levin H. Dunkin (c. 1795–?) was a successful Fells Point shipbuilder who specialized in constructing the fleet Baltimore clippers. Between 1835 and 1848 his yard was at the southeast corner of Thames and Wolf Streets. In 1836 he finished the *Emanuel,* which was used in the illegal Atlantic slave trade. He also built at least three schooners for Texas in 1839 after that territory achieved independence from Mexico. In 1848 Dunkin built the *Isabel,* the first ocean steamboat constructed in Baltimore. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1835–6,* 75; 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Baltimore 57; Howard I. Chapelle, *The Search for Speed under Sail, 1700–1855* (New York, 1967), 302; Norman G. Rukert, *The Fells Point Story* (Baltimore, 1976), 47, 113; John W. McGrain, "English Consul and the Labyrinth of Local Records," *MdHM,* 84:62–63, 65 (Spring 1989).

142.22 Walter Price] Walter Price (1794–c. 1840), whose family had long been engaged in shipbuilding, operated a yard on Fell Street south of Thames Street along the waterfront in the 1830s. By the latter part of the decade, a number of Baltimore shipbuilders had begun construction of fast clippers that found their way into the international slave trade. Brazilian and Cuban slave traders prized these ships for their ability to evade the British blockade of Africa's Slave Coast. Benjamin Auld thought that Hugh Auld began working for Walter Price about 1834, after serving a short period as a master builder in partnership with Edward Harrison. Both Auld and Douglass worked for Price during the construction of at least three ships, which he covertly sold in Cuba or Brazil. Benjamin F. Auld to Douglass, 27 September 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frames 257–58, FD Papers, DLC; *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1837–8,* 258; *Maryland, Births and Christenings Index, 1662–1911* (online); Chapelle, *Speed under Sail,* 297–312; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 145–47, 228.

142.22 Robb] John A. Robb (1791–?) was a very successful Fells Point shipbuilder who specialized in constructing the Baltimore clippers. In 1836 and 1838 he built the *Viper* and the *Clara,* which were used in the illegal Atlantic slave trade. In 1839 he finished at least two schooners for the navy of the new Texas republic. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1831,* 314; 1860 U.S. Census, Maryland, Baltimore County, 124 (free schedule); Chapelle, *Speed under Sail,* 302; McGrain, "English Consul," 62–63, 65.

142.39–143.1 Edward North] Edward North, Jr., was a carpenter who in 1845 lived in Fells Point at 227 Aliceanna Street. He probably is the Ned North who brutally attacked Douglass at Gardner's shipyard. *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1845* (Baltimore, 1845), 87.

143.6 Bill Stewart] William Stewart was an apprentice carpenter in 1833 and lived near the corner of Paca and Pratt Streets. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1833,* 174.

143.11 hand-spike] A wooden bar or pale used as a lever or as a support.

143.37 keelson] A longitudinal structure in the framing of a wooden ship, fastened to the keel by long bolts passing through the floor timbers. The keelson helps to prevent deformations in the hold's frame by distributing the effect of concentrated loads over considerable length.

143.39 adze] A cutting tool that has a thin arched blade sharpened on the concave side and set at right angles to the handle; used for rough-shaping wood.

144.1 maul] A massive, heavy hammer commonly made of wood and used in driving piles in shipbuilding and various operations aboard ship.

144.7 lynch law] The actual individual from whom the term "lynch law" derived its name has been disputed, but the expression was in common use by the early nineteenth century as a description for the punishment of individuals without due process of law. David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979), 762–64.

144.38 Esquire Watson's] William H. Watson (?–1846) was a justice of the peace and prominent attorney who lived at 76 Bond Street in Baltimore's Fells Point district in the late 1830s. He joined a Baltimore volunteer battalion as a captain during the war with Mexico. Watson quickly rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel but died in the Battle of Monterey in October 1846. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1837–8,* 321; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore,* 516–17; Morris L. Radoff, ed., *The Old Line State: A History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1971), 258.

145.6–7 I cannot move…of white witnesses."] In Maryland slaves were forbidden to testify in any legal cases involving whites, although they were permitted to testify in cases involving free blacks. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage,* 2:20; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 446.

145.34 City Block] To reduce the frequency of yellow fever epidemics, a marshy area between Fells Point and Baltimore's central city was dredged in the 1820s to form the City Dock, also called the "City Block," which added to the Fells Point wharf area. A drawbridge at the entrance to the City Dock connected Block Street in Fells Point to the Basin area wharves. Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* 54, 59–60, 292–94; Olson, *Baltimore,* 52–53, 85.

146.5–6 I sought…own earnings] In the urban South masters commonly hired their slaves out to other employers for specified periods. The less common practice of allowing their slaves to seek their own employment and pay their masters a specified sum grew over time, causing public fears that it would undermine the slave system itself. The Maryland legislature periodically passed legislation to control or abolish this practice, with little result. Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889), 104–08, 174; Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York, 1970), 128–37; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities,* 38–54.

146.14 cipher] To work out elementary arithmetic.

146.16–17 "East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society."] The East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society was a debating club that Douglass joined in the 1830s. The group was one of several literary, or debating, societies formed by free blacks in antebellum Baltimore. These societies aimed to educate and provide a source of moral and mental uplift for members. Group activities included reading and critiquing famous works of fiction and poetry, debating current events, and sponsoring lectures on topics of interest to members. Douglass was the only enslaved member of the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society, which met in various homes and buildings. The group debated topics ranging from the principles of theology to the legal status of blacks in Maryland. It was at one of the society's social gatherings that Douglass met his first wife, Anna Murray. Other members of the society included James Mingo, William E. Lloyd, William Chester, Joseph Lewis, and Henry Rolles. Phillips, *Freedom's Port,* 72–73; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 148–49.

148.7–12 The railroad…equally stringent] The antebellum practice of segregating free blacks from white passengers on all means of public transportation was common nationwide. On account of the frequency of escape attempts by slaves in the counties of Maryland closest to Pennsylvania, the state legislature and the Baltimore city council passed numerous laws and ordinances curtailing free blacks' rights and requiring them to carry "free papers" on their person while traveling. Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream* (Chicago, 1981), 90–91; Berlin, *Slaves without Masters,* 211, 317; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground,* 34–35, 41, 79–80.

149.8–9 Some slaves…their freedom] Self-hiring enabled a small but significant number of slaves to gain their freedom, especially in urban areas, where skilled artisans could command a significant wage. Such self-purchase was only one avenue to manumission available to Maryland slaves. Alarmed by the increase in the state's free black population, the legislature passed numerous laws to restrict manumission and to encourage freed slaves to leave the state. An 1832 act, for example, outlawed manumission of slaves older than forty-five to prevent older free blacks from becoming a burden on the state. Opposition to manumission in Maryland steadily grew, culminating in an act in 1860 to prohibit the practice altogether. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground,* 10, 27–28, 32, 46–48, 81–82, 84; Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 1:330–32, 2:456–61.

151.19 Butler] Samuel Butler, a Baltimore ship carpenter, established a shipyard in 1819 in partnership with Robert Lambdin. Apparently Lambdin moved to St. Michaels, Talbot County, in 1830 while maintaining his financial interest in the yard. Butler remained to manage the operation throughout the 1830s, during which time it launched the noted ship *Catherine.* Entries for Samuel Butler, a ship carpenter on Exeter Street, and Robert Lamden, a ship carpenter on City Block, appear in the 1840 city directory. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1840–1* (Baltimore, n.d.), 86, 221; Chapelle, *Speed under Sail,* 302; John Philips Cranwell, ed., "Ship-Building on the

Chesapeake: Recollections of Robert Dawson Lambdin," *MdHM,* 36:172 (June 1941); Lewis Addison Beck, Jr., "Seaman and the Seaman's Bride, Baltimore Clipper Ships," *MdHM,* 51:305 (December 1956).

151.21 float-stage] A raftlike wooden structure alongside a vessel used by seamen and shipyard workers making repairs. René de Kerchove, *International Maritime Dictionary,* 2d ed. (New York, 1961), 294.

151.38 "underground railroad."] The term "underground railroad" referred to various modes of escape from slavery to the free states of the North and to Canada. The origin of the term is unknown, but it appears to have entered common usage by the 1830s. The Underground Railroad consisted of routes and safe houses where fugitives could obtain assistance from abolitionists and other sympathizers. Contrary to popular belief, the escape routes were not underground. The term "underground" refers rather to the need for secrecy to accomplish successful flight. The number of slaves who traveled the Underground Railroad is also not certain. Census figures supported the number of 1,000 slaves escaping per year. Considered the largest example of civil disobedience since the American Revolution, the Underground Railroad also provided an opening for women to participate in a social movement and helped pave the way for women's rights. Those who participated in the Underground Railroad provided their services through delivering messages and allowed fugitives passage on ships. Even slaves who did not escape helped direct fugitives to safe havens. The Underground Railroad provided a moral check to the proslavery federal government, as participants acted on the higher authority for human rights rather than on the authority of a government of oppression. Fergus Bordewich, *Bound for Canaan: The Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America's First Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 2005), 4–6, 438–39; Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington, Ky., 1967), 1, 7, 17, 18, 91, 144, 189.

153.17–19 Murder itself was…of a slave] Douglass exaggerates. Whereas the crime of murder was subject to a maximum of capital punishment, assisting of fugitive slaves to escape in the state of Maryland was met, according to law, with imprisonment. In 1818 the state of Maryland passed "An act entitled, A further additional supplement to the act entitled, An act concerning Crimes and Punishments," which imposed a penalty of up to six years' imprisonment to any free person in Maryland for the enticing, persuading, or assisting of runaway slaves. Three decades later, in 1849, the state law became more severe, increasing the prison sentence for the assisting of runaway slaves to a span of from six to fifteen years. *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* (1817), chap. 157; *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* (1850), chap. 296.

153.20 Charles T. Torrey] Douglass refers to Charles Turner Torrey (1813–46), born in Massachusetts and educated at Yale, who while a student at Andover Theological Seminary organized an antislavery society there. Later a Congregational minister, Torrey was one of the leaders of the anti-Garrisonian faction in Massachusetts and served as the agent of the Massachusetts Abolition Society and as the first editor of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist.* Torrey left that paper in 1841 to go to Washington, D.C., as a freelance reporter. In Annapolis, Maryland, the following year, he was arrested as an abolitionist while reporting a "Convention of Slaveholders" and was acquitted after a brief trial. Returning north for a short while to edit the Albany *Patriot,* Torrey moved to Baltimore around 1843 to engage in business and to carry out his scheme for transporting fugitive slaves to the free states along a prearranged route. It is said that in two years he helped about 400 slaves from Maryland and Virginia to escape. Arrested for this activity in 1844 and defended by Reverdy Johnson, Torrey was convicted and sentenced to six years' hard labor. He died of tuberculosis in a Baltimore prison. J. C. Lovejoy, *Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey, Who Died in the Penitentiary of Maryland, Where He Was Confined for Showing Mercy to the Poor* (Boston, 1847); Filler, *Crusade against Slavery,* 163–64; *DAB,* 18:595–96.

154.23 a sailor's protection] "Seamen's Protection Certificates" were issued to American seamen, both white and black, to protect merchant sailors from being unduly seized when working. A typical certificate identified its holder's name, age, place of birth, height, and any distinguishing physical features, such as tattoos or scars; nonwhites were additionally required to provide a racial designation. The certificate was signed (or marked) by its holder and included the signature of a witness attesting to the truth of the certificate's information. Because the protection granted its holders American citizenship, many blacks applied for the certificates. The advantages of protection became more and more limited for blacks after South Carolina passed its Negro Seamen Acts in 1822, which prohibited black sailors from debarking in the state's ports. Alabama, Louisiana, and the Spanish Caribbean colonies followed suit with their own variations of the law in the 1830s and 1840s. Despite these restrictions, African Americans often invoked the certificates as evidence of their citizenship rights. W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 5, 199–200; Ira Dye, "Early American Merchant Seafarers," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 120:332–33 (October 1976).

154.31 Isaac Rolls] Isaac Rolls (c. 1799–?) was a free black cab driver, or hackman, in Baltimore at the time of Douglass's flight from slavery. Until 1870 the U.S. Census recorded his name as "Isaac Roles." He was married to Lucretia Johnson. 1840 U.S. Census, Maryland, Baltimore County, 13; 1860 U.S. Census, Maryland, Baltimore County, 268; 1870 U.S. Census, Maryland, Baltimore County, 220.

154.31 hackman] Driver of a hackney-carriage; a cabman.

155.1 "those who go down to the sea in ships."] Ps. 107:23.

155.1–2 "Free trade and sailors' rights"] "Free trade and sailors' rights" refers to the slogan adopted by America during the War of 1812. "Free trade" refers to the ability of one nation to conduct its commercial affairs without interference by a foreign power, and "sailors' rights" refers to the practice of impressment aboard American and British ships. Before and during the War of 1812, it became a war cry

of the Americans and could often be seen on banners flying above American ships. Ransom H. Gillet, *Democracy in the United States* (New York, 1868), 41–42; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812,* 2 vols. (London, 1905), 1:135–36; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), 156–57.

155.3–4 tarpaulin hat] Hat worn by sailors, made of canvas impregnated with tar to make it waterproof.

155.4 black cravat] An article of clothing, usually worn by men, tied around the neck.

155.6 stem to stern] Fore to aft, or front to back.

155.6 cross-trees] Crosstrees are the two horizontal struts at the upper ends of the topmasts of sailboats.

155.7 "old salt."] A common nickname for a well-seasoned sailor.

155.8 Havre de Grace] A community in northeast Maryland on the Chesapeake Bay. Originally settled in 1658, it was incorporated as a town in 1785, burned by the British in the War of 1812, and rebuilt. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 767.

155.34 "rig,"] Slang for a nautical uniform.

156.9 Susquehanna river] The Susquehanna River originates at Otsego Lake, in central New York, then winds 444 miles south through the Allegheny Mountains in Pennsylvania, emptying into the Chesapeake Bay near Havre de Grace, Maryland. This shallow, rock-filled river is unsuitable for navigation throughout almost its entire length. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3060.

156.18 Captain McGowan] Captain John McGowan (1805–91), a well-known U.S. revenue marine officer, lived in Baltimore at the time of Douglass's escape from slavery; he had recently been promoted to captain. His career included service both as a revenue cutter captain, aboard the *Polk,* and in the Navy in both the Mexican and Civil Wars. At the outbreak of the Civil War, McGowan gained the national spotlight briefly as the commander of the *Star of the West,* a merchant steamer. With Fort Sumter under siege, President Buchanan ordered McGowan to resupply the fort, but the rebel batteries in Charleston's harbor cut off their progress. His ship was the first to take rebel fire in the war. His son, John, Jr., followed his father into the Navy, advancing to the rank of rear admiral by 1904. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 21 January 1891; Ellen McGowan Biddle, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife* (1907; Mechanicsburg, Pa., 2002), x, xi, 73; Steven D. Glazer, "John McGowan," in *New Jersey Goes to War: Biographies of 150 New Jerseyans,* ed. Joseph G. Bilby (Hightstown, N.J., 2010), 80.

156.33 Quaker city] Quaker City is the nickname attributed to Philadelphia. Founded in 1682 by William Penn, Philadelphia, meaning the "City of Brotherly Love," was established as a safe haven for the peace-loving Quakers. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2423.

156.34–35 Willow street depot] The Willow Street Depot was located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The city's original railroad line traveled through Philadelphia from Eighth Street to Broad, up Broad to Willow, out to Fairmount and the Columbia Railroad Bridge across the Schuylkill, and then up the inclined plane to Belmont and to the West. Francis Burke Brandt and Henry Volkmar Gummere, *Byways and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1925), 206.

157.9–10 one more added to the mighty throng] At the time of Douglass's arrival in 1838, New York City was America's largest, with a population of approximately 300,000. Burgeoning with new immigrant populations from Germany and Ireland, the city had become home to peoples from across Europe. The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Wards, located south of Canal Street, were the city's most densely populated and the homes of the majority of the newly immigrated. Douglass found himself in the midst of this community; Ruggles's home on Lispenard Street was one block south of Canal Street. New York *Times,* 17 July 1921; Jay P. Dolan, "Immigrants in the City: New York's Irish and German Catholics," *CH,* 41:354–55 (September 1972).

157.11 lofty walls of Broadway] Central to the culture and business of nineteenth-century New York City, Broadway bustled with activity. The avenue was marked with stores, fancy hotels, and theaters that provided inexpensive entertainment to New Yorkers of all social classes. In 1836 John Jacob Astor opened a six-story 300-room hotel on Broadway, just west of City Hall Park. Called first the Park Hotel, and later renamed the Astor House, it would be the most prestigious hotel in the nation for many decades. Broadway was a center of constant activity, and trying to cross the street was considered risky because it was crowded with carriages and omnibuses. The street was home to America's first department stores and gained a reputation as a fashionable shopping district by midcentury. The five-block strip intersected by Canal, Grand, Broome, Spring, Prince, and Houston Streets was an especially popular area for window-shoppers who found Broadway to be the perfect promenade. Broadway became a more serious business district as it reached beyond the City Hall Park area, where publishers, law firms, and newspapers found a fashionable address for their business. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), 404, 436, 600, 668, 692.

157.21–22 "quick round of blood,"] Douglass possibly quotes a passage in Philip James Bailey's (1816–1902) epic poem *Festus,* which first appeared anonymously in 1839: "Life's more than breath, and the quick round of blood;/ It is a great spirit and a busy heart./ The coward and the small in soul scarce do live./ One generous feeling—one great thought—one deed/ Of good, ere night, would make life longer seem/ Than if each year might number a thousand days." Philip James Bailey, *Festus,* 8th ed. (London, 1866), 47.

157.24–25 "I felt…hungry lions"] Douglass alludes to the story of Daniel and the lions' den. Dan. 6:1–28.

158.12 Allender] A Dr. Joseph Allender lived in Fells Point at Thames and Market Streets at least through the early 1830s. Douglass lived in a house owned by Dr. Allender on Philpot Street when the Aulds moved to it in the late 1820s. Douglass to Benjamin F. Auld, 24 March 1894, SC-163, Mrs. Howard V. Hall Collection of Auld Family Papers, MdAA; *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827,* 14.

158.16–17 southerners returning from the watering places north] Wealthy southerners frequently traveled to fashionable northern watering places, including Saratoga Springs, Balston, Newport, and Cape May. Known for the medicinal qualities of their mineral water, these resort communities promised visitors relief from such ailments and diseases as dyspepsia, constipation, rheumatism, joint ailments, diabetes, and vertigo. But many southern visitors to resorts such as Saratoga Springs did not use the waters as an excuse for vacationing there. The ability to mix with others of high social standing and attend balls and nightly social activities held in the elegant hotels were as much an attraction as the area water cures. John Hope Franklin, *A Southern Odyssey: Travelers in the Antebellum North* (Baton Rouge, La., 1976), 26–29; M. L. North, *Analysis of Saratoga Waters* (New York, 1846).

158.17 colored people of New York] New York State's abolition laws came into effect in 1827. Two years after Douglass's arrival there, the 1840 census listed no slaves as residents of New York City. The free black population of the city reached its highest point at 16,358 according to the 1840 census. In 1850 the free black population dropped to 13,815, in part as a result of the federal Fugitive Slave Law enacted that year. Unlike European immigrants, free blacks did not live in the relative isolation of their native communities; rather, they were spread out into pockets throughout the city, finding accommodation where white landlords would allow them to rent. Likewise, racism limited their employment opportunities to predominantly menial tasks, many of which were procured daily on the street. Ira Berlin and Leslie M. Harris, eds., *Slavery in New York* (New York, 2005), 144, 282, 298–99; Rhoda G. Freeman, "The Free Negro in New York City in the Era before the Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1966), 64–100, 267–314.

158.18 hired men of my own color] Free blacks were known to have acted both independently and as decoys for white kidnappers. Perhaps the most successful black kidnapper was John Purnell, who worked with the Cannon-Johnson gang. Purnell was ultimately found guilty on two counts of kidnapping and sentenced to forty-two years in prison. By taking advantage of their race, these kidnappers were able to gain the trust of their victims, creating suspicion and uncertainty among the free black population. Wilson, *Freedom at Risk,* 32–37.

158.25 whitewash] A solution of lime and water or whiting, sizing, and water used to paint walls, ceilings, and other architectural elements.

159.3 Stuart] This individual was referred to as "Stewart" in Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom,* but he cannot be identified. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:196.

159.5 "The Tombs."] The Tombs, New York City's first prison, was completed in 1838. Although its formal name was the Halls of Justice, it was more commonly referred to as "the Tombs" because it resembled a mausoleum. The Tombs was infamous for its structural problems, due to its having been built on former marshland. The resultant damp and cold made for unhealthful conditions for prisoners. The prison also became notorious for intentional mistreatment of prisoners, corruption, bribery, and prisoner escapes. Controversy would surround the Tombs until its forced closure in 1902. A second prison at the same location, "the Tombs II," shared many of the same difficulties as its predecessor, causing its closure by a federal justice. Carl Sifakis, *Encyclopedia of American Prisons* (New York, 2003), 260–62.

159.8 David Ruggles] David Ruggles (1810–49), a free black man, was born and educated in Norwich, Connecticut. In 1827 he moved to New York City, where he worked as a grocer. In 1834 he opened a printing and book shop that specialized in abolitionist literature. Ruggles became active in the New York antislavery movement, serving as a writer, lecturer, and traveling agent for the reform publication *Emancipator and Journal of Public Morals.* He also was a conductor on the Underground Railroad, editor of the *Genius of Freedom* and the *Mirror of Liberty,* and secretary to the New York Vigilance Committee. His career in the antislavery movement ended abruptly in 1842 when temporary blindness, an illness that would plague him for the remainder of his life, forced him to curtail his activities and seek medical attention. At the Northampton Association of Education and Industry in Florence, Massachusetts, he underwent hydrotherapy, which temporarily relieved his blindness. Soon thereafter he began a new career as a hydrotherapist in Northampton, Massachusetts, treating such celebrated individuals as Sojourner Truth and William Lloyd Garrison. His reputation as a hydrotherapist gave him a prominence that rivaled his stature as an abolitionist. *NASS,* 20 December 1849; *Lib.,* 21 December 1849; New York *Evangelist,* 27 December 1849; Salem (Ohio) *Anti-Slavery Bugle,* 29 December 1849; *NS,* 1 February 1850; I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (1891; New York, 1969), 118; *DANB,* 536–38.

159.8 New York vigilance committee] Northern blacks along with some sympathetic white supporters maintained a loose, clandestine system to clothe, feed, and shelter fugitive slaves from the South. These vigilance committees also operated to expose the presence of slave hunters and, on occasion, to rescue fugitives in the process of rendition to their masters. The New York City Vigilance Committee was founded in November 1835 with David Ruggles serving as its secretary. Ruggles's penchant for aggressive and even extralegal activities to protect fugitives led other members of the committee to force his resignation in 1839. Without Ruggles's leadership, the organization languished for a decade until it became the nucleus for a statewide vigilance society in 1848. Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, *They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830–1861* (New York, 1974), 207–12; Gara, *Liberty Line,* 101, 104–09; Freeman, "The Free Negro in New York City," 68–72, 203–04.

159.9 Isaac T. Hopper] Isaac Tatem Hopper (1771–1852) was a New York bookseller and, with Lydia Maria Child, editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* from 1841 to 1845. His involvement with abolitionism began before 1800 when, while living in Pennsylvania, he aided fugitive slaves in their escape. He belonged to the Pennsylvania Abolition Society until his relocation to New York City in 1829. There he became active in the American Anti-Slavery Society. Douglass first met Hopper in

"the Tombs" in New York City, where Hopper was incarcerated for helping a fugitive escape to Boston. Hopper had become a Quaker in 1793, but the sect disowned him in 1841 for his abolitionist activities. *Lib.,* 14 May 1852; *NASS,* 21 May 1852; Lydia Maria Child, *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Boston, 1853); *ANB,* 11:202–03; *NCAB,* 2:330.

159.9 Lewis and Arthur Tappan] The Tappan brothers were two of the most prominent opponents of William Lloyd Garrison inside the abolitionist movement. Lewis Tappan (1788–1873), an affluent New York City merchant and abolitionist, devoted much of his considerable wealth and energy to religious and reform causes such as abolitionism. Tappan was an early supporter of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Bible Society, a founder of the New York *Evangelist,* and a patron of Oberlin College. Tappan helped organize the New York Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. In 1840 he broke with Garrison over the issue of political action and the advisability of linking abolitionism to other reforms. He was a founder and leading figure in the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and maintained close ties with British abolitionists opposed to Garrison. Tappan played a leading part in securing the freedom of the African captives on the slave ship *Amistad* in 1841. Tappan abandoned efforts to convert older benevolent societies to abolitionism in 1846 and founded the American Missionary Association. Focused mainly on the religious sphere, Tappan gave only a lukewarm endorsement to political abolitionism. Arthur Tappan (1786–1865) began work as a dry-goods clerk in Boston but by the age of fifty had become a prosperous silk-jobbing merchant in New York City. Believing that his wealth obligated him to be "a STEWARD of the Lord," Tappan gave generously of his time and money to such reform organizations as the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Home Missionary Society, and various efforts to root out moral vice of every sort, including intemperance. Oberlin College was founded largely through his financial contributions. He contributed at an early period to Garrison's *Liberator.* After renouncing his membership in the American Colonization Society, Tappan devoted most of his philanthropic energies to the antislavery movement. In 1833 he helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society. Seven years later he seceded from it because of tactical disagreements with the Garrisonians and helped to organize the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Tappan served as the first president of both these major antislavery organizations and was an early supporter of the Liberty party. When various missionary societies with which he had been affiliated failed to adhere to his antislavery principles, he cut his connection with them and, in 1846, helped to establish the American Missionary Association. Tappan tried to promote schools and colleges for free blacks in the North, but local racist feeling frustrated his efforts. Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan* (New York, 1870); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War against Slavery* (Cleveland, 1969); *ACAB,* 6:33; *NCAB,* 2:320–21; *DAB,* 18:298–300, 303–04.

159.9–10 Theodore S. Wright] Theodore Sedgwick Wright (1797–1847)—clergyman, abolitionist, and reformer—worked tirelessly to aid fellow African Americans. He was a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 and the anti-Garrisonian American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840. In the 1830s Wright lectured for the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and he made important speeches against prejudice and colonization in front of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society in 1837. Wright also served on the executive committees of the Union Missionary Association and the American Missionary Association, organizations that sent missionaries to Africa. In 1844 Wright supported the Liberty party and served on the committee to choose its presidential and vice-presidential candidates. A dedicated reformer, Wright pursued temperance, sought voting rights for African Americans in New York, supported education for blacks, and chaired the New York Vigilance Committee, a group organized to aid fugitive slaves and protect free blacks from kidnapping. New York *Evangelist,* 1 April 1847; Washington (D.C.) *National Era,* 8 April 1848; Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York, 1969), 45–46, 68, 80, 171–72, 184–85; *DANB,* 675–76.

159.10 Samuel Cornish] Samuel Cornish (c. 1795–1859), a black Presbyterian minister, helped to found the First Colored Presbyterian Church of New York City in 1822. In 1827 Cornish was coeditor, with John Russwurm, of *Freedom's Journal,* the first black newspaper in the United States. Resigning the editorship after only six months, Cornish then served as an agent for the New York Manumission Society's African Free Schools. In 1829 he started his own abolitionist newspaper, *Rights of All,* which failed in less than a year. From 1837 to 1839 Cornish edited *The Colored American* and later served as pastor of the black Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey. Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames, eds., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison,* 6 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971–81), 6:328n; Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860* (Westport, Conn., 1993), 6–9.

159.10 Thomas Downing] Thomas Downing (1791–1866), a New York City restaurant owner, was born enslaved in Accomac County, Virginia, but was manumitted at an early age. To escape attempts to reenslave him, he moved north in 1812, fighting in the War of 1812 before settling in Philadelphia. In 1819 he moved to New York City and worked as a caterer until he established his own restaurant in the financial district. The Oyster House became a favorite eatery among New York merchants and politicians. Downing's business success enabled him to afford European educations for several of his children and to support benevolent causes, including abolition and civil rights for African Americans. In 1837 Downing helped draft a petition seeking repeal of property qualifications for black voters in New York. He also served on the New York Vigilance Committee and was a member of the Committee of Thirteen, a group that opposed the Fugitive Slave Law and was dedicated to assisting those who broke it. New York *Times,* 12 April 1866; New York *Herald,* 12 April 1866; *NASS,* 21 April 1866; New York *Colored American,* 16 January, 20 February 1841; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 107, 171; Freeman, "Free Negro in New York City," 35, 46, 128, 138, 197, 236, 285, 295, 394; *ANB,* 6:846–47.

159.10 Philip A. Bell] Philip A. Bell (1808–89) was educated at the New York City Free School and worked as an agent for the *Liberator* and at a variety of occupations in his youth. He was secretary of a January 1831 public meeting of New York blacks that protested against the colonization movement. In 1837 Bell helped found and edit the *Weekly Advocate,* later renamed the New York *Colored American,* which was an important forum for black opinion until its demise in 1842. In the 1850s he operated an employment agency for New York City blacks and was active in literary, temperance, and mutual relief societies as well as the antislavery movement. Bell attended many of the antebellum National Negro Conventions and lectured for equal suffrage for blacks. Moving to California in 1860, Bell briefly ran a real estate agency before returning to journalism, first as associate editor of the San Francisco *Pacific Appeal,* and later as owner and editor of the San Francisco *Elevator.* In the 1870s Bell was president of the Equal Rights League of California, a politically independent group that lobbied Republican politicians for better treatment of blacks. New York *Colored American,* 8 December 1838; San Francisco *Elevator,* 12 June 1868, 11 January, 15 November 1873; William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization; or, an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society* (New York, 1832), 13–17; Penn, *Afro-American Press,* 32–34, 94–98; Robert C. Dick, *Black Protest: Issues and Tactics* (Westport, Conn., 1974), 84, 173–77, 267; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 20, 31, 95; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 113–14, 175, 195, 210; James A. Fisher, "A History of the Political and Social Development of the Black Community in California, 1850–1950" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1971), 72–75, 97–100, 140–46; Freeman, "Free Negro in New York City," 35, 46, 128, 175–76, 237, 299.

159.12 *Elevator*] The *Elevator* was an African American newspaper edited in San Francisco by Philip A. Bell beginning 18 April 1865. The newspaper consisted of four seven-column pages and was published every Friday, with the cost per issue at 15 cents. The newspaper was established for the promotion of blacks advocating inclusion within, not separation from, the American citizenry. In addition to civil liberties and political discussion, the *Elevator* was also widely known as forwarding science, drama, and literature. Bell had already had twenty-five years of editorial experience at the time he founded the *Elevator,* including editorial stints on the *Colored American* and the *Pacific Appeal.* By the 1880s the *Elevator* was the longest-running black newspaper in the nineteenth century. It ceased with Bell's death on 24 April 1889. Penn, *Afro-American Press,* 94, 95; *EAAH,* 1:123–24.

159.14–15 With Mr. Ruggles…and Church streets] After arriving in New York, Douglass stayed at 36 Lispenard Street on the corner of Church Street, a boardinghouse operated by David Ruggles. The building also housed an abolitionist newspaper and served as a stop along the Underground Railroad, sheltering more than 600 fugitives during their escape from slavery. Ruggles himself lived at 67 Lispenard Street, where he ran an African American bookstore, probably the first of its kind. Although fire destroyed that bookstore in September 1835, he maintained his residence there. Hutton, *Early Black Press in America,* 152; Dorothy Porter, "David Ruggles, an Apostle of Human Rights," *JNH,* 28:23–50 (January 1943).

159.15 my intended wife] Anna Murray Douglass (c. 1813–82), Frederick Douglass's first wife, was born free in Denton, Caroline County, Maryland. She was the eighth child of Bambarra Murray and his wife Mary, slaves who had been manumitted shortly before Anna's birth. At seventeen she moved to Baltimore, where she worked as a domestic. She met Douglass at meetings of the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society, helped finance his escape, and, according to plan, joined him in New York City, where they were married on 15 September 1838. During Douglass's tour of the British Isles in 1845–47, she remained in Lynn, Massachusetts, where she supported herself by binding shoes. There she gained a reputation for frugality and skillful household management—qualities that would contribute greatly to her family's financial prosperity over the years. A member of the Lynn Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society and a regular participant in the annual antislavery bazaars in Boston, she continued her antislavery activities after moving to Rochester in 1847. Unlettered, reserved, and, according to her husband, never completely at ease in white company, she seldom appeared at public functions with Douglass. She was nevertheless affectionately remembered by her husband's associates as a "warm" and "hospitable" hostess at their home. On 9 July 1882, Anna Douglass suffered an attack of paralysis in Washington, D.C. She died there on 4 August. In January 1884 Douglass married Helen Pitts, a white woman. *Lib.,* 18 November, 2 December 1853; *ChR,* 20 July l882; Washington (D.C.) *Post,* 5 August l882; Rosetta Douglass Sprague, *My Mother as I Recall Her: A Paper Read before the Anna Murray Douglass Union, W.C.T.U., May 10, 1900* (1900; Washington, D.C., 1923); Jane Marsh Parker, "Reminiscences of Frederick Douglass," *Outlook,* 51:552–53 (April l895); Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 149, 151, 154, 159; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 9–10, 100–101, 106, 109–10, 297–98.

159.18 J. W. C. Pennington] Born Jim Pembroke, James William Charles Pennington (1809–71) had been a slave on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and trained as a blacksmith. His flight north at the age of twenty-one led him to the home of a Pennsylvania Quaker who taught him to read and write. Later Pennington found work and began teaching black children in Newtown, Long Island, and then in New Haven, Connecticut, where he also studied theology. Pennington's ministerial career began in 1838 in Newtown, and in 1840 he entered the Congregational ministry in Hartford, Connecticut, where he preached until 1847, later serving as a pastor (1848–55) of Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City. In 1843 Pennington traveled to England as a delegate-at-large to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London and then lectured in London, France, and Belgium. He so impressed his European audiences that the University of Heidelberg awarded him an honorary doctor of divinity degree. Fearing recapture after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, Pennington again traveled abroad, but abolitionist friends bought his freedom in 1851 for $150.

He was an active member of both abolitionist and black self-improvement organizations. In addition to many sermons, addresses, and regular contributions to the *Anglo-African Magazine,* Pennington wrote *A Text Book of the Origins and History, etc., etc., of the Colored People* (1841), a query, based on biblical references, into the negro's ancestry and character; and an autobiography, *The Fugitive Blacksmith* (1849). Carter G. Woodson, ed., *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800–1860* (Washington, D.C., 1926), 642–51; Martin Robison Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered* (1852; New York, 1968), 113; William Wells Brown, *The Rising Son; or, The Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race* (Boston, 1874), 461–63; Freeman, "Free Negro in New York City," 49–51, 53, 88–89, 108–10, 418; *NCAB,* 14:307; *DAB,* 14:441–42.

159.29 Newport, R.I.] A major colonial-era seaport located on Aquidneck Island in Newport County, Rhode Island, thirty miles south of Providence. By the mid-nineteenth century, the small city was being transformed into a resort for the wealthy, including southern slaveholders, seeking a respite from the summer heat. Franklin, *Southern Odyssey,* 26–29.

159.29–31 Forty-three years…a steam vessel] Many historians point out that legalized segregation on public transportation was not widespread until the Jim Crow era, beginning in the late nineteenth century. And although the term "segregation" did not specifically denote "racial separation" until around the beginning of the twentieth century, exclusionary practices aboard all manner of public conveyances, including steamboats, were commonplace, for blacks as well as for women. As with northern railroads, these practices varied greatly aboard steamboats. Douglass's own experiences traveling on vessels between northern coastal cities before the Civil War indicate that he was sometimes excluded by the will of white passengers, and on other occasions by that of the crew, ranging from exclusion from a dinner table to exclusion from first-class accommodations. *Lib.,* 1 October 1841; Alfred Avins, ed., *The Reconstruction Amendments' Debates: The Legislative History and Contemporary Debates in Congress on the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments* (Richmond, Va., 1967), 204, 431, 482, 554, 576–77, 632–33; George M. Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York, 1995), 94–98.

159.30 abaft] Behind, in the rear.

159.38 Quaker] The Religious Society of Friends was founded by George Fox in Great Britain during the mid-seventeenth century. Fox emphasized the immediacy of Christ's teachings and therefore found ordained ministers, a set liturgy, or consecrated buildings to be irrelevant. Central to the sect's teachings is the "Inner Light," an innate sense of the divine and direct working of Christ in the human soul that results in the moral attributes of simplicity, purity, and truthfulness, as its central doctrine. During their early history Quakers faced persecution, mostly due to their refusal to take oaths, pay tithes, or enlist in military service. As a result, the colony of Pennsylvania in

North America was founded in 1682 as a refuge for Quakers. In 1743 the Society of Friends became the first religious denomination to condemn slavery as morally evil and to require its members to free their slaves. The Quakers were strong adherents of gradual emancipation, and they dominated the ranks of Revolutionary-era abolition societies that persuaded the northern states to end slavery. Three basic Quaker tenets led to support for abolition. First, the belief that all people are equal in the sight of God led to concerns that through forced slavery, masters were denying their slaves the chance to reach God. Second, Quakers held to a tradition of nonviolence and pacifism that did not agree with the constant threat of violence and force that kept people in bondage. Finally, Quaker abhorrence of ostentation or sloth in their daily lives led to dismissal of slavery on grounds that slaves were used as symbols of conspicuous consumption. Although the public controversy stirred up by abolitionism caused many Quakers to turn away from participation in the post-1831 antislavery movement, such prominent abolitionists as Benjamin Lundy and Angelina and Sarah Grimké were members of the Quaker sect. Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 17–18; F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1974), 538–39; McKivigan, *War against Proslavery Religion,* 22, 28, 37; Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 303, 607–13.

159.39 William C. Taber] A descendant of one of the earliest settlers of New Bedford, Massachusetts, William C. Taber (1797–1886) operated a profitable store that sold books, stationery, charts, and engravings. In the 1850s Taber led local businessmen in converting from whale oil for illumination to gas, coal oil, and kerosene and was the first president of the New Bedford Gas-Light Company. He was long active in the city's financial institutions, having served at different times as a director of both the Marine Bank and the New Bedford Institution for Savings. Taber also represented New Bedford at one point in the Massachusetts senate. An ardent Quaker, Taber held the post of first clerk at the New Bedford Monthly Meeting for nineteen years. He married Hannah Shearman of the same town. Henry H. Crapo, ed., *The New Bedford Directory* [for 1836] (New Bedford, 1836), 84; idem, *The New Bedford Directory* [for 1841] (New Bedford, 1841), 19; idem, *The New Bedford Directory* [for 1845] (New Bedford, 1845), 14; idem, *The New Bedford Directory* [for 1856] (New Bedford, 1856), 164; D. Hamilton Hurd, comp., *History of Bristol County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia, 1883), 91–92, 105, 148; Leonard Bolles Ellis, *History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1602–1892* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1892), 422, 469, 475, 517, 566, 638, 721; Alanson Borden, ed., *Our County and Its People: Descriptive and Biographical Record of Bristol County, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1899), 353–54, 372–73, 416–17, 343.

159.39 Joseph Ricketson] Joseph Ricketson (1771–1841) was the owner of a candle factory and oil refinery in New Bedford, Massachusetts. He also helped form the Bedford Fire Society in 1807, served as a cashier and a director of the New Bedford

Commercial Bank, and was a trustee of the New Bedford Lyceum and Atheneum. Ricketson was a Quaker and committed to various reform and antislavery endeavors. In 1834 he was one of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society of New Bedford. Although he was a scrupulously honest and hard-working businessman, Ricketson's last years were spent close to poverty because of several serious business reversals. Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1836], 18; idem, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1841], 30; Daniel Ricketson, *The History of New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts* (New Bedford, 1858), 232–34; Leonard Bolles Ellis, *History of the Fire Department of the City of New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1772–1890* (New Bedford, 1890), 10; idem, *New Bedford,* 252, 509, 516–17, 629; Borden, *Our County,* 351, 353, 406; Hurd, *Bristol County,* 92, 105, 111; *Vital Records of New Bedford, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850,* 3 vols. (Boston, 1932), 1:386, 3:138; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 123–24, 144, 146.

160.3 "Stone Bridge"] Stone Bridge Village is a district in the northern end of the town of Tiverton, Rhode Island. Activity in the area began when a ferry service was established in 1640. The ferry changed hands but continued to operate until about 1794. In that year the first stone bridge was built, connecting Aquidneck Island and Tiverton and allowing for faster communication and transportation. Settlement subsequently grew, and the area quickly established several cottages and public facilities near the stone bridge. Nancy Jensen Devin and Richard V. Simpson, *Tiverton and Little Compton* (Charleston, S.C., 1997), 9–11.

160.9 Dyer] Samuel Dyer (1785–1835) was a native Englishman and the seventh child of James Dyer and Sarah Barton. Before leaving England, he married Sarah Owen in 1807; they had four children. Dyer arrived in New York City in 1811, where he became a music teacher and composer. In 1812 he moved to Philadelphia, and after a visit to England in 1815, he moved to Baltimore where he published a few volumes of songs, including *Anthems* (1817) and *New Selection of Sacred Music* (1817), both published in Baltimore. He is most widely known for introducing the sacred tune "Mendon" or "German Air" to congregations in the United States. Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York, 1925), 205–10.

160.9 Shaw] Oliver Shaw (1779–1848) was one of eight siblings born to John Shaw and Hannah Heath in Middleboro, Massachusetts. As a result of accident and illness, he became completely blind by twenty-one. After moving to Providence, Rhode Island, he became a church organist and piano and voice teacher. He published several music books mostly of his own compositions, including *Providence Selection of Psalms and Hymns* (1815), *The Melodia Sacra* (1819), *Original Melodies* (1832), and *The Social Sacred Melodist* (1835). Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music,* 179–84.

160.11 Nathan Johnson] Owners of a confectionery shop and a thriving catering business, Nathan Johnson (?–1880) and Mary Page Johnson (?–c. 1870) were two of the most prominent blacks in New Bedford, Massachusetts. They had helped and housed black fugitives on many occasions, and Nathan had long been an active abolitionist, serving as a manager of the American Anti-Slavery Society at one point. In

1832 Nathan represented New Bedford at the National Negro Convention in Philadelphia, and in 1837 he was one of three local African Americans chosen to question all county political candidates as to their views on slavery and the slave trade. Johnson left New Bedford for California in 1849 and did not return until 1871 after his wife, who had remained behind, died. New York *Colored American,* 18 November 1837; Henry H. Crapo, ed., *The New Bedford Directory* [for 1838] (New Bedford, 1838), 77; *Vital Records of New Bedford,* 2:309, 396; Barbara Clayton and Kathleen Whitley, *Guide to New Bedford* (Chester, Conn., 1979), 134–35; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 2:712.

160.15 "took me in when a stranger,"] A paraphrase of Matt. 25:35.

160.16 "fed me when hungry,"] Matt. 25:35.

160.27–28 Johnson family was already so numerous] According to the 1840 population census, there were eleven black families in New Bedford with the surname Johnson, with a total of forty-one household members. A historian of New Bedford's black community dismisses the census recordkeeping of that group as "next to worthless." 1840 U.S. Census, Massachusetts, Bristol County, 357–465; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 310n.

160.39 "stalwart hand."] Probably a reference to Canto I, stanza XXVIII, lines 565–67 in Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake,* "'I never knew but one,' he said,/ 'Whose stalwart arm might brook to wield/ A blade like this in battle-field.'" Scott, *Complete Poetical Works,* 162.

161.11 "poor white trash."] Derogatory term pertaining to the poor white population of the South. Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 2:1283.

161.17 laboring classes lived in better houses] The living conditions of laborers, and especially of free blacks, were only marginally better in northern states than in the South. Blacks living in northern cities were just a bit more likely to own property than their southern counterparts but were more likely to have difficulty finding a job that suited their occupation, if skilled. In some southern cities, free blacks lived in deplorable conditions, but others lived quite well. What Douglass must have noticed was the marked difference that freedom of self-expression brought to individuals. The churches, educational opportunities, newspapers, and abolitionist societies in the North helped to widen the contrast between the two regions. Luther Porter Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830–1860* (New York, 1942), 168–70; Curry, *Free Black in Urban America,* 16–18, 267–69; Berlin, *Slaves without Masters,* 168.

162.21–23 nothing in the laws…fit to elect him] Adopted in 1780, the Massachusetts state constitution makes no reference to a color bar for elected officials. As first written, the constitution made no provision for amendment, but when Maine was separated from Massachusetts in 1820, reformers held a constitutional convention, approving nine amendments, but none of those limited black participation in government. A second convention in 1853 attempted a complete revision of the constitution, but failed. Robert J. Taylor, ed., *Massachusetts Colony to Commonwealth:*

Documents on the Formation of Its Constitution, 1775–1780 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), 127–46; League of Women Voters of Massachusetts, *Massachusetts State Government* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 51–52.

162.24–25 black man's children…from any quarter] Although Douglass occasionally encountered racial discrimination in New Bedford, the Massachusetts seaport had a long history of a stable and moderately prosperous black community in its midst. Among principal cities in Massachusetts, only Boston operated a segregated public school system after the mid-1840s. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961), 153; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 180–81, 230–31.

162.29–163.5 A threat…New Bedford] It is unclear whether this incident actually occurred in the manner reported to Douglass. However, Nathan Johnson was undoubtedly a participant in an incident involving about twenty other people who went to the home of John Howard with stones and clubs, causing Howard some physical harm. Witnesses at Johnson's trial indicated that Howard had come from New York or somewhere farther south and that his purpose in New Bedford was to gain information about runaway slaves. Johnson and the others were charged with assault and battery, but were subsequently acquitted and released. Kathryn Grover, *Fugitive Slave Traffic and the Maritime World of New Bedford* (New Bedford, 1998), 9–10, 30; idem, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 112–13, 148.

162.32 Third Christian church (colored)] Douglass refers to the African (Third) Christian Church in New Bedford, which also served as a meeting place for local abolitionist activities. Located on the west side of New Bedford, the church was founded in 1830. *Lib.,* 11 June 1841; Charles Cook, *A Brief Account of the African Christian Church, in New-Bedford* (New Bedford, 1834), 3–12.

162.35 would-be Judas] That is, comparing the man with Judas Iscariot, disciple and later betrayer of Jesus Christ. J. D. Douglas, ed., *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary,* 3 vols. (Wheaton, Ill., 1980), 2:830–31.

163.8–9 Ephraim Peabody] Ephraim Peabody (1807–56) was born in Wilton, New Hampshire. After college at Bowdoin and seminary at the Harvard Divinity School, he began his pastoral career at Meadville, Pennsylvania, in 1830. A minister for four years in Cincinnati, Peabody became the Unitarian minister in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1838, a position he held for the next eight years. His congregation was located on the corner of Union and Eighth Streets. In 1846 Peabody became the minister at King's Chapel in Boston, where he remained until his death. *ACAB,* 4:688.

163.17 stowing a sloop] Stowing is the nautical term for placing cargo or provisions in proper order on a ship; a sloop is a single-masted sailing vessel.

163.17 Uncle Gid. Howland's wharf] Gideon Howland, Jr. (1770–1847), known to fellow townsmen as "Uncle Gid," was a partner in the prosperous shipping and whaling firm of Isaac Howland, Jr., and Company, which maintained offices at No. 3 Commercial Wharf in New Bedford. Douglass probably found day-laborer's work at Gideon Howland's wharf located at the foot of North Street near the Fairhaven bridge.

Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1845], 46; Ellis, *New Bedford,* 249, 509, 516; William M. Emery, *The Howland Heirs* (New Bedford, 1919), 61–63, 116; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 146.

163.24 "saw" and "buck"] A buck, or frame composed of two supports and a crossbar, holds wood to be cut. It is usually used in conjunction with a heavy saw, sometimes called a bucksaw.

163.28 fip] A fip, or five-penny bit, was a small-value coin.

163.36 Rotches] William Rotch (1734–1828) was a whaling merchant in New Bedford, Massachusetts. A Quaker, he and his son, William, Jr. (1759–1850), were well-known abolitionists. William, Sr., periodically bought slaves' indentures to help them pay for their freedom. William, Jr., was one of the founding members of the Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Persons Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race. Along with this, he was responsible for obtaining information on incidents of cruelty afflicted on slaves and the crews on board New England ships. Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 35–36; *DAB,* 8:186–87.

163.36 Rodmans] This wealthy New Bedford Quaker family was closely allied with the city's Rotch family through ties of marriage and business. Orphaned in Newport, Rhode Island, Samuel Rodman, Sr. (1753–1835), was apprenticed with a whaling and mercantile firm there, which also engaged in the slave trade. He married Elizabeth Rotch (1785–1856), daughter of the wealthy merchant and whaler William Rotch, Sr. Rodman took over Rotch's Nantucket whaling business and relocated it to New Bedford in 1798. Though a critic of slavery, Rodman was condescending in his attitudes toward New Bedford's blacks. Elizabeth Rodman lent her social prominence to antislavery activities of New Bedford women; hers was the first signature on a petition requesting Congress to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Their son, Samuel Rodman, Jr. (1792–1876), was devoted to the temperance as well as antislavery causes. In 1831 the younger Rodman hosted such early abolitionists as Benjamin Lundy and Arnold Buffum when they lectured in New Bedford. Samuel Rodman, Jr., ran the family whaling firm, but he also owned a cotton mill in Fall River. He left abolitionist ranks after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, when he sided with Daniel Webster on the need to obey congressional legislation as the price of union. Charles Henry Jones, *Genealogy of the Rodman Family, 1620–1886* (Philadelphia, 1886), 39–41,70–71; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 6, 20–21, 36, 44, 123, 220–21, 284–85.

163.36 Arnolds] James Arnold (1781–1868) had moved to New Bedford from Providence in the early years of the century, married William Rotch, Jr.'s, daughter Sarah (?–1860), and became a wealthy merchant and whale ship owner. He opened the extensive pastoral gardens of his Country Street residence to the public on Sundays and later gave a donation to Harvard University to found the Arnold Arboretum. Arnold was known to hire fugitive slaves and along with his wife gave generously to abolitionist causes and to the care of infirm sailors. The Arnolds left

their original Quaker affiliation to become Unitarians in the 1820s. Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 22, 104, 230, 255–56, 285.

163.36 Grinnells] Joseph Grinnell (1788–1885) was a New Bedford merchant. In 1815 he established the "Fish and Grinnell" firm with the purpose of acting as agents for the New Bedford whaling and oil merchants. By 1825 his brothers, Henry (1799–1874) and Moses (1803–77), had joined the firm. Moses would go on to be an ardent supporter of the Union during the Civil War and joined the Union Defense Committee. Joseph built a cotton factory in New Bedford to reduce its reliance on the whaling trade, became president of the Marine Bank in 1832 and president of the Boston and Providence Railroad in 1841, and represented Massachusetts in Congress from 1843 to 1851. *DAB,* 8:3–4; *BDUSC* (online).

163.37 Robesons] Born in Philadelphia, Andrew Robeson (1787–1862) married into the wealthy Rodman family and relocated to New Bedford, where he prospered in the whaling and later the textile industries. The city's Quaker meeting denied him membership in 1825 for unspecified reasons. Robeson was a vice president of the New Bedford Anti-Slavery Society in the 1830s and later a staunch Garrisonian abolitionist and active Underground Railroad conductor. Kate Hamilton Osborne, *An Historical and Genealogical Account of Andrew Robeson of Scotland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania and of His Descendants from 1653 to 1916* (Philadelphia, 1916), 144–45; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 13, 22, 124, 158, 172, 181, 240, 281.

163.39–164.1 Rodney French] Rodney French (c. 1802–82) was a successful shipbuilder in New Bedford and a prominent public official. In 1841 he was the chairman of the Board of Selectmen and later served as mayor. French reputedly once constructed ships for the slave trade but gradually developed antislavery sentiments. He vehemently opposed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and appeared publicly with Douglass in 1853. Early in the Civil War, Douglass proudly reported that "our old friend" French commanded a Union navy blockading squadron against southern ports. *FDP,* 12 August 1853; *DM,* 4:561 (December 1861); New York *Daily Times,* 1 May 1882; Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1841], 70; Ellis, *New Bedford,* 306.

164.3 coppering] Covering the bottom and sides of a ship with copper.

164.19 New Bedford Lyceum] Founded in 1828 by the city's elite, the New Bedford Lyceum functioned as a source of public education by providing lectures on literary, philosophical, and scientific topics. A widely publicized controversy arose in the mid-1840s, when abolitionists protested against the segregated seating of blacks at the lyceum's lectures. In response to appeals from abolitionists both Ralph Waldo Emerson and Charles Sumner canceled lectures at the New Bedford Lyceum in 1846. Local abolitionists then formed the rival New Bedford Lyceum Lecture Association and sponsored their own ticket of lecturers appearing before integrated audiences. Ricketson, *History of New Bedford,* 324–25; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 176–80.

164.22 Theodore Parker] Theodore Parker (1810–60), Harvard-educated Unitarian clergyman and reformer, was among the most erudite of all New England transcendentalists. Born in Lexington, Massachusetts, he taught at Boston-area private schools from 1831 until 1842 and graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1836. After his ordination in 1837, Parker preached mainly at his West Roxbury church until 1845, when he resigned and accepted the pastorate of the new Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society of Boston. There he attracted a large, socially diverse and racially integrated following. The author of numerous tracts, sermons, and published addresses, he also edited the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* throughout its three-year existence. Although he criticized some Garrisonian positions, Parker joined in the antislavery cause after 1845, attacking slavery on moral and economic grounds but basing his most militant abolitionism on the belief that black emancipation would prepare the way for further Anglo-Saxon dominance. As a member of the Boston Vigilance Committee he gave frequent aid to escaped bondsmen, actively resisted the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and was indicted for his role in the Anthony Burns case. An outspoken proponent of the admission of Kansas as a free state, Parker hosted a meeting in 1858 at which John Brown disclosed his plans for a raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. In early 1859 Parker embarked for Europe to recuperate from tuberculosis. He died of the disease and was buried in Florence, Italy. Henry Steele Commager, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1960); C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers,* 5 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985–92), 4:52; Fredrickson, *Black Image in the White Mind,* 119–21, 157–58; *ACAB,* 4:654–56; *DAB,* 14:38–41; *ANB,* 17:43–44.

164.22 Ralph W. Emerson] Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82), essayist, philosopher, and poet, was born to a prominent family in Boston, Massachusetts. After retiring from pastoral duties in 1832, Emerson relocated to Concord, where he lived out the rest of his years. His eight-chapter essay, *Nature* (1836), reflects the Transcendentalist philosophies of commodity, beauty, language, and discipline. These principles appear throughout Emerson's works, in particular his poetry. His best-known works include *Poems* (1847), *Representative Men* (1850), *English Traits* (1856), and the essays "Self-Reliance" (1841) and "The American Scholar" (1837). Emerson also published regularly with the *Dial* and the *Atlantic Monthly.* Although he never identified himself with them fully, Emerson embraced the sentiments of abolitionists, frequently opening the doors of his pastorate to them. Emerson preached once at New Bedford in 1834, but he refrained from doing so again because of the growing controversy surrounding the lyceum's refusal to sell lecture tickets to blacks. In a letter published in both the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Emerson condemned their exclusionist practices. Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 176–80; *ACAB,* 2:343–48; *NCAB,* 3:416–18; *DAB,* 6:132–41.

164.22 Horace Mann] Noted American education reformer Horace Mann (1796–1859) was the youngest son of a yeoman farmer from Franklin, Massachusetts. Admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1823, Mann practiced law in Dedham and Boston until 1833 and was elected to the Massachusetts General Court (1827–33). From 1833 to 1837 he served in the state senate, advocating state care for the insane and manifesting an interest in educational reform. As secretary (1837–48) of the first state Board of

Education and as editor (1838–48) of his semimonthly *Common School Journal,* Mann promoted a tax-supported system of public school education, seeing a nonsectarian common school education as an economic leveler and the foundation of democratic government. In 1848 Mann succeeded John Quincy Adams as Whig representative for Massachusetts's eighth congressional district, and two years later he was reelected as a Free Soiler. In the U.S. Congress, Mann was an outspoken opponent of the extension of slavery in the territories and thus opposed the 1850 compromise measures. During the last years of his life, Mann acted as the first president (1852–59) of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Horace Mann, *Slavery: Letters and Speeches* (Boston, 1853), 225, 324; Jonathan Miserly, *Horace Mann: A Biography* (New York, 1972); Ernest Cassara, "Reformer as Politician: Horace Mann and the Anti-Slavery Struggle in Congress, 1848–1853," *Journal of American Studies,* 5:247–63 (December 1971); Larry Gara, "Horace Mann: Antislavery Congressman," *The Historian,* 32:19–33 (November 1969); *ACAB,* 4:190–91; *NCAB,* 3:78–79; *DAB,* 12:240–43.

165.5–6 George Howland] George Howland (1781–1852), a prominent banker and one of the New Bedford whaling industry's richest businessmen, owned and operated a wharf just south of Union Street. Howland gave work to Douglass and many other of the city's black population. His son, George Howland, Jr., won election as New Bedford mayor. The senior Howland, a Quaker elder, gave generously to his denomination's Haverford College. Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1845], 106; Ellis, *New Bedford,* 249, 509, 616; Emery, *Howland Heirs,* 191–92; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 105, 122, 146, 284.

165.10 John Briggs] Born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, John C. Briggs spent his boyhood in the New Bedford home of George Howland, Sr., and then worked for him as a laborer. Briggs was an officer of the city's black antislavery New-Bedford Union Society. Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 122, 137, 146–47, 172.

165.10 Abraham Rodman] In the 1840s Abraham Rodman was a black stevedore who resided on North Water Street in New Bedford. He also was a part-owner of the small sloop *Rising States.* Rodman probably was a descendant of slaves from South Kingston, Rhode Island. Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1845], 138; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 136, 146–47.

165.10–11 Solomon Pennington] Probably Solomon Peneton, a Maryland-born fugitive slave who arrived in New Bedford in the early 1830s. He was primarily a sailor and laborer when Douglass met him, but later worked as a waiter for George Howland, Jr., in New Bedford. Peneton was a leader of New Bedford's black antislavery activities before moving to California during the Civil War. Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1845], 794; idem, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1856], 797; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 146–47, 255, 276, 278.

165.11 "Java" and "Golconda."] These were two whaling vessels built at the shipyard of George Howland. The *Java* sailed in May 1839 and the *Golconda* in December of that year. Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 146.

165.16 Richmond] The A. D. Richmond and Company brass foundry and coppersmiths shop was located at 103 North Water Street in New Bedford. The proprietors of the operation were Anthony D. Richmond and Andrew Cragie, both of New Bedford. According to an 1865 advertisement, the shop produced a variety of bolts, spikes, nails, and eyebolts, as well as such plumbing supplies as water closets, shower baths, and bathtubs. The establishment also specialized in the custom production of "Richmond's Patent Composition Head and Brass Tipped Candle Moulds." Henry H. Crapo, ed., *The New Bedford Directory* [for 1865] (New Bedford, 1865), 118.

165.16 blow the bellows] In a foundry bellows are an instrument used to grow a fire. The large, diaphragmlike device is pulled apart to take air in, then pushed together, expelling air directly onto the fire. Operating bellows was considered necessary and suitable work for an apprentice. S. A. Espy, "Successful Teaching," *Pennsylvania School Journal,* 21:280–83 (March 1873).

165.17 empty the flasks in which castings were made] In the creation of castings, metal is poured into a flask, which consists of the cope and drag, or respectively upper and lower halves. To be used again, the flask must be cleaned of all excess metals, sand, and debris. Richard W. Heine, Carl R. Loper, Jr., and Philip C. Rosenthal, *Principles of Metal Casting,* 2d ed. (New York, 1967), 71–72, 664.

165.38 *Liberator*] Pioneer abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison published the weekly Boston newspaper the *Liberator* from 1831 to 1865. The paper advocated women's rights, temperance, pacifism, and a variety of other reforms in addition to immediate emancipation. Thomas, *Liberator,* 127–28, 436; *DAB,* 7:168–72.

165.39 Isaac Knapp] Isaac Knapp (1804–43), a longtime friend of William Lloyd Garrison, copublished the *Liberator* with him from its inception in 1831 until 1835. After 1835 Knapp handled the publishing and financial end of the paper. With his health and his own finances failing, he gave up control of the business management of the *Liberator* in 1838. Knapp and Garrison parted ways in 1841, with Knapp trying to start his own newspaper, *Knapp's Liberator,* but this attempt failed after only one issue. Like Garrison, Knapp was an avid abolitionist. One of his most significant accomplishments was his role in helping to found the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832. Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:309; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 1:81, 2:xxvi.

166.15 Liberty Hall] New Bedford's Liberty Hall was built upon land donated by William Rotch, located on the northwest corner of Purchase and Williams Streets, and was completed in 1797. Liberty Hall served as a center for lectures, entertainment, and political meetings; it also housed the New Bedford Lyceum. On 6 November 1854, Liberty Hall burned to the ground; the cause of the fire was most likely accidental. The bell of Liberty Hall had held great significance to the town; it was rung to alert fugitive slaves that slave catchers were nearby. After Liberty Hall's destruction, the famous bell was reconstituted into smaller tea-bells and other ornaments for the townsfolk. Liberty Hall itself was the location of many meetings, speeches, and lectures given by many famous abolitionists. William Lloyd Garrison, Douglass, Stephen S. Foster, Theodore Parker, and Henry Ward Beecher were among the most

notable guest speakers; in fact, it was at Liberty Hall that Douglass heard Garrison lecture for the first time, on 13 April 1839. Ellis, *New Bedford,* 305–07, 720; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 148.

166.20–21 "on one cheek to turn the other also."] Douglass adapts Luke 6:29.

166.27 "father the devil"] John 8:44.

167.13 a grand anti-slavery convention] Douglass spoke at a special meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held in Nantucket, Massachusetts, on 10–12 August 1841. He began his speech just before the evening adjournment on 11 August, and resumed at 9:30 the next morning. Douglass was followed by William Lloyd Garrison. At the conclusion of the convention, John A. Collins, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society's general agent, invited Douglass to go on the lecture circuit to tell of his life as a slave. *Lib.,* 20 August 1841.

167.18 William C. Coffin] William C. Coffin (1816–?) was a resident of New Bedford who in 1845 was an accountant for the local Mechanics Bank. An ardent abolitionist, Coffin was a good friend of William Lloyd Garrison and served as recording secretary of the Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society from the 1830s. Coffin, a Quaker, also advocated the doctrine of nonresistance and was jailed briefly in 1845 in New Bedford for refusing to swear an oath to the authority of a local judge. *Lib.,* 3 September 1841, 18 April, 23 May 1845; Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1845], 794; Hurd, *Bristol County,* 105; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 2:712.

167.20 little school house on Second street] Douglass refers to the meetinghouse of the African American Zion Methodist Church on Elm Street in New Bedford. Elm Street intersects with Second Street, so it is probable that the building was located near that intersection. Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1841], 17, 24; Ellis, *New Bedford,* 1.

168.4–5 John A. Collins] John Anderson Collins (1810–c. 1879) of Manchester, Vermont, trained for the Congregational ministry at Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary before becoming a general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1837. In 1840 he toured England, where he became interested in the utopian economic reform plans of Charles Fourier and Robert Owen, which included the abolition of all private property. From 1840 to 1841 Collins edited the *Monthly Garland* and compiled a book of antislavery songs, *Anti-Slavery Pic-Nic.* After leading the One Hundred Conventions tour in 1843, he resigned from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and founded a short-lived communal farm near Skaneateles, New York. During the 1849 gold rush, Collins migrated to California, where he attempted journalistic and mining enterprises but found little success. Carleton Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War* (London, 1970), 76, 80–82, 88, 112–25, 212, 264, 394; Dorothy Sterling, *Ahead of Her Time: Abby Kelley and the Politics of Antislavery* (New York, 1991), 103, 136, 158, 177–79; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 2:453–54n; *DAB,* 4:307–08.

168.5 Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society] In late fall 1831, William Lloyd Garrison convened a series of meetings to advance support in the Boston area for the principles of immediate emancipation. Out of these meetings emerged the New England Anti–Slavery Society in early 1832. As abolitionist strength grew in the region, state-level societies were formed, and in 1835 the group renamed itself the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (New York, 1961), 172–73.

168.36 George Foster] George Foster (c. 1811–?), a Quaker, lived in Andover, Massachusetts, and often worked in New England in the 1830s and 1840s as a traveling agent for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and the *Liberator,* promoting abolitionism and seeking subscribers to the newspapers. In the early 1840s Frederick Douglass often accompanied him and gave lectures. Foster was with Douglass in December 1841 when he was forced to ride a Jim Crow railroad car in Rhode Island. *Lib.,* 12 November 1841, 3 June 1842; *NASS,* 6 January, 23 June, 7 July 1842; 1850 U.S. Census, Massachusetts, Essex County, 236.

168.36–37 *Anti-Slavery Standard*] The *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* published in New York City from 11 June 1840 to December 1872, was the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Early editors included Lydia Maria Child, Sydney Howard Gay, and Maria Weston Chapman. John W. Blassingame, ed., *Antislavery Newspapers and Periodicals,* 5 vols. (Boston, 1980–84), 4:7–8.

169.4 "brand new fact"] The original term for "brand new," occurring in *Love's Labour Lost, Twelfth Night, King Lear,* and *Richard III,* was "fire-new," meaning something metallic and shiny, and was later applied to simply mean something quite new. Douglass also describes himself as a "bran new article" when meeting a woman who had never before heard of him. *FDP,* 15 October 1851; Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 186.

170.31 Phillips] Boston-born and Harvard-educated Wendell Phillips (1811–84) ranked second only to Garrison in influence in the American Anti-Slavery Society in the 1840s and 1850s. Bored with the legal profession and influenced by his antislavery fiancée, Ann Terry Greene, Phillips dedicated himself to abolitionism beginning in 1837. A highly gifted orator, Phillips was in demand as a lecturer even in nonabolitionist circles. Besides abolition, Phillips championed woman suffrage, prohibition, penal reform, Indian rights, and legislative protection for workers. When Garrison retired from the presidency of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1865, Phillips assumed the post and led abolitionists until passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. James Brewer Stewart, *Wendell Phillips: Liberty's Hero* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986); Irving H. Bartlett, *Wendell Phillips: Brahmin Radical* (Boston, 1961); *DAB,* 14:546–47.

171.5 Thomas W. Dorr] Rhode Island politician and social reformer Thomas Wilson Dorr (1805–54) was born into a prominent Providence family. Dorr served as a Whig state legislator in 1834–37 but switched to the Democratic party before the end of the decade. He acted as chair of the state Democratic party (1840–41) and was

considered leader of the Equal Rights faction of the Rhode Island Democratic party (1842–54). His political goals included free white suffrage, "one man one vote," an independent judiciary, a more powerful state executive, and the secret ballot. To accomplish these aims, Dorr led a movement to replace the colonial charter of 1633 with the so-called People's Constitution. The constitution was intended to increase democracy and weaken the power of the wealthy. The People's Constitution received approval in 1841, and Dorr was elected governor the following year; however, conservative urban Whigs and rural Democrats coalesced in the Law and Order party and ousted him from the governorship. Dorr was subsequently charged, tried, and convicted of treason against the state. He served twenty months in state prison, winning release in June 1845 and a pardon in 1851 after his uncle, Philip Allen, became governor. Marvin E. Gettleman, *The Dorr Rebellion: A Study in American Radicalism, 1833–1849* (New York, 1973), 81–83, 200–205; George M. Dennison, *The Dorr War: Republicanism on Trial, 1831–61* (Lexington, Ky., 1976), 14–24; *ANB,* 6:759–61.

171.15–16 To gain…all citizens] The reluctance of Dorr and others to include suffrage for African American men created a controversy during the People's Convention, called to draft a constitution in October 1841. Originally, Rhode Island reformers vowed to avoid making distinctions among citizens based on color, property, or ethnic background, but most failed to support the rights of black men. Instead of addressing the issue, reformers chose to allow popular sovereignty to decide the issue. The voters of Rhode Island ratified the People's Constitution in late 1841. Article II of the document specifically limited suffrage to white males twenty-one years or older who had attained one year's residence in the state and six months' residence in the same town or district. Gettleman, *Dorr Rebellion,* 44–47, 209–10; Dennison, *Dorr War,* 43–46.

171.24 William M. Chace] William M. Chace (?–1862), a Rhode Island reformer, was active in the Providence Anti-Slavery Society and served on the executive committee of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in the late 1840s. In 1835 he was among the Rhode Island abolitionists who sought the aid of the American Anti-Slavery Society in spreading the antislavery cause across the state. As a result of Chace's request, the AASS sent Henry B. Stanton to Rhode Island as a lecturing agent. *NS,* 30 November 1849; John L. Myers, "Antislavery Agents in Rhode Island, 1835–1837," *Rhode Island History,* 30:21–32 (Winter 1971).

171.25 Thomas Davis] Thomas Davis (1806–95), a jeweler, immigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1817. He represented Providence in the Rhode Island senate as a Democrat from 1845 until 1853, and served on the executive committee of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society in 1849. In November 1852 Davis was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served one term. Following a failed attempt at reelection in 1855, he returned to his jewelry business in Providence. After losing three additional bids for a congressional seat, Davis returned to state politics, where he had more success. He served in the Rhode Island senate again in 1877 and 1878, and in the state house of representatives from 1887 until 1890. His wife, Paulina Kellogg Wright Davis, whom he married in 1849, was also a well-known abolitionist and women's-rights activist. *NS,* 30 November 1849; Washington (D.C.) *National Era,* 7 April 1853; Benjamin F. Moore, *Providence Almanac and Business Directory for the Year 1843* (Providence, 1843), 46; *BDUSC* (online).

171.25 George L. Clarke] Born in Norton, Massachusetts, George L. Clarke (1813–90) was reported in attendance at an abolitionists' meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, with Douglass in 1841. In 1843 Clarke worked with Douglass to prevent the closing of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society by holding a meeting in April to raise funds. He served as vice president of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society in 1849. A strongly antislavery Republican, Clarke served in the state legislature in the 1860s and as mayor of Providence in 1869–70. Concord (N.H.) *Herald of Freedom,* 3 December 1841; *NASS,* 30 March 1843; *NS,* 30 November 1849; Richard M. Bayles, ed., *History of Providence County, Rhode Island,* 2 vols. (New York, 1891), 1:313–45.

171.25 Asa Fairbanks] Asa Fairbanks (1795–1876) was active in Rhode Island and national reform circles. He served as a vice president for the American Anti-Slavery Society and as a delegate to the national Free Democrat convention held in Pittsburgh in 1852. In 1853 he represented Rhode Island at the Whole World's Temperance Convention held in New York City. Fairbanks drew criticism from some in abolitionist circles when he refused to allow African American abolitionists to speak at a meeting held in Providence in January 1855. Washington (D.C.) *National Era,* 5 August 1852; *FDP,* 27 May 1852, 9 September 1853, 19 May 1854, 23 February, 2 March 1855.

171.25 Alphonso Janes] Possibly Alphonso R. Janes (c. 1805–?), a tin-plate worker, and his wife Sophia T. Janes. Janes donated an early portrait of Douglass to the Rhode Island Historical Society. *Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1902–1903* (Providence, 1904), 34; Hugh H. Brown, *The Providence Directory, 1836–7* (Providence, 1836), 68.

171.26 Perry brothers of Westerly] Douglass appears to allude to the family of Charles Perry (1809–?), born in Westerly, Rhode Island. Upon his father's death, Charles Perry at age sixteen replaced him as cashier of Westerly's Washington Bank. Charles also assumed responsibility for his three younger brothers and two sisters. In 1848 he married Temperance Foster, the granddaughter of Quaker preacher John Wilbur. Perry, an earnest abolitionist, provided shelter not only to antislavery speakers, such as Benjamin Lundy, an outspoken abolitionist on his way to see the then-unknown William Lloyd Garrison, but also protected fugitive slaves as they made their journey northward. In 1881, at the age of seventy-two, he turned over his cashier's job at the bank to his eldest son, and shortly thereafter was elected the bank's president. Perry was a temperance supporter and a practicing Quaker, who wrote the "True Principles of the Society of Friends" (1884). J. R. Cole, *History of Washington and Kent Counties, Rhode Island* (New York, 1889), 351–52, 354.

171.26 John Brown] John Carter Brown (1797–1874), Rhode Island philanthro-

pist and bibliophile, was active in antislavery and reform activities. Educated at Brown University, he was the son of the university's namesake, Providence merchant Nicholas Brown. Brown used his family connections and fortune to indulge his appetite for book collecting and for funding important social causes. In the late 1840s and early 1850s he was active in antislavery activities, serving at least one term as president of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society. In the 1850s Brown became active in the Free Soil movement and was an early member and later president of Eli Thayer's New England Emigrant Aid Company, which sent more than 2,000 free-state settlers to counter proslavery activity in Kansas. Brown died in Providence in 1874. His library was eventually donated to Brown University. *NASS,* 30 Sept. 1847; *NS,* 24 October 1850; *ANB,* 3: 695–97.

171.26–27 C. C. Eldredge of East Greenwich] Charles Child Eldredge (1812–45), Rhode Island farmer, was a member of the prominent Eldredge family of East Greenwich. [Thomas Williams Bicknell], *The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (New York, 1920), 109.

171.27 Daniel Mitchell] Daniel Mitchell (c. 1808–?), a Quaker abolitionist from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, corresponded with William Lloyd Garrison and often hosted visiting abolitionist speakers. Mitchell ran a tannery in Pawtucket. He also attended the 1850 Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, Massachusetts. *Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Worcester, October 23d and 24th, 1850* (Boston, 1851), 82; 1850 U.S. Census, Rhode Island, Providence County, 336; Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism,* 2 vols. (London, 1921), 2:580; Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven, *The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network* (Boston, 2002), 27–28, 48–50, 105, 220.

171.27 William Adams] William Adams (1790–1868) a Scotch-born Quaker of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was a middle-class grocer and a member of both the Pawtucket Anti-Slavery Society and the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society. He raised funds, distributed pamphlets, and invited famous antislavery lecturers, such as William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, Charles Stuart, and George Thompson, to make addresses in the state. The Scottish origins of Adam's free produce—goods not grown manufactured through slavery—at his grocery store attracted both abolitionist and Quaker patrons, and brought attention to the antislavery cause in wider circles. Adams often sold his wares at the Pawtucket antislavery fairs organized by his wife, Janette Adams, and other abolitionist women. He attended the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London as a state delegate along with Rhode Island's only other delegate, Charles L. Redmond, a close friend. His wife not only hosted abolitionist visitors, such as Redmond, but also was a member of the Pawtucket Juvenile Society, and, along with local abolitionists Susan Sisson and Cynthia Potter Bliss, founded and built the Pawtucket fairs into a strong communal network of antislavery support, whose influence reached into neighboring cities and towns. Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 102–03, 192–93.

171.27–28 Robert Shrove of Pawtucket] Robert Shrove of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was an active supporter of Douglass's newspapers, subscribing first to the *North Star* and later to *Frederick Douglass' Paper. NS,* 14 December 1849; *FDP,* 22 June 1852, 11 February 1853, 9 February 1855.

171.28 Peleg Clarke] Peleg Clarke (1784–1875), a physician from Coventry, Rhode Island, was active in various reform movements, including temperance and abolitionism. The longtime president of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society, Clarke left the Quaker church to protest the denomination's lack of support of antislavery activities. His daughter, Lydia Clarke, was the president of the Coventry Anti-Slavery Society. Clarke was also nationally known as a leader of the Associationist movement, which located socialist "Phalanxes" or communities in New York, Pennsylvania, and areas of the Midwest. Most were tied to the philosophies of the French socialist Charles Fourier. Clarke served as a vice president of the New England Fourier Society in the 1840s and represented Rhode Island at the first convention of the American Union of Associationists in 1844. Clarke was also among the individuals responsible for the creation of the Providence Affiliated Union in 1847. The Rhode Island Fourierists had close ties with the abolitionist community, and many members were also active in antislavery reform. Although the group managed to open a Fourierist-inspired retail cooperative, no Phalanxes were established in Rhode Island. Clarke practiced homeopathic medicine in the state for over sixty years and championed temperance as well as abolitionism. William Harvey King, *History of Homeopathy and Its Institutions in America,* 4 vols. (New York, 1905), 1:181; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 65–67, 69, 97, 101–02; Charles R. Crowe, "Utopian Socialism in Rhode Island," *Rhode Island History,* 18:20–26 (January 1959).

171.28 Caleb Kelton] Caleb Kelton (c. 1782–?), a close friend of Peleg Clarke and a farmer from near Coventry in Kent County, Rhode Island. *Transactions of the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry in the Year 1862* (Providence, 1863), 132; 1850 U.S. Census, Rhode Island, Kent County, 268.

171.28 G. J. Adams] The identity of this individual remains unclear. Possibly Douglass refers to the Rhode Island businessman George James Adams, best known for his purchase and manumission of Bethany Veney, a Virginia slave, in 1858. Bethany Veney, *The Narrative of Bethany Veney: A Slave Woman* (Worcester, Mass., 1889), 34–40.

171.29 Anthonys] The Anthonys were prominent residents of Providence, Rhode Island. In the early nineteenth century Hezekiah Anthony (c. 1788–?) operated a prosperous grocery business, and became a leader among the Methodist community of the city at a time when few small shopkeepers were so distinguished. The reputation and influence of the Anthony family grew during the middle of the century, when Henry Bowen Anthony (1815–84), a former owner and editor of the Providence *Journal,* became a force to be reckoned with in the Rhode Island Republican party. Anthony was elected governor of Rhode Island in 1849 and 1850, and was elected as a

Republican to the U.S. Senate in 1858. Anthony, whose faction in the state Republican party became known as the "Journal Ring," became the state's senior senator in 1868. He served in Congress until his death in 1884. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Tenth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1883), 238.2000; William G. McLoughlin, *Rhode Island: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1978), 150–55; Mark S. Schantz, *Piety in Providence: Class Dimensions of Religious Experience in Antebellum Rhode Island* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), 86–94; *BDUSC* (online).

171.29 Goulds] Members of the Gould family of Cranston, Rhode Island, were praised by William Lloyd Garrison as avid abolitionists in the 1830s. Sarah Gould traveled with Abby Kelley on a lecture tour through the state in 1841. In the mid-1840s a theological quarrel among New England Quakers led Gould family members to withdraw from public antislavery activities. Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 64–65, 210, 270.

171.29 Edward Harris of Woonsocket] Rhode Island industrialist Edward Harris (1801–72) was one of the largest manufacturers of woolen textiles the in mid-nineteenth century. He founded and operated the Harris Woolen Mills in Woonsocket, beginning construction on the first mill site in 1831. By the late 1840s Harris owned four textile mills producing as many as 250 varieties of wool fabric. Harris gave back to the community, funding the Harris Institute, a library and community center dedicated to the moral and social improvement of local residents. He was also active in local reform movements, including temperance and antislavery. Harris reportedly wrote to John Brown after his capture at Harpers Ferry in 1859, enclosing a check for $100 for the aid of Brown's family. Bayles, *History of Providence County,* 2:311–14, 397–99.

171.35 Stephen S. Foster] Born in Canterbury, New Hampshire, radical abolitionist Stephen Symonds Foster (1809–81) studied at Dartmouth College. In 1837, a year before his graduation, he helped to organize the New Hampshire Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. Foster briefly attended Union Theological Seminary in New York, but by 1839 he had repudiated the ministry. He developed his criticisms of American churches most fully in *The Brotherhood of Thieves; or, A True Picture of the American Church Clergy* (1843). His practice of interrupting a church service to speak out against complicity with slavery frequently provoked violent reaction. While Foster and his wife, Abby Kelley, whom he married in 1845, were agents for the American Anti-Slavery Society for nearly twenty years, their relationship with the Garrisonians was at best one of strained cooperation. Although Foster believed that the Constitution was a proslavery document, he periodically dabbled in politics. In 1843–44 he endorsed the Liberty party. In the late 1850s, having altered his view of the nature of the Constitution, Foster sought to establish a disunion party "whose avowed aim…[would] be the overthrow of the government…& whose will…[would] be expressed through the ballot box." In the mid-1850s he also argued in favor of slave rebellion in his *Revolution the Only Remedy for Slavery* (1855). A proponent of distributing land to the freedmen, Foster was disappointed with federal Reconstruction

policies. He devoted the last years of his life to agitating on behalf of temperance and women's rights. Parker Pillsbury, *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles* (Concord, N.H., 1883), 123–55; Lillie B. Chace Wyman, "Reminiscences of Two Abolitionists," *New England Magazine,* 27:536–50 (January 1903); Parker Pillsbury, "Stephen Symonds Foster," *Granite Monthly,* 5:369–75 (August 1882); Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, *Bound with Them in Chains: A Biographical History of the Antislavery Movement* (Westport, Conn., 1972), 191–217; Louis Filler, "Parker Pillsbury: An Anti-Slavery Apostle," *NEQ,* 19:315–37 (September 1946); *ACAB,* 2:514–15; *NCAB,* 2:328–29; *DAB,* 6:558–59.

171.35–36 Parker Pillsbury] The outspoken abolitionist orator, editor, and author Parker Pillsbury (1809–98) was born in Massachusetts but moved to Henniker, New Hampshire, where he farmed and worked as a wagoner until 1835. The local Congregational church there encouraged him to pursue the ministry. Pillsbury graduated from New Hampshire's Gilmanton Theological Seminary in 1838 and studied an additional year at Andover before accepting a church in Loudon, New Hampshire. Converted to abolitionism in Andover, Pillsbury incurred the displeasure of his congregation with sharp attacks on the churches' complicity with slavery. After his license to preach was revoked in 1840, he became lecturing agent for the New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and American antislavery societies, posts he held for over two decades. He edited the Concord (N.H.) *Herald of Freedom* in 1840 and again in 1845 and 1846 and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in 1866. He lectured widely, often in the company of Stephen S. Foster, and earned a reputation for his successful use of nonresistance in dealing with hostile crowds. Although he served on the executive committee of the New Hampshire Non-Resistance Society, he was among the strongest defenders of John Brown after the Harpers Ferry raid. During the Civil War, Pillsbury criticized Union war aims, especially before the Emancipation Proclamation, and in 1865 broke with Garrison over the necessity for continued activity by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Pillsbury helped to draft the constitution of the feminist American Equal Rights Association in 1865, served as vice president of the New Hampshire Woman Suffrage Association, and in 1868 and 1869 edited a weekly, *Revolution,* with Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Pillsbury completed his abolition memoirs, *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles,* in 1883. Stacey M. Robertson, *Parker Pillsbury: Radical Abolitionist, Male Feminist* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000); James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), 59–60, 100–102, 305–07; Mabee, *Black Freedom,* 112, 221–23, 329; Filler, "Parker Pillsbury," 315–37; *DAB,* 14:608–09.

171.36 Abby Kelley] Abby Kelley (1811–87) was born in Pelham village, Worcester County, Massachusetts, the seventh daughter of Wing Kelley, a farmer, and Diana Daniels, his second wife. Kelley was heavily influenced by her Quaker upbringing, but she later broke from the church because of its relative conservatism. Although her early schooling was scanty and deficient, Kelley saved and borrowed

money in order to attend the New England Friends Boarding School in Providence, Rhode Island. At age nineteen she returned home and then began a career of teaching in Lynn, Massachusetts, where she became an abolitionist through the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society. In 1838 Kelley spoke at Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia as it was being attacked by an angry protesting mob. In the same year she joined the New England Anti-Slavery Society, previously a male-only organization. She began a career as a lecturer, at both women's and men's gatherings, especially in conservative Connecticut. Kelley married Stephen Symonds Foster, another radical abolitionist, on 21 December 1845. Traveling together on the reform circuit, they were among the most prominent antislavery lecturers in the 1840s and 1850s. Sterling, *Ahead of Her Time; EAAH,* 2:39–40.

171.36 James Monroe] James Monroe (1821–98), a young Connecticut Quaker, abandoned plans to attend college in 1839 in order to lecture for the American Anti-Slavery Society. After three years he resumed his education, first attending Yale, then transferring to Oberlin. He began teaching at Oberlin while still an undergraduate and earned a theology degree from the institution in 1849. Monroe's continued activism on behalf of African Americans led to a political career. He served in the Ohio legislature (1856–62), acted as diplomat to Brazil during the Civil War, and won a seat in Congress during Reconstruction. Catherine Rokicky, "A Life of Public Service: James Monroe of Oberlin, 1821–1898" paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Oberlin Historical and Improvement Organization, 25 April 2001; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:422–23.

172.7 carpet-bagger] The term *carpetbagger* was generally applied to northerners who traveled south after the Civil War to profit from the social, economic, and political disorder then prevailing there. The label derived from the style of suitcase in which these northerners placed their meager belongings and also suggested their mobility and lack of rootedness. Although some of these northerners were unscrupulous adventurers seeking political or economic profit, many more came to initiate legitimate business enterprises or to serve as administrators, teachers, clergymen, and doctors for either the Freedmen's Bureau or the various benevolent societies organized to aid the blacks. Carpetbaggers usually received their opprobrious title because of their frequent willingness to aid the freedmen with material sustenance and to organize them politically. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877* (New York, 1965), 156–59; Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 1:273

172.12–13 Dorr party…on the other] The advocates of suffrage and democratic reform in Rhode Island led by Thomas Wilson Dorr have been variously labeled the Suffrage party, reform Democrats, Dorrites, and Suffragists. They supported the broadening of suffrage for white men, including recently naturalized U.S. citizens, and they endorsed replacement of the colonial charter of 1633 by the People's Constitution. A coalition of urban Whigs and rural Democrats, who promoted the status quo, formed the Law and Order party to oppose Dorr and his supporters. Gettleman, *Dorr Rebellion,* 80–83.

172.38 It was the "tide," "taken at the flood."] A garbled variant of *Julius Caesar,* sc. 12, lines 2009–10.

173.3 Such a constitution was finally adopted] Following the Dorrites' defeat and Dorr's imprisonment in 1842, the conservative Law and Order coalition in Rhode Island drafted a constitution that included the right of suffrage for African American men. Black males were also granted the right to vote for convention delegates in exchange for their support for local authorities and agreement to join local militia units loyal to the Law and Order party. The new constitution was ratified in November 1842. Gettleman, *Dorr Rebellion,* 129–30, 144–48.

173.5 State Anti-Slavery Society] Local and county organizations of immediate abolitionists began forming across Rhode Island in 1832 to support William Lloyd Garrison's publication of his *Liberator* in Boston. For several years such groups of both male and female Rhode Islanders functioned as auxiliaries to the New England Anti-Slavery Society. In February 1836 representatives from many of these groups held a three-day convention and formed the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society. Two years later the state society opened an office in downtown Providence from which abolitionist lecturing, fundraising, and petition circulating were coordinated. The Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society was practically unique in maintaining cooperation among adherents of both the Garrisonians and their abolitionist opponents after the fractious quarrels of the late 1830s and early 1840s. A dedicated band of women deserves credit for keeping the organization functioning until the Civil War. Van Broeckhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 4–5, 13, 17–18, 124–25, 218–19; Roman J. Zorn, "The New England Anti-Slavery Society: Pioneer Abolition Organization," *JNH,* 42:163–64, 175–76 (July 1957).

173.7 partook of the spirit of its founder] Douglass projects the independent character of Rhode Island's founder, the dissenting minister Roger Williams (1603–83), onto the nineteenth-century state. Williams's theological disputes with the Puritan leaders of Massachusetts in the mid-1630s caused him to remove to the nearby unsettled Rhode Island to start his own colony with a strict separation of church and state spheres and a high degree of religious toleration. Edmund S. Morgan, *Roger Williams: The Church and the State* (New York, 1967); *DAB,* 20:286–89.

173.14 Keltons] Probably the family of Caleb Kelton.

173.15 Greenes] The Greene family were among the earliest settlers in what became the state of Rhode Island. John Greene came to Narragansett from England as early as 1639 and gained title to considerable land holdings. His descendants were among the most prominent residents of East Greenwich and Warwick, Rhode Island. The most famous of the Greenes was the Revolutionary War general, Nathanael Greene, who was a member of the Warwick branch of the family. [Bicknell], *Rhode Island,* 181–82; McLoughlin, *Rhode Island,* 99–100.

173.15 Sissons] The antebellum Sisson family was an extended clan of Rhode Island Quakers with branches in both Kent and Providence Counties. The Sissons of Pawtucket, in Providence County, included Joseph T. Sisson (1808–?), who was an

attorney and a postmaster, and his five older sisters. In 1834 Joseph helped found the all-male Pawtucket Anti-Slavery Society. In the 1840s Joseph was a manager of the Garrisonian American Anti-Slavery Society. His sisters organized a juvenile and a female antislavery society in Pawtucket in 1835. Sisters Anna (1806–40) and Susan (1800–?) contributed goods to an annual fair to support abolitionist activities. Susan was a seamstress who worked with Elizabeth Buffum Chace to increase the contributions of local antislavery sewing circles to the antislavery fairs in Pawtucket. She chaired the Pawtucket Fair Committee between 1843 and 1857. Susan also arranged for visiting lectures for the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society after 1842 as more women began taking a more active role in the society following political fallout from the Dorr War for its male leaders. The Kent County Sissons were first cousins to the Pawtucket County Sissons. Asa Sisson (1815–93) was a machinist who worked in the textile industries of Kent County, Rhode Island, and participated in the state antislavery meetings. Asa's sisters, Hannah (1799–?), Lydia (1813–83), and Sarah (1819–93), were founding members of the Kent County women's antislavery auxiliary. In 1845 the sisters unsuccessfully petitioned for the state legislature to repeal discriminatory laws based on skin color and end segregation in railway cars. Asa married Mary Ann Peck from another abolitionist family who under pressure from their Quaker meeting abandoned immediatism in favor of the Free Produce Movement, boycotting the sale of slave-produced items. However, the Kent County Sissons continued to contribute goods to the Pawtucket antislavery fairs, organized by their cousins. *History of the State of Rhode Island* (Philadelphia, 1878), 230; Cole, *History of Washington and Kent Counties, Rhode Island,* 1243; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 37, 46–49, 65, 99–105, 184, 191–93, 197, 201, 221–12.

173.15 Eldredges] The Eldredge family settled in East Greenwich, Rhode Island, in 1810. The patriarch of the family, Dr. Charles Eldredge (1784–1838), trained in medicine under Benjamin Rush at the University of Pennsylvania and moved to East Greenwich temporarily to treat patients during an epidemic in 1810. His medical practice quickly became permanent, and the Eldredge family was soon counted among the town's elite. Eldridge's two sons remained in East Greenwich: the eldest, Charles Child, was a successful farmer; the younger, James Henry, studied medicine, then formed his own successful medical practice. [Bicknell], *Rhode Island,* 109–10.

173.15 Mitchells] Probably the family of Daniel Mitchell.

173.16 Aplins] Judge William Aplin had been the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society's state office agent but was removed in 1843 as a result of allegations of poor management. Aplin is recorded in attendance at an abolitionist meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, with Douglass in 1841. Concord (N.H.) *Herald of Freedom,* 3 December 1841; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 51, 106.

173.16 Fairbankses] Providence merchant Asa Fairbanks (1795–1876) was a vice president of the American Anti-Slavery Society from 1846 to 1864. His wife, Anna Fairbanks (1797–1870), was a hardworking abolitionist organizer in the city. Both were agents for the Underground Railroad. American Anti-Slavery Society, *Platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society and Its Auxiliaries* (New York, 1855), 6; idem, *Platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society and Its Auxiliaries* (New York, 1860), 6; Lorenzo Sayles Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family in America, 1633–1897* (Boston, 1897), 491; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 174.

173.21–22 The Stonington route] The Providence and Stonington route was one of six railroad routes popular with passengers traveling between Boston and New York City. Washington (D.C.) *National Era,* 13 May 1847.

173.22 "hard road" for a colored man "to travel"] The song originally titled "Jordan Is a Hard Road to Travel" was most likely written by Dan Emmett around 1850, and its lyrics satirized many aspects of antebellum life. However, Douglass more likely alludes to the 1863 song "Richmond Is a Hard Road to Travel," a parody of the former, for which John Reuben Thompson, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger,* wrote new lyrics satirizing the Union's failed attempts to capture Richmond; Thompson dedicated the song to the then Union General Ambrose E. Burnside. The Hutchinson Family Singers later transformed it into an antislavery song, and Lincoln's supporters adapted it as well. Irwin Silber, ed., *Songs of the Civil War* (1960; New York, 1995), 309.

173.24 Sound between New York and Stonington] The Long Island Sound separates Long Island, New York, and the southeast shore of New York from the East River to Upper New York Bay and connects with the northern Block Island Sound, located southwest of New London, Connecticut. It is ninety miles in length and three to twenty miles in width and is fed by the northern Housatonic, Connecticut, and Thames Rivers. Its major port cities are New Haven, New London, and Bridgeport, Connecticut. It is a primary shipping route along the Atlantic coast and a popular residential boating center. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 1079; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1774.

174.1 William White] Born into a prominent family in Watertown, Massachusetts, William Abijah White (1818–56) graduated from Harvard University in 1838, then studied law. He abandoned a legal career to advocate such reforms as abolition and temperance. In 1843 Douglass, club in hand, charged the platform at Pendleton, Indiana, when a mob assaulted his speaking companion, White, and lacerated his scalp. On behalf of the temperance cause, White owned and edited the *New Englander,* the *Excelsior,* and the *Washingtonian.* In 1854 White migrated to Wisconsin, where he became an ardent Republican party leader. *Lib.,* 5 June 1857; Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 3:101; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:422n.

174.5 "Jim Crow" car] The term *Jim Crow* derives from the refrain of a popular nineteenth-century plantation song, "Wheel about and turn about and jump Jim Crow." The term refers to a stage presentation of a song and dance first performed by Thomas D. Rice and later used in minstrel shows. A "Jim Crow car" was a railroad car for the exclusive use of African Americans, and seems to have first been used in Massachusetts in 1841. Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 1:907.

174.10–11 The abolitionists…respectful hearing] Douglass refers to the parting

of the Red Sea in Exodus 15:1–4. When Moses led his people out of Egypt, Pharaoh attempted to thwart their passage, but God intervened, drowning the Egyptian chariots and soldiers. Douglass links this story to the burgeoning abolitionist movement, which had frequently been the target of mob attacks in the 1830s.

174.13–14 Hartford, Conn., and Grafton, Mass.] Hartford is a city in central Connecticut on the Connecticut River. Grafton is a town in south-central Massachusetts. Surprisingly, Connecticut and Massachusetts were the most hostile of the New England states to abolitionists, even though they had numerous antislavery societies. Connecticut had sixteen antiabolition mobbings from 1833 to 1837, while Massachusetts surpassed that number with seventeen. Leonard L. Richards, *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York, 1970), 40; Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 703, 761.

174.14 Hudson] Erasmus Darwin Hudson (1805–80), a surgeon, was born in Torringford, Connecticut. He graduated from Berkshire Medical College in 1827, then went on to practice in Bloomfield, Connecticut. Hudson began lecturing on temperance the next year, and from 1837 to 1849 was a lecturing agent of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society and general agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He also wrote several articles for the *Liberator* and *National Anti-Slavery Standard* while an agent, and coedited the *Charter Oak* from 1838 to 1841. Hudson met Douglass in New York in August 1842, and the two became friends, speaking together on a number of occasions, including in Hartford, Connecticut, in the spring of 1843. During the Civil War Hudson was appointed a surgeon in charge of specialty-case gunshot and amputee injuries. The inventor of prosthetic and orthopedic appendages, Hudson won several awards for his pioneering work in the field. In 1850 Hudson removed to New York, where he wrote articles about prosthestics. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 98–99, 103; *ACAB,* 3:296.

174.14 Foster] In 1843 Stephen Symonds Foster joined Douglass, Garrison, Abigail Kelley, and others in Hartford, Connecticut, where they were barred from speaking in any building. *Lib.,* 26 May 1843.

174.17 Hawes] The Reverend Joel Hawes, D.D. (1789–1867), graduated from Brown University in 1813, then continued his education at Andover Theological Seminary. On 4 March 1818 he was ordained and called to service as pastor of the First Church in Hartford, Connecticut. He served as its pastor until his death in 1867 in Gilead, Connecticut. E. O. Jameson, *The Biographical Sketches of Prominent Persons, and the Genealogical Records of Many Early and Other Families in Medway, Mass., 1713–1886* (Millis, Mass., 1886), 52–54.

174.23 Grafton Common] Douglass recalls his speech at Grafton, Massachusetts. Although a precise date cannot be determined, Douglass spoke there in mid-August 1842. Theron E. Hall wrote a letter dated 18 August 1842 to William Lloyd Garrison, describing Douglass's lectures at Sutton and Grafton, Massachusetts, which was published in the *Liberator.* Additionally, a firsthand report of the events in Grafton was printed in the *Herald of Freedom* on 19 August 1842. The *Herald* account notes that

Douglass was there a "few days since," making the most likely dates either 15 or 16 August, putting Douglass at Sutton on 16 or 17 August. Concord (N.H.) *Herald of Freedom,* 19 August 1842; *Lib.,* 9 September 1842.

174.27 Manchester, N.H.] Douglass, along with Charles Remond, Henry Clapp, Jr., and James Buffum, spoke in Dodge Hall at the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society quarterly meeting on 19 April 1845. *Lib.,* 18 April 1845.

174.31 Eastern Railroad] The Eastern Railroad extended from East Boston through the Massachusetts towns of Lynn, Salem, and Newburyport, connecting with the Portland, Saco, and Portsmouth Railroad at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In 1842 the line merged with the larger Boston and Maine Railroad. George Pierce Baker, *The Formation of the New England Railroad Systems: A Study of Railroad Combination in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 147–49.

175.1 "fellows of the baser sort,"] Acts 17:5.

175.4–5 "to snake me out."] As a verb, "to snake" may carry the meaning of dragging along. The men sent to remove Douglass were told to drag him out of the train car.

175.10 Stephen A. Chase] Stephen A. Chase (c. 1797–?) was superintendent of the Eastern Railroad. Though a Quaker, he had a reputation for enforcing segregation policies on the railroad. 1850 U.S. Census, Massachusetts, Essex County, 96; Mabee, *Black Freedom,* 120.

175.11–12 ordered all…without stopping] The incident Douglass describes was a combination of two events. The first took place on 8 September 1841 as he traveled to an antislavery meeting in Dover, New Hampshire, with John A. Collins, the general agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. According to one report, Douglass was forcibly moved to the segregated "Jim Crow" car. Later the same month Douglass challenged this policy of the Eastern Railroad at Lynn, Massachusetts, and, when asked to move to the segregated car, he refused, holding tightly to the bench seat. The incident led to outrage among the citizens of Lynn and a call to boycott the Eastern Railroad. Dover (N.H.) *Morning Star,* 15 September 1841; Lynn *Record,* 29 September, 6, 27 October 1841.

175.14 James N. Buffum] James Needham Buffum (1807–87), born of Quaker parents in North Berwick, Maine, spent most of his life in Lynn, Massachusetts, where he amassed considerable wealth as a carpenter, house contractor, real estate speculator, and financier. Dissatisfied with Quaker passivity on reform issues, Buffum was an early convert to Garrisonianism and participated in the campaign to desegregate New England's public transportation during the early 1840s. From 1845 through 1847 Buffum accompanied Douglass on a lecture tour of Great Britain. He served as treasurer of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society and vice president of a Fourierist organization called Friends of Social Reform. During Reconstruction he was director of Charles Stearns's Laborers' Homestead and Southern Emigration Society, which bought land in Virginia for resale to freedmen. Chosen a presidential elector in 1868, Buffum served as mayor of Lynn from 1869 to 1875 and was elected to the

Massachusetts legislature in 1873. Clarence W. Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings* (Lynn, Mass., 1886), 141–42; Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 3:324–25, 4:358; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:138n; Mabee, *Black Freedom,* 114, 119–21, 125, 210–11, 221, 225, 250, 342.

175.14 Jonathan Buffum] Jonathan Buffum (1793–1868) was a shoemaker, house painter, and merchant in Lynn, Massachusetts. Born and raised a Quaker, he later devoted his religious interests to spiritualism. Buffum was also involved with the public affairs of Lynn; he was the president of the town's first antislavery society and held several town offices. In 1816 he married Hannah Breed, and together they had five children. William Richard Cutter, ed., *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts,* 4 vols. (New York, 1908), 3:1616–17.

175.14 Christopher Robinson] Christopher Robinson (1799–1876), of Lynn, Massachusetts, was a prominent shoe manufacturer and owner of two Lynn newspapers, the *Essex County Washingtonian,* a temperance paper, and the *Lynn Pioneer,* which merged with Nathaniel P. Rogers's paper to become the *Pioneer and Herald of Freedom.* He married Eliza Spinney in 1820. Lynn Historical Society, *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society for the Year 1897* (Lynn, Mass., 1898), 32–33; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:270.

175.21 "negro pew,"] Throughout much of the antebellum North, many denominations practiced segregation in their churches. Only whites could lease or purchase pews and sit in the front of church. Separate pews in the back of the church or in a balcony were designated for African American parishioners. In this way whites could ensure that blacks stayed in an inferior social status. Litwack, *North of Slavery,* 196–97; Curry, *Free Black in Urban America,* 174–75, 180–83.

175.35–176.1 The New England…of that year] After several preliminary meetings in late 1831, a small band of twelve immediate abolitionists met at Boston's African Baptist Church on 6 January 1832 and approved a constitution to launch the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Arnold Buffum was elected the group's president. Lecturing by Buffum, William Lloyd Garrison, and others motivated the formation of large numbers of local auxiliaries to the society across the region in the next few years. The society opened an office in Boston in early 1834 to coordinate distribution of antislavery publications and lecturing by its several full-time field agents. Immediate abolitionists formed a national organization, the American Anti-Slavery Society, at a convention in Philadelphia in December 1833. The New England society made itself an auxiliary of the national group in February 1834, but in the fall of the same year abolitionists in New Hampshire and Maine met and formed state auxiliaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In February 1835 the New England Anti-Slavery Society renamed itself the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and narrowed its operations to the one state. The region's abolitionists, however, continued to meet together in the early spring of each year at a "New England Anti-Slavery Convention," which in some form perpetuated the pioneer abolitionist group. At that convention in

1843, now controlled by supporters of Garrison, the idea of a national speaking tour of "One Hundred Conventions," conceived by the American Anti-Slavery Society's general agent John A. Collins, was endorsed to stimulate the formation of new local auxiliaries. *NASS,* 2 March 1843; Thomas D. Hamm, *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842–1846* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995), 88–90; Stanley Harrold, *American Abolitionists* (New York, 2001), 32–34; Zorn, "New England Anti-Slavery Society," 159–60, 163–64, 173–76.

176.3 one hundred conventions] As part of a Garrisonian lecturing campaign known as the "One Hundred Conventions," Douglass traveled extensively in July, August, and September 1843. He usually spoke in the company of George Bradburn and John A. Collins, but Sydney Howard Gay, Charles Lenox Remond, William A. White, Abby Kelley, and other abolitionists sometimes joined him. After speaking in Vermont in mid-July, Douglass and his companions lectured in central and western New York in August, and in Ohio and Indiana in September. *Lib.,* 23 June, 21 July, 11 August, 8, 22 September, 13 October 1843; *NASS,* 22 June, 3, 10, 31 August, 14 September, 19 October 1843.

176.10 George Bradburn] Son of a woolens manufacturer in Attleboro, Massachusetts, George Bradburn (1806–80) trained for the Unitarian ministry, but subsequently devoted his energies to championing numerous secular reforms. Bradburn also acted as an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1839, and he attended the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. He was not a strict Garrisonian, however, opposing all propositions in favor of dissolving the Union and favoring political means to accomplish the abolition of slavery. Bradburn represented Nantucket as a Whig in the state legislature (1839–42), where he led the successful effort to repeal Massachusetts's antimiscegenation law. In the 1840s he lectured for the Garrisonians and traveled with Douglass on many occasions. He later joined the Free Soil party and edited two Free Soil newspapers, the *Pioneer and Herald of Freedom* and the *True Democrat.* In addition to abolitionism, Bradburn supported women's rights, temperance, pacifism, and an end to capital punishment. Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, *Eleventh Annual Report: Presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society by Its Board of Directors* (Boston, 1843), 44, 90–91; idem, *Twelfth Annual Report: Presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* (Boston, 1844), 34; George Bradburn, *A Memorial of George Bradburn,* comp. Frances H. Bradburn (Boston, 1883).

176.11 Charles L. Remond] Noted black antislavery lecturer Charles Lenox Remond (1810–73) was born to free parents in Salem, Massachusetts, where, like his father, who was an immigrant from Curaçao, he worked as a barber. Remond became active in reform movements at an early age. A member of the Colored Association of Massachusetts when it merged with the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, he became an officer in the latter organization. By 1838 Remond had begun his career as a lecturer under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society. A delegate to the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, Remond traveled and lectured

in the British Isles for some sixteen months. Upon his return, Remond was employed as a lecture agent by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and he and Douglass frequently traveled together on lecture tours. Their close association was troubled as a rift between Douglass and Garrison threatened, and in 1852 Remond announced his intention to cancel his subscription to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in protest against Douglass's adoption of non-Garrisonian views of the U.S. Constitution. During the Civil War Remond was a recruiting officer for the black Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry. Illness curtailed his reform activities after the war. *FDP,* 20 May 1852; New York *Daily Times,* 26 December 1873; *NNE,* 8 January 1874; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 46; Les Wallace, "Charles Lenox Remond: The Lost Prince of Abolitionism," *NHB,* 40:696–701 (May–June 1977); *NCAB,* 2:303; *DAB,* 15:499–500.

176.12 Sydney Howard Gay] Born in Hingham, Massachusetts, Sydney Howard Gay (1814–88) abandoned the study of law in his father's office to embrace the nonviolent principles of Garrisonian abolitionists. After lecturing for the American Anti-Slavery Society in the early 1840s, Gay edited its official New York City–based newspaper, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* from 1844 to 1858. From there he went to work for the New York *Tribune,* serving as that Republican party paper's managing editor during the Civil War. Gay held the same position at the Chicago *Tribune* (1868–71) and then devoted most of his energies to writing popular histories and biographies. Raimund Erhard Goerler, "Family, Self, and Anti-Slavery: Sydney Howard Gay and the Abolitionist Commitment" (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1975); *ACAB,* 2:618; *NCAB,* 2:494; *DAB,* 7:195.

176.17 Those who only…it is to-day] In the years following the Civil War, Vermont proudly celebrated its reputation as the "most outspoken antislavery state in the Union." Residents pointed to the Vermont Constitution of 1777, which was the first in the new nation to prohibit slavery, and to the numerous legislative resolutions and petitions Vermonters submitted during the Missouri crisis in 1819–20. Vermont also had many buildings claiming heritage as stops on the Underground Railroad. Bennington was the location of a short-lived abolitionist newspaper published by William Lloyd Garrison in 1828. J. Kevin Graffagnino, "Vermont Attitudes toward Slavery: The Need for a Closer Look," *Vermont History,* 45:31–32 (Winter 1977).

176.20 Middlebury] Located in western Vermont's Addison County, Middlebury is approximately thirty-two miles south of the state's largest city, Burlington. The first of the "One Hundred Conventions" was held there on 13 and 14 July 1843, with Douglass and John A. Collins among the featured speakers. While in Vermont, Collins fell ill and stayed for several days at the home of Rowland T. Robinson, a prominent local abolitionist. *Lib.,* 21 July, 25 August 1843; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1972.

176.20 William Slade] Vermont Whig attorney William Slade (1786–1859), founding editor of the weekly Democratic newspaper the *Columbian Patriot,* entered Vermont politics as secretary of state in 1815. Slade held that post until 1822 while simultaneously serving as judge of the Addison County Court. He moved to

Washington, D.C., in 1824, when he accepted a position in the Department of State. He returned to Vermont in 1829 and was appointed to the position of state attorney general until elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as an Anti-Mason. During his twelve years in the House, both as an Anti-Mason and as a Whig, Slade was an outspoken critic of slavery and fought against the gag rules that prevented petitions of abolitionists from appearing before Congress. Slade left Congress in 1843 and in 1844 was elected governor of Vermont for one term. He later served as secretary for the Board of National Popular Education and recruited teachers for service in western states. *DAB,* 17:203–04; *BDUSC* (online).

176.21 John Quincy Adams] The eldest son of John Adams, John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) served as the American ambassador to the Netherlands, Berlin, Russia, and England during the early years of the Republic. He also held office as U.S. senator from Massachusetts (1803–08), secretary of state in James Monroe's cabinet (1817–25), and president of the United States (1825–29). From 1831 until his death, Adams sat in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he opposed slavery and its extension and fought the gag rule on abolitionist petitions. In late 1831 he made his first anti-slavery speech on the floor of Congress when he introduced fifteen petitions from Pennsylvania Quakers praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Adams also defended a band of captured Africans before the Supreme Court in the *Amistad* case in 1841. Despite his association with the abolitionist cause, Adams said that he personally favored ending only the slave trade. Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Union* (New York, 1956); Leonard L. Richards, *The Life and Times of Congressman John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1986); Paul C. Nagel, *John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, a Private Life* (New York, 1997).

176.24 Edward Barber] Edward D. Barber (c. 1806–55) was a prominent citizen of Middlebury, Vermont. He graduated from Middlebury College in 1829, and then became the editor of the *Anti-Masonic Republican,* which he helped to found. Afterward Barber edited the *Middlebury Free Press,* and in 1834 he was licensed as a lawyer. Also an active politician, Barber represented Middlebury in the state house of representatives in 1832–33 and held other community offices thereafter. He was a lifelong advocate for social reform in Middlebury and was frequently called for public speaking engagements there. Samuel Swift, *History of the Town of Middlebury in the County of Addison, Vermont* (Middlebury, 1859), 347–48.

176.32 Ferrisburgh] Ferrisburgh, Vermont, lies on Lake Champlain, approximately forty-five miles north of Middlebury. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:996–97.

176.33 Orson S. Murray] Beginning in 1833, Orson S. Murray (1806–85) organized twenty local antislavery societies in Vermont as an agent for the New England Anti-Slavery Society and served as secretary for the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society. Following his ordination as a Baptist minister in 1837, he expanded the agenda of the state's Baptist newspaper, the *Vermont Telegraph,* to include abolition. In early 1844 he abandoned his Baptist ministry and moved to New York City to publish the *Regenerator,* a reform journal. The journal soon ceased publication, and Murray

planned to move to the utopian Society for Universal Enquiry and Reform in Ohio. Although the society failed before Murray arrived at its settlement, he purchased a farm and resumed publication of the *Regenerator* there from 1845 to 1856. *ANB,* 16:166–7.

176.34 Charles C. Burleigh] Charles Calistus Burleigh (1810–78) was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, and received his early schooling at Plainfield Academy. He had begun to study the law when an attack he published on the Connecticut "Black Law" attracted the attention of abolitionist Samuel J. May. Through May, Burleigh was offered the editorship of the *Unionist,* a new antislavery paper financed by Arthur Tappan. Burleigh was instrumental in protecting William Lloyd Garrison from a mob in Boston in October 1835, and shortly thereafter became a regular contributor to the *Liberator.* In the late 1830s Burleigh became one of the editors of the *Pennsylvania Freeman,* later the organ of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Active in a number of reform movements, Burleigh plunged into the antisabbatarian campaign after he was arrested in West Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1847 for selling antislavery literature on Sunday. In 1845 he published a pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Death Penalty,* condemning capital punishment. He participated in the woman suffrage conventions in Cleveland and New York City in 1854, and the American Equal Rights Association meeting in 1867. In the 1870s he joined his brother, William Henry, in the campaign for temperance reform. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage,* 6 vols. (Rochester, 1881–1922), 1:148–51; C. B. Galbreath, "Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* 30: 389–91 (October 1921); *ACAB,* 1:455; *DAB,* 3:284–85.

176.34 Rowland T. Robinson] Rowland Thomas Robinson (1796–1879) and his parents, Thomas and Jemima, Hicksite Quakers, were at the center of the Ferrisburgh, Vermont, antislavery community. They were known to aid fugitives on the Underground Railroad and encouraged boycotts of goods made with slave labor. Rowland founded the Ferrisburgh Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, became an agent of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society in 1834, and served as an agent for Frederick Douglass's *North Star* from 1847 to 1849. In 1850 Robinson raised money for the defense of William L. Chaplin, who was being held in Washington, D.C., under the charge of aiding fugitive slaves. Also a temperance advocate, he was elected as the sole Vermont delegate to the World's Temperance Convention in New York in 1853. *NS,* 3 December 1847, 5 January 1849, 5 September 1850; *FDP,* 2 September 1853; Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom* (1898; New York, 1967), 130; Ronald Saloman, "Being Good: An Abolitionist Family Attempts to Live Up to Its Own Standard," *Vermont History,* 69:32–47 (Winter 2001); *ANB,* 18:674.

176.36–38 Her proud boast…of *anti*-slavery] Before and during the Civil War, a segment of Vermont society was hostile to the abolition movement. In the 1830s and 1840s, antislavery organizing was difficult in Vermont commercial towns, and the state's Democratic press tended to denounce antislavery activities. During an 1835 lecture tour on behalf of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, Connecticut Unitarian minister Samuel J. May was mobbed on at least five occasions, and his speeches in Rutland and Montpelier were cut short because of hostility from the audience. The Reverend Joshua Young of the Burlington Congregational Unitarian Church was denounced in the Burlington *Times* for delivering the oration at the funeral of John Brown in North Elba, New York, in 1859. The bishop of Vermont's Protestant Episcopal Church condemned the antislavery movement in several publications, and continued his opposition after the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. Graffagnino, "Vermont Attitudes toward Slavery," 31–34.

176.38 Green Mountain State] Vermont takes its nickname, "the Green Mountain State," from the range of the Appalachian Mountains that stretches from north to south, beginning in southern Quebec and running through the state. The Green Mountains are heavily forested, with low rounded peaks, the highest of which is Mount Mansfield (4,393 ft.). W. Storrs Lee, *The Green Mountains of Vermont* (New York, 1955), 9–12; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:1167.

177.1 Erie canal] In the nineteenth century, the Erie Canal was the most important waterway in the United States. The state of New York had authorized funds for the project's construction in 1817. When completed in 1825, the 360-mile-long canal ran from Lake Erie, at Tonawanda, to Cohes, on the Hudson River near Albany. Traffic on the narrow channel of water was heavy. Nearly 7,000 boats arrived in Albany from western New York in 1826 alone. In 1836 New York began widening and reinforcing the canal, and construction on this enlargement continued intermittently until 1862. As the sole waterway linking New York City to the Great Lakes, the Erie Canal was responsible for the rapid economic growth of New York during the antebellum era. Some middle-class reformers, however, believed the Erie Canal responsible for attracting boat hands, horse drivers, and laborers whose behavior the reformers criticized as immoral and lewd. Ronald E. Shaw, *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1794–1854* (Lexington, Ky., 1966), 239–42; Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817–1862* (New York, 1996), 138–71; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:949–50.

177.2 mobocratic] Pertaining to rule by mob, usually connoting violence.

177.3 Samuel J. May] Samuel Joseph May (1797–1871) mixed abolitionism with a variety of other humanitarian concerns during his long career as a Unitarian clergyman. Boston-born and Harvard-educated, May studied theology at Harvard Divinity School and was ordained in 1822. During his forty-year ministry he championed such causes as temperance, women's rights, pacifism, universal education, and abolitionism. Originally a supporter of African colonization, May joined the abolitionist ranks in 1830, supported Prudence Crandall's efforts to establish a school for black youths in 1833, and enjoyed a long tenure as an agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. During the 1840s and 1850s he helped many fugitive slaves reach Canada; in 1851 he helped rescue Jerry McHenry from slave catchers in

Syracuse, New York. After the Civil War he worked with black colleagues such as Jermain W. Loguen and Douglass to fight racial segregation in New York schools. Donald Yacovone, *Samuel Joseph May and the Dilemmas of the Liberal Persuasion, 1797–1871* (Philadelphia, 1991); Pease and Pease, *Bound with Them in Chains,* 276–307; *NCAB,* 2:313; *DAB,* 12:447–48.

177.4 "Jerry rescue,"] Douglass alludes to New Yorkers' resistance to enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, especially the famous "Jerry Rescue" at Syracuse on 1 October 1851. William Henry, commonly known as Jerry, a runaway from Missouri residing in Syracuse, was arrested and brought before the local fugitive slave commissioner. However, abolitionists attending a Liberty party convention rescued Jerry from his captors and spirited him off to Canada. Although several of the rescuers, including Gerrit Smith, Samuel J. May, and Charles A. Wheaton, were indicted, only one was found guilty, and the rest of the cases were dropped. Abolitionists considered the Jerry Rescue a great victory and commemorated its anniversary with public speeches and festivals until the Civil War. Earl E. Sperry, *The Jerry Rescue: October 1, 1851* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1924); Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 101, 154–57; Gara, *Liberty Line,* 42, 111–12, 128, 132.

177.4 Beriah Greene] Congregational minister and abolitionist Beriah Green (1795–1874) became active in antislavery agitation during his tenure as professor of sacred literature at Western Reserve College (1830–33). He presided at the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia in December 1833 and was president (1833–43) of the racially integrated manual-labor school, Oneida Institute, near Whitesboro, New York. A founding member of the Liberty party, Green held back from the Free Soil fusion of 1848, fearing a dilution of antislavery principles. In 1843 he headed a secession from the Whitesboro Presbyterian Church to serve as pastor of the abolitionist Congregational Church in Whitesboro until 1867. Beriah Green, *Sermons and Discourses with Brief Biographical Hints* (New York, 1860), 165–67, 231–41; Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 3:211; Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 98n, 107; *NCAB,* 2:326; *DAB,* 7:539–40.

177.4 William Goodell] William Goodell (1792–1878), a New York abolitionist and newspaper editor, helped to form both the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty party. As a writer and editor, Goodell contributed to a number of reform and antislavery publications, including the *Genius of Temperance,* the *Emancipator,* the *Friend of Man,* the *American Jubilee,* the *Radical Abolitionist,* and *Principia.* Goodell's abolitionist ideals did not always fall in line with the Garrisonians'. On religion, Goodell agreed wholeheartedly that established churches supported proslavery ideology, and he went so far as to establish his own nonsectarian church in Honeoye, New York, on the principles of temperance and antislavery. In contrast, Goodell broke with the Garrisonians on the issue of politics. He helped found the Liberty party, looking to use political means in the fight against slavery. Sorin, *New York Abolitionists,* 57–62; Perry, *Radical Abolitionism,* 46–48, 180–83; *DAB,* 7:384–85.

177.4–5 Alvan Stewart] Alvan Stewart (1790–1849) was a lawyer and abolitionist born in Granville, New York. In 1834 he joined the American Anti-Slavery Society and began establishing abolitionist organizations in New York. The following year the New York State Anti-Slavery Society was founded with Stewart as the president. Stewart also helped to form the Liberty party in 1840 and was its gubernatorial candidate in 1842 and 1844. Along with Lysander Spooner, Stewart pioneered the abolitionist argument that slavery was not protected by the U.S. Constitution. William M. Wiecek, *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America, 1760–1848* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 154, 205, 218, 254–57, 265–66; Sorin, *New York Abolitionists,* 47–52; *ACAB,* 5:683; *NCAB,* 2:331–32; *DAB,* 18:5–6.

177.10–11 Stephen Smith] Douglass probably refers to Stephen Smith (c. 1776–1854), a Syracuse businessman known for his support of reform causes. Born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, Smith moved to New York in 1797 to work for a ship chandlery business, which took him on trips to England, France, India, China, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. After the War of 1812 forced him to return to the United States, Smith helped establish Syracuse's Onondaga Salt Company in 1821, acting as the corporation's controlling partner until his death. Gurney S. Strong, *Early Landmarks of Syracuse* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1894), 205–06, 208; Dennis J. Connors, *Crossroads in Time: An Illustrated History of Syracuse* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2006), 38; Carol Lasser and Marlene Deahl Merrill, eds., *Friends and Sisters: Letters between Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell, 1846–93* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), 126n.

177.14 park] Syracuse's Fayette Park was originally a swamp and a hotbed of malaria. In 1821 Judge Joshua Forman, a Syracuse resident since 1800, initiated the passage of an act to lower Onondaga Lake, which rid the area of unsanitary conditions and allowed the park to be built. Known as Centre Square during its preliminary phase, the area was eventually named Fayette Park in honor of General Marquis de Lafayette, the hero of the American Revolution. By the late 1830s the park had become a wealthy residential area, housing many of Syracuse's leading businessmen. In the decades following the turn of the century, Fayette Park lost a majority of its surrounding residents and was no longer the thriving social center it had been during its early years. In 1972 the park was remodeled into a decorative estate and renamed the Fayette-Firefighters' Memorial Park. Dwight H. Bruce, ed., *Memorial History of Syracuse, N.Y.* (Syracuse, 1891), 130; Strong, *Landmarks of Syracuse,* 68, 157–58; Franklin H. Chase, *Syracuse and Its Environs: A History,* 3 vols. (New York, 1924), 1:173; Evamaria Hardin, *Syracuse Landmarks: An AIA Guide to Downtown and Historic Neighborhoods* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1993), 117–18, 137; Lilian Steele Munson, *Syracuse: The City That Salt Built* (New York, 1969), 121, 192–93; Connors, *Crossroads in Time,* 43, 75; *DAB,* 6:525–26; *ANB,* 13:37–38.

177.19 Congregational church] The First Congregational Church in Syracuse, N.Y., known as the "Cradle of Liberty," was founded by a group of abolitionists who seceded from the Syracuse First Presbyterian Church in 1838. Because of its widely known antislavery reputation, the church was frequently visited by abolitionists like

Douglass and Gerrit Smith. Douglass spoke in Syracuse several times from 30 July to 1 August 1843 as part of the "One Hundred Conventions" campaign of the American Anti-Slavery Society. After experiencing disputes among its members about the manner in which the church should express its abolitionist stance, the First Congregational Church closed its doors in 1850. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:xci; Milton C. Sernett, *North Star Country: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2002), 92.

177.31 John O. Wattles] John Otis Wattles (1809–59) was born in Goshen, Connecticut. Wattles's mother and grandfather were evangelical Christians, and in 1830 Wattles experienced a conversion, which led him into a missionary life. In June 1833 Wattles began his education at the Oneida Institute in Whitestown, New York, where abolitionist Beriah Green had recently become president. In 1836 Wattles followed his brother, Augustus, to Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. Augustus, however, left Lane to devote his energies to running a school for blacks, and John joined him in this endeavor as well. By the summer of 1840 Wattles had returned to New England and was lecturing on nonresistance; there he met John A. Collins and Orson S. Murray, who along with Abram Brooke, Valentine Nicholson, and Hiram Mendenhall formed the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform in the winter of 1842. Beginning in Vermont in the summer of 1843, Wattles, Nathaniel Whiting, John Orvis, Douglass, and Charles Remond began their trip west for the Hundred Conventions tour. Douglass and Remond spoke for the Garrisonian antislavery position, while the rest advocated universal reform. The group had met resistance from mobs on multiple occasions by the time they met with Collins in Buffalo in August. Wattles along with the other universal reformers, known as "ultraists," went on to participate in the communes they believed would prove the truth of their reform message to the world. Despite the failures of the reform communities like Skaneateles, New York, Wattles remained an active participant in the reform movement and moved himself and his family across the country from New England to Kansas, where he died of "brain fever." Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 1–8, 88–91, 147–49, 218–24.

177.31 Nathaniel Whiting] Nathaniel H. Whiting (c. 1806–?) was a shoemaker from Marshfield, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. Elected to the Massachusetts senate, Whiting advocated the establishment of the State Metropolitan Police. During the Hundred Conventions tour in summer 1843, Whiting, John Orvis, and John O. Wattles were scheduled to meet Douglass, Charles Remond, and John A. Collins in Syracuse. Whiting, Orvis, and Wattles were members of the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, led by John A. Collins, whose purpose was advocating reform of the entire economic system. Whiting also joined the utopian community in Skaneateles, New York, established by Collins to demonstrate that their theories of social reform could be put into practice. Whiting, however, left the Skaneateles commune in winter 1843, returning to his home in Marshfield. He remained active in the abolitionist cause into the 1850s. 1850 U.S. Census, Massachusetts, Plymouth County, 159; Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, *Nineteenth Annual Report: Presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* (Boston, 1851), 61; *Lib.,* 16 June 1843; Lysander Salmon Richards, *History of Marshfield,* 2 vols. (Plymouth, Mass., 1901–05), 2:176; Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 88–90, 147–49.

177.31 John Orvis] John Orvis (1816–97) was born into a Hicksite Quaker family in Ferrisburgh, Vermont. He attended Oberlin College and then became involved with antislavery groups in Boston in the 1830s. Thereafter Orvis became a close friend to John A. Collins, who attracted him to the cause of universal reform and Fourierism. Orvis participated in the Hundred Conventions tour with John Wattles and Nathaniel Whiting, where he became a well-respected lecturer. He joined the utopian community of Brook Farm in 1844, where he met Marianne Dwight, whom he married in 1846. Brook Farm closed that year, and Orvis sold insurance for a time, but his interest in reform was renewed when he traveled to England in 1862. Upon his return, he worked with the Sovereigns of Industry, a labor reform group, and was elected president in 1873. Orvis published writings in *The Harbinger* and the *Sovereigns of Industry Bulletin.* He remained involved with labor reform for the rest of his life. Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors* (New York, 1900), 174–81; Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 89–94, 154–56; Robert S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, Conn., 1980), 86–7.

178.1 M. W. Chapman] Maria Weston Chapman (1806–85), known as "Garrison's lieutenant," was a forceful writer and editor of several antislavery periodicals. From a family of wealthy Bostonians who educated their daughters in Europe, she briefly supervised one of the nation's first female high schools. After marrying merchant Henry Grafton Chapman in 1830, she became active in the abolitionist movement. When her husband died in 1842, abolition became the consuming work of her life. Chapman was a driving force in both the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society. Although she shunned public speaking, she served on committees and organized bazaars and other fundraising events for the Garrisonians. She also edited the annual report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and she assisted in editing both the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard.* Clare Taylor, *Women of the Anti-Slavery Movement: The Weston Sisters* (New York, 1995); Catherine Clinton, "Maria Weston Chapman," in *Portraits of American Women,* comp. G. J. Barker-Benfield and Catherine Clinton, 2 vols. (New York, 1991), 1:147–67; Pease and Pease, *Bound with Them in Chains,* 28–59; Edward T. James et al., eds., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 1:324–25; *DAB,* 4:19.

178.6 Liberty party papers] The Liberty party was organized on 1 April 1840 in Albany, New York. The central principle of this third party was the abolition of slavery. Specific proposals included abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, ending Jim Crow practices, and opposing the colonization movement. Whereas prominent antislavery figures such as Myron Holley, Gerrit Smith, Joshua Leavitt, and William

Goodell all supported the creation of a political party dedicated to antislavery principles, some abolitionists—most notably William Lloyd Garrison and his followers—disapproved of the move to political action. Garrisonians argued that a separate party would divide rather than unite abolitionists. Drawing a large portion of its support from New York, the Liberty party nonetheless persevered for several years. By the 1848 presidential election, however, most Liberty party members had moved to the newly formed Free Soil party. A small faction led by Gerrit Smith retained much of the Liberty party's platform under the name of the Radical Abolition party. Alan M. Kraut, "The Forgotten Reformers: A Profile of Third Party Abolitionists in Antebellum New York," in *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists,* ed. Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman (Baton Rouge, La., 1979), 119–45; Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 43–47, 152–69, 285–87.

178.10 Samuel D. Porter] Samuel D. Porter (1808–81), a prosperous land agent, moved to Rochester, New York, from Waldoborough, Maine, in 1835. His wife, Susan Farley Porter, founded and belonged to several reform organizations, and he served as the first president of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. The Porters aided fugitive slaves in crossing the border into Canada, and their barn was reputed to be a common hiding place. In the 1840s Samuel joined the Liberty party and supported the Free Soil party while attempting to mediate between Garrisonian abolitionists and those who, like himself, sought the end of slavery through political agitation. Additionally, he was a perennial candidate for mayor, running on an antislavery platform. Although he became a Republican in the late 1850s, he broke with that party in the 1870s, charging that it had abandoned reform and the plight of the freedmen. 1850 U.S. Census, New York, Monroe County, 92; Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), 60, 120, 149, 180, 206; Dexter Perkins, "Rochester One Hundred Years Ago," *RH,* 1:1–24 (July 1939).

178.10–11 Avery family] Born in Groton, Connecticut, George Anson Avery (1802–56) had been one of Charles G. Finney's early converts in Rochester, N.Y., and became an elder in the city's Presbyterian church. A wealthy wholesale grocer, he made large contributions to Lane Seminary in the 1830s, but resigned from its board to protest the school's censure of antislavery students, including his brother Courtland Avery (1807–66). Courtland later moved to Rochester and assisted George's grocery business. George later served as an officer in both the Rochester and Monroe County antislavery societies. In his youth, Avery had lived for several years in Virginia, and Harriet Beecher Stowe referenced his antislavery testimony in her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Frances Mehitable Stanton Avery (1807–70) supported temperance as well as abolitionism, and was a vice president of the Women's State Temperance Society in the 1840s. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents upon Which the Story Is Founded* (London, 1853), 43–44; Henry O'Reilly, *Settlement in the West: Sketches of Rochester with Incidental Notice of Western New-York* (Rochester, 1838), 368; Anne C. Coon, "The Magnetic Circle: Stanton, Anthony, Bloomer, and Douglass," *RH,* 57:9 (Summer 1995).

178.11 Myron Holley] Myron Holley (1779–1841), one of the founders of the Liberty party, was born in Salisbury, Connecticut. After practicing law briefly in his native state, he moved to Canandaigua, New York, where he operated a bookstore, served as county clerk, and won election to the New York General Assembly. An early supporter of the Erie Canal, Holley was appointed a member and treasurer of the canal commission in 1816 and successfully supervised the project until 1824, when he resigned after the discovery of a deficiency in his accounts. Though later found blameless of any crime, he reimbursed the state from his own funds. A leading Anti-Mason, Holley attended that party's 1830 national convention in Philadelphia and authored its *Address…to the People of the United States.* Between 1831 and 1835 he edited two party organs, the Lyons (N.Y.) *Countryman* and the Hartford (Conn.) *Free Elector.* Relocating in Rochester, New York, Holley delivered his first antislavery speech in February 1838 and the following winter served as an antislavery lecturer. In June 1839 he began publication of the Rochester *Freeman.* Disenchanted with both the Whigs and Democrats, Holley urged the organization of a separate antislavery party, winning support for that position at various county and state abolitionist conventions in 1839. At the national antislavery convention held in Albany in April 1840 he successfully introduced a resolution calling for the nomination of a slate of antislavery candidates for national office. Holley actively campaigned for James G. Birney, the presidential nominee of the new Liberty party. [Elizur Wright, Jr.], *Myron Holley: What He Did for Liberty and True Religion* (Boston, 1882); Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 54–58, 61, 66–71; Alice Hatcher Henderson, "The History of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963), 234–43, 296–31; *ACAB,* 3; *DAB,* 9:150–51.

178.11–12 Gerrit Smith, Myron Holly, and William Goodell school] All three men were active in New York state's Liberty party in its early years. Myron Holley died in 1841, but the other two led the small antislavery political faction that eventually became the Radical Abolition party, with which Douglass later affiliated. John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 12, 117; Wiecek, *Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism,* 205, 218.

178.19–20 Isaac and Amy Post] The Posts, Isaac (1798–1872) and Amy Kirby (1802–89), were prominent abolitionists who spent their most active years in Rochester, New York. Isaac was born on Long Island but moved to Scipio, New York, in 1823 with his first wife Hannah Kirby. After Hannah's death in 1827, he married her younger sister, Amy, a native of Jericho, New York. In 1836 the Posts moved to Rochester, where they became involved with Garrisonian abolitionism. The Posts often hid fugitive slaves, and Amy acted as vice president of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the 1850s and 1860s. In addition to abolitionism, Amy was active in the women's movement, including the seminal 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, a

meeting that she helped to organize. In 1848 the Posts also numbered among the first converts to spiritualism in Rochester, and Isaac soon attracted fame as a writing medium. Douglass first met the couple in 1842 when he stayed at their home during a lecture tour, and their friendship influenced his choice of Rochester as the base for his newspaper, the *North Star*. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 61, 93, 107, 118, 131–34, 142–43, 169; Blake McKelvey, "Civic Medal Awarded Posthumously," *RH,* 22:10–11 (April 1960); *DAB,* 15:117.

178.21 Long Island and Elias Hicks Quakers] Members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, had a long history of support for gradualist methods to end slavery across the United States. After the Revolution, many Quakers abandoned their traditional avoidance of worldly affairs and enlisted with evangelical Christians in many of the era's benevolence campaigns. In 1827–28 the denomination suffered a wrenching schism, or "Great Separation," when a faction led by Long Island minister Elias Hicks (1748–1830) withdrew from fellowship with "Orthodox" Friends and created their own separate meetings across the nation. While many of the theologically more liberal Hicksite Quakers, such as Amy and Isaac Post of Rochester, became active abolitionists, disputes over appropriate antislavery tactics caused some meetings to expel abolitionist members. In the 1840s and 1850s some of these displaced Hicksite Quaker abolitionists created their own Congregational or Progressive Friends meetings. The Garrisonians found strong support among this latter dissident sect of Quakers. Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* xvii, xxi–xxiii, 201–02, 216–17; McKivigan, *War against Proslavery Religion,* 28, 44, 106; Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 115–16.

178.27 Bradburn] George Bradburn.

178.28 Buffalo] Douglass spoke at Buffalo meetings with Charles Bradburn from 7 to 9 August 1843, and then with Charles Remond from 10 to 15 August. *Lib.,* 4 August 1843.

178.30 Marsh] An abolitionist since the mid-1830s, E. A. Marsh (c. 1805–?) was an attorney in Buffalo. 1840 U.S. Census, New York, Erie County, 754; New York *Anti-Slavery Record,* 1:84 (July 1835).

178.37 brother Charles] Charles Bradburn (1808–72), "father of the Cleveland public schools," was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, when his brother George was two. In 1836 he moved to Cleveland and began a grocery and retail business that prospered. He was elected to the city council in 1839 and became the chairman of the Board of Education. He ran an unsuccessful mayoral campaign as the Whig candidate in 1853, but that year he became a member and chair of Cleveland's United School Council, and under his supervision Central High School was built along with three new grammar schools. William Joseph Akers, *Cleveland Schools in the Nineteenth Century* (Cleveland, 1901), 356–59.

178.38 old post-office] The earliest U.S. Post Office in Buffalo, New York, was located on Main and South Division Streets, in Ellicott Square. In 1842 a new, fireproof Post Office building was erected on the corner of Seneca and Washington Streets. Douglass seems to be referring to the Ellicott Square building. *A Directory for the City of Buffalo… 1832* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1832), 96, 103; *Walker's Buffalo City Directory… 1842* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1842), 26.

178.39 Baptist church was thrown open to me] In the early 1830s African American Baptists in Buffalo formed a congregation and by 1836 met regularly at a building on Michigan Street. In 1845 the Michigan Street Baptist Church established itself at a permanent site on 511 Michigan Avenue. Douglass probably used the Michigan Street location when he spoke in Buffalo from 10 to 15 August 1843. The church played a central role in the Underground Railroad, often serving as the final stop for fugitive slaves heading to Canada. Following Reconstruction, the Michigan Street Baptist Church was an integral factor in Buffalo's civil rights movement, with Reverend Dr. J. Edward Nash (1868–1957), the church's pastor for sixty-one years, becoming one of the city's key advocates for black citizens' rights. The church was later renamed Macedonia Baptist Church. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:xci; Nancy C. Curtis, *Black Heritage Sites: An African American Odyssey and Finder's Guide* (Chicago, 1996), 331; Beth L. Savage, ed., *African American Historic Places* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 346–47; Sernett, *North Star Country,* 67, 185; Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, New York," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History,* 21:7 (January 1997).

179.3 Henry Highland Garnet] Born a slave in Kent County, Maryland, Henry Highland Garnet (1815–82) fled north with his parents in 1824. He attended the African Free School in New York City, the Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire, and the Oneida Institute in Whitesboro, New York. Garnet was one of the founders of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and a stump speaker for the Liberty party. Licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Troy in 1842, Garnet went to Jamaica in 1852 as a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. An early proponent of black emigration to Africa and founder of the African Civilization Society, Garnet, in his appeal sanctioning slave uprisings before a National Negro Convention in Buffalo, New York, in August 1843, praised the slave rebel Madison Washington. After the Civil War, Garnet was president of Avery College in Pittsburgh and the U.S. minister to Liberia (1881–82). Joel Schor, *Henry Highland Garnet: A Voice of Black Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn., 1977); Dorothy Sterling, ed., *Speak Out in Thunder Tones: Letters and Other Writings by Black Northerners, 1787–1865* (Garden City, N.Y., 1973), 376; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 68, 185, 216–17, 226–27; *ANB,* 8:735–36.

179.4 Amos G. Beman] Denied regular admission to Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, Amos Gerry Beman (1812–74) studied privately with a white student until, threatened with physical violence, he left for Hartford, where he taught briefly in a black school. In 1835 he studied at Oneida Institute. Three years later the Congregational Hartford North association accepted him as a licensed candidate for the ministry, and in 1841 Beman became the first settled black pastor of the Temple Street African Church in New Haven, Connecticut. Like his father, Jehiel C.

Beman, he combined preaching with active participation in several reform movements. At the founding convention of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, Beman filled the post of assistant secretary, and in 1844 and 1845 he served as president of Connecticut's black temperance society. In 1843 he presided at the National Council of Colored Citizens in Buffalo; twelve years later, at the Philadelphia convention, he was again in the chair. In the interim he led an unsuccessful campaign for black suffrage in Connecticut and held numerous convention offices. The Rochester convention of 1853 named Beman as an original delegate to the National Council. In 1858 Beman resigned his New Haven pulpit, partly in response to pressures generated by his marriage to a white woman after the death of his first wife in 1856. A succession of scattered and briefly held jobs in New England and on Long Island followed. After the Civil War he engaged in Presbyterian mission work among Tennessee freedmen and served short ministries in Baltimore, Maryland, and Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Throughout his later career, Beman maintained a New Haven residence, and in 1872 he served as chaplain of the Connecticut senate. *Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, Held in Rochester, July 6th, 7th and 8th, 1853* (Rochester, 1853), 46; Cleveland *Gazette,* 2 February 1884; New Haven (Conn.) *Palladium,* 15, 16 May 1888; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 46, 68, 79, 112; Robert A. Warner, "Amos Gerry Beman—1812–1874, A Memoir on a Forgotten Leader," *JNH,* 22:200–21 (April 1937); David O. White, "Hartford's African Schools, 1830–1868," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin,* 39:47–53 (April 1974); Patrick C. Kennicott, "Negro Antislavery Speakers in America" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1967), 58–61.

179.4 Charles B. Ray] Born in Falmouth, Massachusetts, Charles Bennett Ray (1807–86) had studied theology at Wesleyan University before a protest by white students forced him to leave in 1832. He operated a boot and shoe business in New York City in partnership with Samuel Cornish in the 1830s. When Cornish was chosen to be the primary editor of the newly formed black *Colored American* in 1837, Ray became a traveling reporter and subscription agent for the newspaper. For two years, Ray's reports on black education, businesses, and church life were a regular feature of the paper. His endorsement of the *Colored American* in speeches and sermons boosted the circulation that helped to maintain the publication as a black-funded enterprise. In 1839 Ray took over as owner and chief editor following Cornish's resignation, but the venture collapsed and ceased publication at the end of 1841. Ray remained an active reformer, supporting the Liberty party in the early 1840s and both the New York City and state vigilance committees. After 1841 Ray also devoted himself to improving black education, serving as president of the New York Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children from 1851 to 1865. After giving up his editing post, Ray returned to the pulpit, holding weekly worship meetings for the poor, handicapped, and elderly. In 1845 he was installed as minister of the Bethesda Congregational church in lower Manhattan, where he remained as pastor until 1868. Charlotte Augusta Burrough Ray, *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Charles B. Ray* (New York, 1887); Monroe N. Work, "The Life of Charles B. Ray," *JNH,* 4:361–71 (October 1919); *DAB,* 15:403–04; *DANB,* 515–16; *ANB,* 18:201–02.

179.4–5 other well-known colored men, held a convention here] A National Convention of Colored Men began in Buffalo on 15 August 1843, consisting of about seventy-five delegates. The president pro tem, Samuel H. Davis of Buffalo, gave the opening speech. The subjects of temperance, self-improvement, education, plans for a national Negro press, and especially abolition received the most attention. Howard Holman Bell, *A Survey of the Negro Convention Movement, 1830–1861* (New York, 1969), 70–76.

179.6 Clinton county, Ohio] As part of the One Hundred Conventions tour of the western states by Garrisonian abolitionists, Douglass and Charles L. Remond addressed the annual meeting of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society on 4 September 1843 at Oakland, Clinton County, Ohio. The easterners arrived after the formal meeting had concluded, but an audience of nearly a thousand was gathered in only two hours to hear Douglass and Remond. Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 96; Douglas A. Gamble, "Moral Suasion in the West: Garrisonian Abolitionism, 1831–1861" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1973), 278–81.

179.7 Abram Brooke] Abram Brooke (1806–67) was the U.S. postmaster of Oakland in Clinton County, Ohio. Brooke, with Joseph Dugdale, a Hicksite Quaker, led the secession from the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society in 1842. Brooke, Dugdale, and their supporters were frustrated by the society's refusal to align with Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society. They objected to the group's increasing emphasis on politics, preferring the primacy of moral suasion as an instrument of social change. Based in Salem, Ohio, the group changed its name to the Western Anti-Slavery Society in 1846. The group was strongly disunionist and beginning with Brooke's leadership included women on its executive committee. Brooke also participated in the Underground Railroad and built a structure on his property with the function of housing antislavery meetings. Douglas A. Gamble, "Garrisonian Abolitionists in the West: Some Suggestions for Study," *CWH,* 23:52–68 (March 1977); Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:422.

179.7 Valentine Nicholson] Valentine Nicholson (1809–1904) was born in Clinton County, Ohio, to a Quaker family. As a boy he attended a few Shaker meetings and grew interested in their denomination, though in 1827 he joined the Hicksite splinter of the Quaker faith. Nicholson married Jane Finley Wales in 1830, and in 1835 they moved to LaPorte County, Indiana, but returned to Warren County, Ohio, in 1837. While in LaPorte, Nicholson read Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason,* which inspired his doubts about orthodox religions. As early as the 1820s, Nicholson was interested in abolition and reform; he aided fugitive slaves while living in Warren and Clinton Counties, Ohio. It is unknown what drew him to the Garrisonian wing of the antislavery movement, but he admired Arnold Buffum and appreciated the broad palette of reforms akin to those of the Garrisonian wing: women's rights, nonresistance, and religious "come-outerism." Nicholson's friend Abram Brooke also drew

him into the communitarian movement. Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 32–40, 226–31.

179.16 This was at Richmond] After the end of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society convention in Oakland, Ohio, the touring Garrisonians split into two groups to lecture in more Indiana communities during mid-September 1843. The team of Douglass, George Bradburn, and William A. White was scheduled to hold antislavery meetings in Cambridge City, New Castle, Liberty, Pendleton, Jonesboro, and Richmond, all in east-central Indiana, where large numbers of Quakers had settled. Douglass misremembers the itinerary, having his famous confrontation with a violent antiabolitionist mob in Pendleton on 16 September and getting egged in Richmond on 28 September 1843. Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 96–101; Gamble, "Moral Suasion in the West," 278–81.

179.17–18 His gross abuse of Mr. Mendenhall] During a 1 October 1842 political visit to Richmond, Indiana, the prominent Kentucky Whig Henry Clay had been embarrassed before an audience of several thousand supporters when a small group of local Quakers led by Hiram Mendenhall (1801–52) presented him a petition signed by over 2,000, asking him to denounce slavery and colonization. Clay responded by admonishing Mendenhall and the Friends with him "to go home and mind their own business." This incident outraged Clay's political allies, including many prominent Quakers, who had Mendenhall and several others expelled from leadership positions in their local meetings. Mendenhall had migrated from North Carolina with his family in childhood and settled in southwestern Ohio. A farmer, Mendenhall moved farther west into Indiana in the mid-1830s and prospered. He was originally a Whig in politics, but his abolitionist principles led him to the Liberty party by the time of his confrontation with Clay. Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 50–56; Ryan Jordan, "The Indiana Separation of 1842 and the Limits of Quaker Anti-Slavery," *Quaker History,* 89:2–3 (Spring 2000); Gamble, "Moral Suasion in the West," 221–24.

179.19 Pendleton] A mob attacked Douglass in Pendleton, Madison County, Indiana, on the morning of 16 September 1843. The previous day, Douglass, William A. White, and George Bradburn had spoken at Pendleton's Baptist church, despite rumors and threats from an excited "mob of thirty or more people," many of whom were "very much intoxicated." The next morning, with law-and-order resolutions posted prominently throughout the town, Douglass and his colleagues addressed an outdoor meeting on the wooded banks of nearby Fall Creek, where local Quakers had set up makeshift seats and stands. Menacing hecklers set upon the abolitionist trio, demolishing the speakers' platform and attacking its occupants. The mob then focused its wrath on Douglass, pursuing and severely beating him. The bleeding and unconscious Douglass was taken to the farm of Mr. and Mrs. Neal Hardy, a Quaker couple, who treated Douglass's broken right hand and other injuries. Because the bones were not properly set, the hand never regained its "natural strength and dexterity." *NASS,* 18 September, 19 October 1843; *Lib.,* 13 October 1843; Mary Howitt, "Memoir of Frederick Douglass," *People's Journal,* 2:302–05 (November 1846); R[obert] C. Smedley, *History of the Underground Railroad* (1883; New York, 1969), 187–88; Samuel Harden, comp., *History of Madison County, Indiana: From 1820 to 1874* (Markleville, Ind., 1874), 203–05; John L. Forkner and Byron H. Dyson, eds., *Historical Sketches and Reminiscences of Madison County* (Anderson, Ind., 1897), 749–53; J. J. Netterville, *Centennial History of Madison County, Indiana,* 2 vols. (Anderson, Ind., 1925), 1:321–22; Lloyd Lewis, "Quaker Memories of Frederick Douglass," *Negro Digest,* 5:37–41 (September 1947).

179.21 Fussell] On his way to the Diennial Convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in Philadelphia on 4–7 December 1843, Douglass lectured in Pittsburgh and several other Pennsylvania towns. No record exists of the warnings that Douglass remembers having received while on this tour. His reference to a Dr. Fussell is probably to either Bartholomew Fussell of York, Pennsylvania, or Edwin Fussell of Pendleton, Indiana, both Hicksite Quakers and physicians. Bartholomew Fussell was one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. His nephew Edwin (?–1882) was a Garrisonian abolitionist who had braved a mob in Pendleton when he had hosted Douglass in his home the previous September. In 1844 Edwin moved to the Philadelphia area, where he continued to practice medicine. *NASS,* 14 December 1843; *Lib.,* 15, 22 December 1843; Frederic May Holland, *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator* (New York, 1891), 95–96.

179.34 Andersonville] Douglass misidentifies Anderson, Indiana, the county seat of Madison County, located twelve miles northeast of Pendleton. Despite the presence of several Quaker settlements, Madison County had a strong antiabolitionist reputation in the early 1840s. Hamm, *God's Government Begun,* 97–98.

179.35 Neal Hardy] Neal Hardy (1802–69) was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania. He and his wife, Elizabeth Frissel, were both educated and raised in that area and were married in Philadelphia. They had relocated to Fall Creek Township, near Anderson, Indiana, prior to 1840, when their son Thomas was born. Hardy was both a merchant and homesteader, and he had particular interest in the improvement of the educational system, serving as township school trustee for nearly twelve years. His wife, Elizabeth, was a member of the Society of Friends, and Neal Hardy also attended, but his religious views were rather liberal, and he supported several church communities during his life. 1840 U.S. Census, Indiana, Madison County, 211; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:88–89n; John L. Forkner, ed., *History of Madison County, Indiana: A Narrative Account of Its Historical Progress, Its People, and Its Principal Interests,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1914), 2:457.

180.17 New York *Tribune*] Horace Greeley founded the New York *Tribune* in 1841. Following stints editing small campaign papers, the *Log Cabin* and the *Jeffersonian,* Greeley printed the first four-page, five-column issue of the *Tribune* on 10 April 1841. Conceived as a "cheap" political paper that honest workingmen could turn to for moral direction and nonpartisan political analysis, the *Tribune* was to be antislavery, anti-rum, anti-tobacco, anti-seduction, anti-grogshops, anti-brothels, and anti-gambling houses, among other things. With the financial talents of Whig lawyer

Thomas McElrath, Greeley built the *Tribune* into a profitable enterprise, printing a daily morning edition as well as a weekly edition, which sold mainly by $2 yearly subscription. The weekly *Tribune* was the nation's first national newspaper, circulating around the country to general stores, offices, and legislative chambers in the East and West. Within only a few years, the *Tribune* became the leader in national news, and Greeley was the best-known newspaperman in the country. Among the *Tribune*'s editors was the abolitionist Sydney Howard Gay. Gay arrived at the *Tribune* in 1857, and for five years churned out editorials that earned him a reputation for thoroughness and competence. In April 1862 Gay succeeded Charles Anderson Dana as managing editor. Under Gay's management, Edward Dicey of the London *Spectator* proclaimed the paper "better printed, more thoughtfully written, and more carefully got up than any of its contemporaries." Because of ill health, Gay resigned as managing editor in the summer of 1865. George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper* (Westport, Conn., 1999), 39–43; Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action* (New York, 1954), 98–116; *ANB,* 8:806–08.

180.18 New York *Evening Post*] Sydney Howard Gay had resigned from the New York *Tribune* for health reasons in 1865. Gay had later worked as managing editor of the Chicago *Tribune* from 1867 to 1871. Shortly after that city's infamous fire, Gay returned to New York City to join the editorial staff of William Cullen Bryant's New York *Evening Post,* where he stayed until 1874. The New York *Post* had been founded by Alexander Hamilton in 1800. In addition to Gay and Bryant, the *Post*'s staff has featured such luminaries as E. L. Godkin, Lincoln Steffins, and James Thurber. Goerler, "Family, Self, and Anti-Slavery," 270–76.

181.10 "Cambria,"] This 1,800-ton steamer of the Cunard Line made her maiden voyage from Liverpool to Halifax on 4 January 1845 and was the first ship to make this journey in less than ten days. The *Cambria* ran the transatlantic route for the Cunard Line until the British Admiralty converted her to a troopship in 1854. J. C. Arnell, *Steam and the North Atlantic Mails: The Impact of the Cunard Line and Subsequent Steamship Companies on the Carriage of Transatlantic Mails* (Toronto, 1986), 114, 182, 199.

181.10 Cunard line] The Cunard Line, a British cruise ship line, was founded by shipping magnate Samuel Cunard and several partners on 23 July 1839. Formerly known as the North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, the Cunard Steam Ship Company, Ltd. won a coveted contract to act as a Royal Mail Ship, transporting mail, coin money, passengers, and goods from Britain to North America. Eighty ships were built for the Cunard Line in the nineteenth century, including the *Cambria,* which carried Douglass to Great Britain in 1845. Francis E. Hyde, *Cunard and the North Atlantic, 1840–1973: A History of Shipping and Financial Management* (London, 1975), 1, 11, 326–30; F. Lawrence Babcock, *Spanning the Atlantic* (New York, 1931), 1–135; *DNB,* 5:300.

181.17 in the cabin or in the steerage] On transatlantic journeys in the nineteenth century, ships provided separate accommodations for the affluent. Cabins were private apartments equipped with all the amenities of home. Travelers in these compartments dined separately from the rest of the passengers and were attended by a private cook and servants. Steerage was the most common accommodation for most travelers. Steerage was located below deck above the ship's propellers and was lined with wooden bunks. Passengers in steerage were expected to bring their own bed linens and food. A stove was provided for cooking on deck. I. C. B. Dear and Peter Kemp, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea,* 2d ed. (New York, 2005), 79, 561.

181.22 Hutchinson family] Although Jesse and Polly Hutchinson had no fewer than thirteen children, the family name was identified primarily with the musical quartet composed of Judson (Adroniram Judson Joseph, 1817–59), John (John Wallace, 1821–1908), Asa (1823–84), and Abby (Abigail Jemina, 1829–92). This group traveled with Douglass to England aboard the *Cambria* in 1845 and occasionally performed at meetings where Douglass spoke. One of the Hutchinson brothers, Jesse, was the first to be identified publicly with the earliest antislavery agitation. Judson, John, and Asa Hutchinson joined the abolitionists only after meeting Frederick Douglass, who lived near their store in Lynn, Massachusetts. John W. Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons (Tribe of Jesse),* 2 vols. (Boston, 1896), 1:6, 40, 70–71, 142–46, 187–89; Carol Brink, *Harps in the Wind: The Story of the Singing Hutchinsons* (New York, 1947); Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:158n.

181.23–24 "good time coming"] Originally a poem by Charles Mackay, "The Good Time Coming" became popular in antislavery circles when set to music by composers like Henry Russell and Stephen C. Foster. The Hutchinsons made the song a standard in their performance repertoire. Charles Mackay, *The Poetical Works of Charles Mackay* (New York, 1876), 209–10; William W. Austin, *"Susanna," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home": The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours* (New York, 1975), 18–19, 34–35.

181.24–25 forecastle-deck] A short raised deck at the fore end of a vessel.

182.1 Captain Judkins] The captain of the *Cambria* was Charles H. E. Judkins (1811–76), who was the first commodore of the Cunard Line and among the first civilian pilots to be awarded a commission in the Royal Navy Reserve. By the time he retired in 1871 he had commanded many of the Cunard Line's record-breaking steamers and had made more than five hundred transatlantic voyages without serious mishap. James Croil, *Steam Navigation and Its Relation to the Commerce of Canada and the United States* (Toronto, 1898), 86–87; Henry Fry, *The History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation* (London, 1896), 105, 126; Frank C. Bowen, *A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830–1930* (London, [1932]), 60, 85–86, 103–06; Babcock, *Spanning the Atlantic,* 84–85, 103, 121.

182.2–4 I have no…well worth description] This incident occurred on 27 August 1845, following the celebratory dinner on board the *Cambria,* a tradition at the conclusion of transatlantic voyages. Douglass spoke at the invitation of Captain Judkins, who had earlier been approached by Buffum, the Hutchinsons, and some English passengers recently made familiar with Douglass's *Narrative.* Judkins had the stew-

ard ring the bell on the promenade deck, told the passengers that Douglass was going to make a few remarks on American slavery, and advised those who did not wish to hear him to go below. A few of the American passengers retired to the saloon in order "to take into consideration the propriety of expressing our feelings in some proper way, that the public might know the respect, or want of respect, paid to Americans on board this steamer." Apparently a number of American passengers remained on deck and threatened to break up the meeting, so that, in the eyes of one observer, "it was fully expected we should have had a general and bloody row." Judkins threatened to use irons to halt the attackers and suggested that Douglass leave the deck. Thus a riot was avoided. The incident, however, became a frequent reference point in the abolitionist press and in Douglass's later speeches. Douglass to Garrison, 1 September 1845, in *Lib.,* 26 September 1845; *PaF,* 25 September 1845; New York *Daily Tribune,* 26 September 1845; New York *Herald,* 1 December 1845; *NASS,* 18 December 1845; Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons,* 1:145.

182.9 Liverpool] Located in northwestern England on the Mersey River, Liverpool was the second-largest city in England in this period and its most active port. Douglass arrived in Liverpool aboard the *Cambria* on 28 August 1845. *Lib.,* 26 September 1845; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:683.

182.27 repeal of the corn laws] Douglass refers to the controversial measures of agricultural protection enacted in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1815 Britain's growing population was turning the country into a food importer rather than an exporter. As a result Parliament passed a Corn Law that prohibited the importation of wheat until the domestic price reached 80 shillings a quarter. Similar provisions were also placed on other cereals. The Corn Laws remained a center of Parliamentary debate during Douglass's first visit to England in 1845. Sir Robert Peel, fearing the conjunction of high food prices with Anti-Corn Law League agitation and mass unemployment, realized that political stability required the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Irish potato famine of 1845 provided an excuse for Peel to propose total repeal. Although he carried repeal in 1846, with full effect in 1849, Peel's decision brought havoc on his party, the Tories. Long the representatives of the pro-protectionist, landed aristocracy of England, the Tories viewed Peel's decision to repeal the Corn Laws as a betrayal of traditional party commitments. Peel's action split the Tories into a free-trading minority and a protectionist majority. By 1853, however, even the Tory majority abandoned the idea of protection, and the death of the Corn Laws came to symbolize the triumph of liberal and free-trading ideas. Norman McCord, *The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838–1846* (London, 1958), 15–16, 96–103, 111–16, 188–207; John Cannon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford, Eng., 1997), 245.

182.27–28 repeal of the union between England and Ireland] Douglass refers to the movement by "Repealers," Irish nationalists who, as early as 1810, began agitation for repeal of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland of 1800. The Act of Union had disbanded Ireland's Parliament, giving Ireland representation along with Scotland and England in the centralized London Parliament. Irish abolitionist Daniel O'Connell, having achieved Catholic Emancipation in 1829, founded the Precursor Society in 1838 and organized the Loyal National Repeal Association two years later. By the end of 1842, largely as a result of economic problems, the Repeal Association's activities had intensified, and during 1843 O'Connell held "monster meetings"—rallies for the masses—to garner popular support for the restoration of the Irish Parliament. While in theory the Repeal Association agitated for a complete restoration of the pre-1800 Irish Parliament, O'Connell's willingness to compromise with the British ultimately led to the rise of Young Ireland, a nationalist organization that advocated violence in pursuit of repeal, and a widespread contemporary view among the Irish that O'Connell had failed, despite his many accomplishments in bettering the condition of the Irish people. Alfred Webb, *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (1878; New York, 1970), 374–82; W. Caleb McDaniel, "Repealing Unions: American Abolitionists, Irish Repeal, and the Origins of Garrisonian Disunionism," *Journal of the Early Republic,* 28:243–69 (Summer 2008); S. J. Connolly, ed., *Oxford Companion to Irish History* (1998; Oxford, Eng., 2007), 507.

182.37 Richard Cobden] In 1849 M.P. Richard Cobden (1804–65) introduced an unsuccessful motion in the House of Commons in support of arbitration treaties. Known primarily as a free-trade advocate and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, Cobden joined the peace movement in 1842 after concluding that war was a natural consequence of economic competition. Christina Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1930), 36–37, 61, 150–64; *DNB,* 4:604–10.

182.37 John Bright] John Bright (1811–89), a member of the House of Commons and known for great oratory, supported free trade and repeal of the Corn Laws. Although his radical stands on church disestablishment, parliamentary reform, and foreign nonintervention prevented him from rising to leadership of the Liberal party, he held his seat for many years. During the American Civil War, Bright favored the North and brought the opinion of the British middle and working classes to his side. Late in Bright's career, his opposition to Irish home rule and to most factory legislation led to a growing political isolation from younger Liberal reformers. George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (Boston, 1913); Ephraim D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War,* 2 vols. (New York, 1925), 1:58, 108–10, 221–22, 2:132–34; Keith Robbins, *John Bright* (London, 1979); Herman Ausubel, *John Bright: Victorian Reformer* (New York, 1966); *DNB,* 22:273–91.

183.6 Rochdale] The town of Rochdale, a center of the textile industry, lies just northeast of Manchester and had been the home of the Bright family since 1802. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2627; *DNB,* 22:273.

183.36–37 town hall of Birmingham] Designed by Joseph Hansom and Edward Welch, the Birmingham Town Hall was completed in 1834. The building was used for public meetings and music festivals and could hold 3,000 people. Andy Foster, *Birmingham* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), 57.

183.37–38 Free Trade Hall in Manchester] Douglass attended a meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League in Manchester on 2 July 1846. Edinburgh *Scotsman,* 8 July 1846.

183.38 Covent Garden theater] The first World's Temperance Convention was held at Covent Garden Theatre, London, during 4–8 August 1846. Douglass refers to the second theater, which occupied the northeast corner of the Covent Garden district in Bow Street. The original theater, erected by John Rich in 1731–32 and designed by Edward Shepherd, was destroyed by fire in 1808; the second theater, designed by Sir Robert Smirke in 1808–09, burnt to the ground in 1856. Smirke's design enlarged the first theater's footprint, incorporating buildings on the west side of Bow Street and the south side of Hart Street, and boasted a seating capacity of 2,800 persons in addition to those occupying private boxes. A third theater, designed by E. M. Barry, was erected in 1857–58. F. H. W. Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London: The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden,* 49 vols. (London, 1970), 35:71–80.

184.2 Free Trade club] The Free Trade Club, located at 14 St. James Square, London, was established by Richard Cobden and John Bright. The entrance fee and annual dues were each five guineas. Peter Cunningham, *Hand-Book of London, Past and Present* (London, 1850), 191–92.

184.4 Sir Robert Peel] Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), second baronet and Conservative (Tory) statesman, began his political career in the House of Commons at the age of twenty-one. During his career he held office as chief secretary for Ireland, home secretary, first secretary of the Treasury, chancellor of the Exchequer, and was twice prime minister (1834–35, 1841–46). Sally Mitchell, ed., *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 1988), 585–86; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History,* 461; Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 737–38; *DNB,* 15:655–68.

184.9–10 Benjamin Disraeli] Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81), first earl of Beaconsfield, was born the son of a Jewish literary antiquarian. Baptized in 1817, Disraeli entered Lincoln's Inn in 1825. Between 1826 and 1833 he published a number of novels that illustrated his political principles; in 1835 he stated his conservative stance explicitly in *A Vindication of the English Constitution.* He began his parliamentary career in 1837 as a Tory representing Maidstone. Disraeli maintained that the novel form was the best way to mold public sentiment, and published his best known novels—*Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845), and *Tancred* (1847)—while he opposed his party leader Robert Peel on the issue of Corn Law repeal. Disraeli served three times as chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858–59, and 1866–67) and was responsible for the 1867 Reform Act, which enfranchised the urban working classes in England and Wales; a policy change that ultimately benefited the conservatives. Disraeli served twice as Conservative prime minister of Great Britain (1868, 1874–80), supporting moderate social reform and an activist foreign policy. Jonathan Bate, ed., *The Oxford English Literary History, 1830–1880: The Victorians,* 13 vols. (Oxford, Eng., 2002–06), 8:574–75; Christopher High, ed., *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985), 349; *DNB,* 5:1006–22.

184.11 "tide which led on to fortune."] Paraphrases Brutus in *Julius Caesar,* sc. 12, lines 2009–10: "There is a tide in the affaires of men, / Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

184.12–13 a lineal descendant of the thief on the cross] Douglass alludes to the execution of Jesus and the two thieves at Calvary. During the crucifixion, two malefactors were placed on either side of Jesus. One mocked Jesus, while the second reproached the first. Jesus told the second malefactor that they would meet in paradise, while the first received no good news. Douglass may not have been aware that Daniel O'Connell was the source of this insult to Disraeli, who had in 1832 secured from "the Liberator" a letter of recommendation to the electors of Wycombe as a Radical candidate. Three years later, Disraeli stood as Tory candidate for Taunton, attacking his former supporter as an "incendiary traitor." Angered by this betrayal, O'Connell retaliated publicly, denouncing Disraeli as a "liar in action and words"—an anti-Semitic attack that was ironic given that O'Connell strongly supported Jewish emancipation. Benjamin Disraeli's Jewish ancestry was well known, but his family removed him from the boarding school at which he had received lessons in Hebrew, baptized him, and transferred him to a new school. Having been baptized, Disraeli was able to be elected to Parliament in 1837, rather than having to wait until after the Emancipation in 1858, allowing him to begin his political ascent two decades earlier. Despite frequent personal attacks leveled against his ethnic background, Disraeli persisted in his political career. He did not hide his Jewish background; rather, he proudly proclaimed it; but by taking an evangelical stance toward Judaism, he focused on Jewish conversion and the inclusion of Jews in politics on the basis of their historical commonalities with Protestants. Luke 23:32–43; London *Examiner,* 3 May 1835; Bangor (Wales) *North Wales Chronicle,* 12 May 1835; Moses Coit Tyler, *Glimpses of England: Social, Political, Literary* (New York, 1898), 130–31; Denis Gwynn, *Daniel O'Connell,* rev. ed. (Oxford, Eng., 1947), 209–11; David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (New York, 1994), 330–34, 387–88; Abraham Gilam, "Anglo-Jewish Attitudes toward Benjamin Disraeli during the Era of Emancipation," *Jewish Social Studies,* 42:313–22 (Summer–Fall 1980).

184.33 Daniel O'Connell] Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), Irish lawyer and member of Parliament, played a major role in both the British and American antislavery movements. Converted to abolitionism in 1824 after hearing English abolitionist James Cropper, O'Connell balanced conflicting commitments to black freedom and Irish independence throughout his career. A leader of the movement to repeal the Act of Union between England and Ireland, as well as a participant in the related campaign to remove the civil restrictions imposed upon Catholics, O'Connell saw the bill for Catholic Emancipation pass Parliament in 1829 with strong support from antislavery politicians. Four years later he marshaled crucial Irish votes needed for passage of the Emancipation Act of 1833, inaugurating gradual abolition in the British West

Indies. On 1838 he narrowly averted a duel with U.S. Ambassador Andrew Stevenson, whom he accused of being a slave breeder. Identified with William Lloyd Garrison throughout the 1830s, O'Connell supported the seating of women delegates at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 and made numerous attempts to rally abolitionist sentiment among Irish Americans in the years immediately following. O'Connell often suffered high political costs as a result of such activities, particularly in light of diminished U.S. support for the Irish repeal movement. Although some Garrisonians criticized O'Connell for vacillation and political expediency, American reformers of all persuasions lavished praise on the "Irish Liberator" during the post-Civil War era. Oliver MacDonagh, *The Emancipationist: Daniel O'Connell, 1830–47* (New York, 1989); Gilbert Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants, and the Dilemmas of Romantic Nationalism," *AHR,* 80:889–912 (October 1975); Douglas C. Riach, "Daniel O'Connell and American Anti-Slavery," *Irish Historical Studies,* 20:3–25 (March 1976); Howard Temperley, "The O'Connell-Stevenson Contretemps: A Reflection of the Anglo-American Slavery Issue," *JNH,* 47:217–33 (October 1962); Henry Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography,* 3d ed. (Niwot, Colo., 1998), 306–08; *DNB,* 14:816–34.

184.34 "Conciliation Hall,"] Douglass addressed a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association in Dublin's Conciliation Hall on 29 September 1845. *Lib.,* 24, 31 October 1845.

185.10 Sackville street] The main street of Dublin, later renamed O'Connell Street.

185.17–18 In introducing me…the United States;"] Douglass heard Daniel O'Connell speak at a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association at Conciliation Hall, Dublin, on 29 September 1845. Near the conclusion of the rally, O'Connell introduced Douglass to the audience and asked him to say a few words. Long an abolitionist, O'Connell had in 1835 expressed the need for a "Black O'Connell" to inspire African American slaves to protest for their freedom. While some scholars refer to Douglass's autobiographical writings as evidence of this introduction, contemporary newspapers covering the event do not confirm that O'Connell introduced Douglass as the "Black O'Connell" on this particular occasion. Dublin *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser,* 30 September 1845; *Lib.,* 24, 31 October 1845; Fionnghuala Sweeney, *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World* (Liverpool, Eng., 2007), 29n; Lee Jenkins, "'The Black O'Connell': Frederick Douglass and Ireland," *Nineteenth Century Studies* (1999), 13:24–26.

185.20 O. A. Brownson] Born in Stockbridge, Vermont, Orestes A. Brownson (1803–76) was a clergyman affiliated with three denominations, an editor of four papers, and the author of numerous books. After joining the Presbyterian Church in 1822, Brownson was ordained in the Universalist Church two years later. In 1832 Brownson founded his own church, the Society for Christian Union and Progress. In 1844 Brownson converted to Roman Catholicism. Brownson's literary endeavors include founding the *Boston Quarterly Review* in 1836 and merging it with the *Democratic Review,* editing *Gospel Advocate* from 1825 to 1832 and *Brownson's Quarterly Review* from 1844 to 1865 and again from 1872 to 1875, and writing such books as *New Views of Christianity, Society and the Church* (1836), *Charles Elwood; or, The Infidel Converted* (1840), and *The Convert; or, Leaves from My Experience* (1857). *ACAB,* 1:417–18; *DAB,* 3:178–79.

185.22–28 In reply…and relieve."] In the summer of 1845 Orestes Brownson published an article critical of Daniel O'Connell in his *Quarterly Review.* Douglass paraphrases O'Connell's reply, which was made at a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association in Conciliation Hall, Dublin, on 29 September 1845. Daniel O'Connell, *Upon American Slavery: With Other Irish Testimonies* (New York, 1860), 31; Wendell Phillips, *Daniel O'Connell: The Irish Patriot* (Boston 1884), 28; "Ireland, O'Connell, &c.," *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* 2:398–408 (July 1845).

185.32–36 When the friends…price of slaves."] Daniel O'Connell voiced such sentiments in a speech given at the Loyal National Repeal Association held in the Great Room of the Corn Exchange in Dublin, Ireland, 9 May 1843. The Irish who immigrated to the United States retained a deep interest in Ireland's political woes and directed their hostility toward the British and Anglo-Irish who exercised control over Ireland. Newspapers in the southern states provided extensive coverage of Irish politics, and southern Hibernian associations hailed Daniel O'Connell as a hero. When O'Connell's Loyal National Repeal Association in Dublin raised funds to pursue the repeal of union between Great Britain and Ireland, Irish immigrants in the United States formed local Irish repeal associations, which sent money to the parent organization in Ireland. O'Connell, who supported the antislavery cause, pressured Irish American repeal organizations to do the same; however, his antislavery rhetoric alienated many Irish Americans. All Irish repeal associations in the United States had dissolved by the mid-1840s. O'Connell, *Upon American Slavery,* 27–30; David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815–1877* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), 67–71, 213n; Maurice R. O'Connell, "O'Connell, Young Ireland, and Negro Slavery: An Exercise in Romantic Nationalism," *Thought,* 64:130–36 (June 1989); Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants," 901–06; Riach, "Daniel O'Connell," 20–25; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History,* 507.

186.3 Duffys] Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903) was born in Monaghan, Ireland, of a middle-class Catholic family. Though trained in the law, he turned to journalism in 1836, becoming editor of the Belfast *Vindicator* in 1839 and in 1842 founded the *Nation* along with T. O. Davis and John Blake Dillon. First a member of Daniel O'Connell's Loyal National Repeal Association, Duffy was imprisoned for sedition in 1844, and in 1846 joined Young Ireland's secession from the Repeal Association. Duffy immigrated to Australia in 1855, where he served as premier of Victoria and later as speaker of its Parliament. He was knighted, and returned to Ireland, where he wrote the history of Young Ireland. James Duffy (1809–71), also born in County Monaghan, began his career peddling cheap Catholic literature in Dublin. By 1830 he had established his own business, employing the new invention

of stereotyping to produce inexpensive popular books and pamphlets. In cooperation with Charles Gavan Duffy and Young Ireland, he published the shilling "Library of Ireland" series and in 1854 became publisher to the Catholic University. Steven R. Knowlton, "The Quarrel between Gavan Duffy and John Mitchel: Implications for Ireland," *Albion,* 21:581–90 (Winter 1989); Brian Lalor, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Ireland* (New Haven, Conn., 2003), 325; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History,* 173.

186.3 Mitchels] Son of a New Light Presbyterian clergyman descended from Scottish Covenanters, Irish nationalist John Mitchel (1815–75) was born in Dungiven, County Derry, Ireland, and graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1834. He studied law and in 1840 began a promising career as a solicitor in Bannbridge. Personal friendships and political sympathy soon attracted him to the Young Ireland circle, a youthful group of nationalist reformers active in Daniel O'Connell's Loyal National Repeal Association. He settled in Dublin in 1845 and for three years served as the chief political editor of the Young Irelanders' periodical, the *Nation.* In July 1846 he and other Young Irelanders, restive under the O'Connellite emphasis on parliamentary agitation and moral suasion, refused to repudiate physical force as an instrument of social change and left the Repeal Association. Inspired by the February Revolution in Paris in 1848, Mitchel launched his *United Irishman* the same month, urging that popular resistance to English rule and to Irish landlordism begin, thereby paving the way for an independent Irish republic. In May he was convicted under the recent Treason and Felony Act and was sent in 1850 to a convict colony in Van Diemen's Land (later Tasmania). He escaped three years later and by early 1854 was in New York City publishing a weekly, the *Citizen,* whose proslavery sympathies were scorned in *Frederick Douglass' Paper* and by British and American abolitionists. Losing hope for armed assistance to overthrow English rule in Ireland during the Crimean War and becoming alarmed by the surge of Know-Nothingism in the North, Mitchel accepted an invitation to conduct a southern lecture tour in the spring of 1854. He moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, took up farming, and began the *Southern Citizen* (1857–59), which he later moved to Washington, D.C. During the Civil War he edited the Richmond *Enquirer* (1862) and the Richmond *Examiner* (1863–65). After his release from a federal prison in 1866, he moved to New York City and continued his career in journalism. He returned to Ireland in 1874 and was elected to Parliament from Tipperary in 1875, but died before he could take his seat. John Mitchel, *Jail Journal* (1876; Washington, D.C., 1996); William Dillon, *Life of John Mitchel,* 2 vols. (London, 1888); Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography,* 340–42; Priscilla Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History* (1952; Princeton, N.J., 1967), 407–11; Denis Gwynn, *Young Ireland and 1848* (Cork, Ire., 1949), 49–78, 98–198, 272; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1940), 155; *ACAB,* 4:341.

186.4 Meaghers] Thomas Francis Meagher (1823–67), Irish nationalist and brigadier general in the Union army during the Civil War, was the son of a prosperous merchant of Waterford, Ireland. Meagher was a leader of the Young Ireland movement, which advocated the use of violence to regain Irish independence. In July 1848 he participated in an abortive uprising led by William Smith O'Brien. Meagher was captured by the British and deported for life to the penal settlement of Tasmania. In 1852 he escaped from the colony and fled to the United States, where he became a popular lecturer and later a lawyer in New York City. While living in the North, Meagher repudiated the proslavery views of his friend and fellow Young Irelander John Mitchel. When the Civil War began, Meagher wrote public letters to the Dublin *Nation* in wholehearted support of the Union cause and raised a company of Irish Zouaves. After the Battle of Bull Run, he formed and commanded the Army of the Potomac's famed Irish Brigade. He later commanded a division in Tennessee. After the war Meagher served as the acting governor of Montana Territory. Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography,* 338–39; Robert G. Athearn, *Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America* (Boulder, Colo., 1949); John S. Crone, *A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography* (1937; Nendeln, Ire., 1970), 154.

186.7–8 a wish for a "slave plantation, well stocked with slaves."] After his escape from the British penal colony in Van Diemen's Land, Mitchel came to New York City in January 1854 and began publishing the *Citizen,* a weekly proslavery newspaper. In the second issue he published a response to a letter from James Haugthton, the Irish antislavery leader, who encouraged Young Irelanders exiled in America to espouse the abolitionists' cause. In reply to Haughton's warning that silence would make each man a "participator" in the "wrongs" of slaveholding, Mitchel defiantly declared that "we will not be silent when occasion calls for speech; and as for being a participator in the wrongs, we, for our part, wish we had a good plantation, well stocked with healthy negroes, in Alabama." *FDP,* 20, 27 January, 2, 10 February, 31 March, 7 April 1854; New York *Daily Tribune,* 14 January 1854; Dillon, *Life of John Mitchel,* 2:44–55; *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter,* new ser., 2:82–83 (1 April 1854); Crone, *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* 246, 340–42.

186.9–10 Lord John Russell] Lord John Russell (1792–1878), first Earl Russell, was a Whig-Liberal statesman. A champion of political and social reforms during his lengthy career, he served as British prime minister from 1846 to 1852 and from 1865 to 1866. He also held office as home secretary (1835–39), colonial secretary (1839–41, 1855), and foreign secretary (1852–53, 1859–65). Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 828–29; *DNB,* 17:454–65.

186.11 Lord Brougham] Henry Peter Brougham (1778–1868), first Baron Brougham and Vaux, rose from advocate in the Scottish southern circuit to become lord high chancellor in the ministry of Lord Charles Grey in the early 1830s and a prominent leader of the Whig party in Parliament. Founder of the *Edinburgh Review,* Brougham is chiefly remembered for his efforts on behalf of legal, educational, and electoral reform, and for the role he played in the parliamentary struggle to abolish slavery. Arthur Aspinall, *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* (1927; Manchester, Eng., 1972); Chester W. New, *The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830* (Oxford, Eng., 1961); *DNB,* 2:1356–66.

186.22–23 speech…the outside world] Douglass most likely visited Parliament for the first time during one of his two visits to London in either May or August 1846. Extant parliamentary records of that time provide no indication of a speech by Lord Brougham on the topic of postal relations in England or elsewhere. Other speeches, however, reveal Brougham's wide grasp of international affairs. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (online).

186.31–32 William and Mary Howitt] William Howitt (1792–1879) and Mary Botham Howitt (1799–1888) were among the foremost authors and publishers in Victorian Britain. From a partnership that began with their marriage in 1821, the Howitts produced several jointly authored books and the short-lived *Howitt's Journal* (1847–48). Both also continued to write separately, with selections of their poetry appearing in various antislavery newspapers. Mary in particular became known for her translations of the works of Hans Christian Andersen and Frederika Bremer. Throughout their careers, the Howitts supported radical movements in both politics and literature, including abolition, women's rights, and the Romantic poets. Their daughter, Anna Mary Howitt Watts, became a Pre-Raphaelite artist and writer in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York, 2000), 228; Mitchell, *Victorian Britain,* 145, 382, 848; *DNB,* 10:122–25.

186.32 Sir John Bowring] Sir John Bowring (1792–1872) was the eldest son of Charles Bowring, a wool merchant. He first worked for a London firm that supplied the duke of Wellington's forces in the Iberian Peninsula; by 1816 he had been to Spain, France, and Portugal. His natural aptitude for languages was exercised during business travel across Europe. In 1820 Bowring was introduced to Jeremy Bentham, and in 1824 he was appointed political editor of Bentham's *Westminster Review.* When Bentham died in 1832 he left his disciple all of his manuscripts and money to finance their publication; Bowring's edition of the *Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* was published between 1838 and 1843. He served twice in Parliament and was instrumental in forming the Anti-Corn Law League. In October 1848 he assumed the consulship at Canton and later served as plenipotentiary and chief superintendent of trade in the Far East and governor, commander-in-chief, and vice-admiral of Hong Kong. In 1856, when the British vessel *Arrow* was boarded by Chinese soldiers, Bowring authorized an aggressive military response, a decision that led to Chinese attacks on the British in Canton and later to his removal from his post. In a letter of 14 August 1846, William Lloyd Garrison reports that he "took breakfast with our friend Dr. John Bowring, M.P., accompanied by George Thompson and Frederick Douglass." Douglass's recounting of the conversation appears to conflate Bowring's discussion of China during this meeting with what he later knew about Bowring in China; Bowring did not serve in China until two years after the breakfast with Garrison and Douglass. John Bowring and Lewin B. Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring* (London, 1877), 216–27; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:372; *DNB,* 2:984–88.

186.38 "Flowery Kingdom,"] The Chinese people do not refer to their country as China or to themselves as Chinese. However, several names exist that its people use in writing and speech. Among others, the land is called both *Chung Kwoh,* the "Middle Kingdom," and *Chung Hwa Kwoh,* the "Middle Flowery Kingdom." The term *Hwa* carries the sense that its people are civilized and refined. G. W. Peck, "China," *American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art, and Science,* 1:231–39 (March 1848).

187.1 doctrine of substitution] In nineteenth-century China, as in Europe, the foundational Christian doctrine of substitution had its secular equivalent in the person of the "whipping boy" (*hahachutcz*), usually an individual of noble birth who was educated with and served as a companion to the prince. The whipping boy suffered corporal punishment for the prince's transgressions in the latter's place. T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *Royalty in All Ages: The Amusements, Eccentricities, Superstitions, and Frolics of the Kings and Queens of Europe* (London, 1903), 310; Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 1481.

187.8 Clapton] When the Howitts returned to England from Germany in 1843, they resided at "The Elms," Clapton, London, until 1848. Located in the northeastern quadrant of the borough of Hackney, the area was first recorded by name in 1339 as "Clopton," meaning "farmstead on a hill." Clapton was a rural district until the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the introduction of railway and tram service in the 1870s transformed the neighborhood into a bustling commuter suburb by the century's end. Margaret Howitt, ed., *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography,* 2 vols. (London, 1899), 2:11–44; Russ Willey, *London Gazetteer* (Edinburgh, Scot., 2007), 105; *DNB,* 10:124.

187.9 Hans Christian Andersen] Hans Christian Andersen (1805–75), the famous Danish writer, was born in Odense, Denmark. At fourteen Andersen moved to Copenhagen and pursued his ambition to become a playwright. The author of thirty plays, six novels, three autobiographies, and numerous essays, Andersen gained international renown for his fairy tales, and by 1872 he had published a total of 168 stories, "The Little Mermaid" being perhaps his most famous. Stanley J. Kunitz and Vineta Colby, eds., *European Authors, 1000–1900: A Biographical Dictionary of European Literature* (New York, 1967), 26–28; Barzun, *European Writers,* 6:863–81.

187.27 George Combe] Writings on moral education by Scottish phrenologist George Combe (1788–1858) enjoyed a wide circulation on both sides of the Atlantic. Combe argued that happiness resulted from relentless efforts at moral, mental, and physical self-improvement, and it advanced in proportion to the increase in knowledge. The American antislavery community esteemed Combe because "he put himself in communication with the American abolitionists, and ever afterwards kept the channel open." *NASS,* 11 September 1858; Washington (D.C.) *National Era,* 30 September 1858; George Combe, *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (1834; New York, 1974); George Shepperson, "Frederick Douglass and Scotland," *JNH,* 38:307–21 (July 1953); *DNB,* 4:883–85.

187.31 George Thompson] George Thompson (1804–78), originally from Liverpool, was an early advocate of slave emancipation in the British colonies and was an influential British ally of William Lloyd Garrison. Thompson lectured for the Agency Committee, a group that helped force passage of the West Indian Emancipation Act of 1833. That same year, he was among the founders of the Edinburgh Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the World. As a member of Parliament from 1847 to 1852, Thompson was a member of the Parliamentary Reform Association and the Anti-Corn Law League, and promoted the production of East Indian cotton in order to undermine American slavery. Thompson also promoted the antislavery cause during trips to the United States during the 1830s, 1850s, and 1860s. *Lib.,* 29 May 1846; Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 1:434–522, 2:1–72; Howard Temperley, *British Antislavery, 1833–1870* (Columbia, S.C., 1972), 23–29; C. Duncan Rice, "The Anti-Slavery Mission of George Thompson to the United States, 1834–1835," *Journal of American Studies,* 2:13–41 (April 1968); *DNB,* 19:691.

188.1 Phrenology] Phrenology, or "the science of the mind," was developed by German physician Franz Josef Gall and his student Johannes C. Spurzheim. Phrenologists gathered data by external examination of the skull and portions of the eye and nose area in forty-two separate zones identified with particular mental functions, personality traits, or feelings. Practitioners of this pseudoscience were among the first to attempt to study the brain without invasive procedures. O[rson] S[quire] and L[orenzo] N[iles] Fowler, *Phrenology: A Practical Guide to Your Head* (1969; New York, 1980), vi–xviii.

188.8 Thomas Clarkson] For Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), the struggle against slavery was a lifelong concern. Beginning with an antislavery dissertation at Cambridge in 1785, Clarkson wrote more than a dozen antislavery tracts. He toured England repeatedly, holding public meetings and collecting evidence on the brutality of the Atlantic slave trade. Clarkson worked unsuccessfully in Paris for the abolition of the French slave trade in 1789 and suffered a similar disappointment three decades later, when the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle refused to declare the slave trade piracy. In 1823 he became a vice president of the newly formed Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery, which spearheaded the drive for West Indian emancipation. After 1833 Clarkson turned his attention to American slavery, frequently meeting and corresponding with William Lloyd Garrison, Lewis Tappan, and other American abolitionists. Among the last of Clarkson's American guests was twenty-eight-year-old Frederick Douglass, who dined with him 9 August 1846. Garrison to Clarkson, 19, 26 August 1846, in Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 2:380–81, 385–86; Alexander Crummell and Charles L. Reason, *The Man, the Hero, the Christian! A Eulogy on the Life and Character of Thomas Clarkson, Delivered in the City of New-York, Dec. 1846* (New York, 1847); Earl Leslie Griggs, *Thomas Clarkson: The Friend of the Slaves* (London, 1938); *DNB,* 4:454–57.

188.11 Granville Sharp] Granville Sharp (1735–1813) is commonly regarded as the father of the British antislavery movement. In 1765, while a clerk in the Ordnance Department, he aided slave Jonathan Strong, who had been abandoned by his owner on the streets of London. Two years later, when Strong's owner, a Barbadian lawyer, attempted to ship Strong to Jamaica, Sharp began to search English constitutional and common law for precedents outlawing slavery. He published the results of his studies in a 1769 pamphlet, *On the Injustice and Dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery in England.* Three years later Sharp aided lawyers representing James Somerset, a fugitive slave whose owner recaptured him and sought to send him to the West Indies. Abolitionists hailed Sharp's influence on the Somerset decision, which declared that slavery could exist in England only by "positive law" and limited the authority of masters over their slaves in England. Later active in the campaigns against the African slave trade and slavery in the colonies, Sharp frequently communicated with abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. An energetic pamphleteer, Sharp fought for Irish home rule and parliamentary reform and denounced the impressment of seamen. He resigned his position in the Ordnance Department to protest British efforts to subdue the colonies during the American Revolution. Prince Hoare, *The Memoirs of Granville Sharp,* 2 vols. (London, 1828); Frank Joseph Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England: A Study in English Humanitarianism* (New Haven, Conn., 1926), 35–41; Reginald Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement* (1933; London, 1964), 45–65; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1975), 244–46; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 387–98, 479–501; *DNB,* 17:1339–42.

188.11 William Wilberforce] William Wilberforce (1759–1833), British reformer, author, and member of Parliament, joined the antislavery movement in 1787 at the urging of Thomas Clarkson and others. Over the next two decades, Wilberforce led the parliamentary campaign that culminated in the law of 1807 banning the Atlantic slave trade and establishing the African Institution. In 1823 Wilberforce joined other prominent abolitionists to organize the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery. That same year he published *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire in behalf of the Slaves of the West Indies* and inaugurated the emancipation struggle in Parliament by presenting a Quaker abolitionist petition. Wilberforce's sympathy for the plight of West Indian bondsmen seldom extended to the poor of his own country. On domestic issues he frequently aided government attempts to crush political dissent and control the labor force, supporting the Sedition Act of 1795, the Combination Law of 1799, and the suspension of habeas corpus in 1818. Reginald Coupland, *Wilberforce: A Narrative* (Oxford, Eng., 1923); Davis, *Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution,* 460–61; *DNB,* 21:208–17.

188.11 Thomas Fowell Buxton] Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786–1845), politician, philanthropist, and successor to Wilberforce in the parliamentary struggle to end British slavery and the slave trade, was born in Essex County, England, and educated

at Trinity College, Dublin. Buxton entered Parliament in 1818 and achieved prominence for his support of various reform measures, including education of the poor and equitable criminal laws. In the late 1820s he exposed the practice of slave trading in Mauritius, Trinidad, and Jamaica, and between 1831 and 1833 led the abolition campaign in Parliament. Buxton wrote *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* (London, 1839) and supported several unsuccessful explorations of the Niger River. William Law Mathieson, *British Slavery and Its Abolition, 1823–1838* (1926; New York, 1967), 115–27, 194–98, 222–24; Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh, Scot., 1974), 33–34, 73–74; Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement in England,* 187–212; *DNB,* 3:559–61.

188.30–32 series of letters…of January, 1846] After arriving in Dublin, Ireland, on 31 August 1845, Douglass began a series of correspondence with Garrison, which was printed in the latter's Boston newspaper. *Lib.,* 1, 16, 29 September, 28 October 1845, 1, 27 January, 26 February, 16 April, 23 May 1846, 2 January 1847; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 3, 1:vii–ix.

189.10–11 'I am a…my fathers were.'] Ps. 39:12.

189.31 Hill of Howth] A five-mile-long and two-mile-wide hill on a peninsula in the Irish Sea in County Dublin, forming the north shore of Dublin Bay. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 806.

189.31 Giant's Causeway] A geological formation on the north coast of County Antrim in Northern Ireland, extending three miles along the coast consisting of thousands of basaltic columns of volcanic origin with several caves, platforms, and picturesque rocks. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 679.

189.32 Cape Clear] Cape Clear is the southernmost point in County Cork. J. Thomas and T. Baldwin, eds., *Lippincott's Pronouncing Gazetteer: A Complete Pronouncing Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary, of the World,* new ed. (Philadelphia, 1883), 373.

190.7–9 cordiality with which…have embraced me] Douglass received a warm welcome from Britain's religious reformers, especially the Unitarian community. His speeches were reprinted and commented upon favorably by journals with a religious affiliation such as the London *Inquirer* and the monthly magazine *Christian Reformer.* However, at the time that Douglass wrote this letter to Garrison, he began to receive criticism for taking an uncompromising stand on some of the British clergy's unwillingness to condemn strongly American slavery. Belfast *Banner of Ulster,* 19 December 1845; David Turley, "British Unitarian Abolitionists, Frederick Douglass and Racial Equality," in *Liberating Sojourn,* ed. Rice and Crawford, 59–70; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 127–30.

190.16–19 'held, taken, reputed…"Digest," vol. II, 229.)] The digest of judicial decisions from the state of South Carolina was often called "Brevard's Digest," after the author, Associate Judge Joseph Brevard. Contemporary authors of abolitionist tracts often cited this three-volume compilation of decisions. The passage Douglass quotes, however, has not been located in any of these volumes. Joseph Brevard, *Reports of Judicial Decisions in the State of South Carolina, from 1793 to 1816,* 3 vols. (Charleston, S.C., 1839–40).

190.22–23 (Massachusetts out of the question)] Douglass probably refers to the personal liberty law of Massachusetts, passed in 1788, which prohibits "peaceable inhabitants of this Commonwealth" from being "privately carried off by force, or decoyed away under various pretences, by evil-minded persons," with the probable intention of being sold into slavery. This *de jure* prohibition upon kidnapping fugitive slaves combined with a de facto refusal of Massachusetts's African American community to allow the recapture of former slaves. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage,* 2:29–31.

190.31 Emerald Isle] A nickname given to Ireland around 1795 by Dr. William Drennen, on account of its prevailing lush green fields. William Morris and Mary Morris, eds., *Morris Dictionary of Word and Phrase Origins* (New York, 1977), 201.

191.4–5 near the southwest corner of Boston Common, a menagerie] Boston Common is a park in downtown Boston. There was no regularly functioning menagerie, but a deer park was added after the Civil War. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Boston Landmarks* (New York, 1946), 100–02.

191.10 Henry Jackson's] Henry Jackson (1798–1863) was born in Providence, Rhode Island. He graduated from Brown University in 1817, studied for one term at Andover Theological Seminary, and in 1822 was ordained the minister of the First Baptist Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts, where Jackson remained for the next fourteen years. Between 1837 and 1845 he pastored at churches in Hartford and New Bedford. Although he assisted efforts to block the rendition of slaves resettled in Massachusetts to southern owners in the 1830s, New Bedford abolitionists criticized him as proslavery in the next decade. Jackson's last ministry was in Newport, Rhode Island, where he remained until his death. Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* [for 1845], 10; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 151–52, 313n; *ACAB,* 3:387.

191.15 steamer 'Massachusetts,'] The 353-ton *Massachusetts* was built in 1841 and owned by Nathaniel Rand and George C. Gardner of Nantucket, Massachusetts. It sank in August 1853 off Sable Island, just southeast of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The island was considered a major hazard to navigation and was the site of numerous shipwrecks. John Robinson and George Francis Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607–1907* (Salem, Mass., 1922), 30; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2678.

191.19 Weymouth] Douglass made a final speaking tour of New York and Massachusetts before departing for Great Britain on 16 August 1845. Douglass spoke at a meeting in Weymouth, Massachusetts, on 7 August. *PaF,* 31 July 1845; *Lib.,* 1, 22 August, 5 September 1845; *NASS,* 14, 21 August 1845.

191.20 Weston family] Six daughters of Warren Weston and his first wife, Ann[e] Bates Weston of Weymouth, Massachusetts, were active in abolitionist circles and associates of William Lloyd Garrison. The most prominent, Maria Weston Chapman, along with two of her sisters, was an active force behind the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. The others, who all remained unmarried, were Caroline (1808–82),

Anne Warren (1812–c. 1890), Deborah (1814–c. 1886), Lucia (1822–c. 1864), and Emma (1825–c. 1890). Shy about public speaking, the Westons expressed their anti-slavery sentiments through poems and articles published in abolitionist newspapers, and operated a school on Boyd Street in Boston. Deborah Gold Hansen, "The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Limits of Gender Politics," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America,* ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 45–46, 56, 61–62; Carolyn Williams, "The Female Antislavery Movement: Fighting against Racial Prejudice and Promoting Women's Rights in Antebellum America," in ibid., 171–73; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 1:550; 2:xxiv–xxv, 57; Taylor, *Women of the Anti-Slavery Movement,* xii–xvi, 1–2, 7, 11–12, 13, 14–18, 21–22, 25–26, 27, 43, 57–58, 99–108, 115–120.

191.26 lord mayor] During Douglass's visit to Ireland the lord mayors of Dublin were John L. Arabin (1845) and John Keshan (1846); the city's lord mayor was appointed annually. It is most likely that Douglass refers to Arabin, as he is speaking about his earliest days in Ireland. N. C. Fleming and Alan O'Day, eds., *Longman Handbook of Modern Irish History* (New York, 2005), 299.

191.33–34 'the land…the brave.'] Douglass quotes the last line of the first stanza of the "Star-Spangled Banner," by Francis Scott Key (1779–1843), set to the British tune by John Stafford Smith (1750–1836), "To Anacreon in Heaven." Penned by Key during the War of 1812, following the Battle of Baltimore on 14 September 1814, the poem originally entitled "The Defence of Fort McHenry" became the U.S. national anthem by congressional resolution on 3 March 1931. The poem describes Key's account of the morning after the battle, and it was a popular patriotic song in Douglass's time. Theron Brown and Hezekiah Butterworth, *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes* (New York, 1906), 333–35; *Patriotic and National Observances, Ceremonies, and Organizations, U.S. Statutes at Large* 46 (1931): 1508, codified at *U.S. Code* 36 (1931), sec. 301; Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* (New York, 1972), 291–93, 296–98.

191.38 Eaton Hall] Eaton Hall, located in Chester County in western England, is the estate of the marquess of Westminster. At the time of Douglass's visit the estate was occupied by Richard Grosvenor (1795–1869), the second marquess of Westminster. Bernard Burke and John Burke, *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage,* ed. Peter Townsend (1826; London, 1970), 2797.

192.17–18 World's Temperance Convention] Douglass attended the World's Temperance Convention, which met in London from 4–8 August 1846 at Covent Garden Theatre, but not as an official delegate. On 7 August he nonetheless addressed the convention after "loud and repeated calls from the audience, and a very pressing invitation from the chairman." Most of the English, Scottish, Irish, and American delegates in attendance restricted their remarks to the progress of the temperance movement, but Douglass introduced the question of the American temperance movement's relationship to slavery and free blacks. Many of the delegates were not pleased

with the speech. The Reverend Edward Norris Kirk of Boston, who followed Douglass on the podium, suggested that Douglass had "left an impression on the minds of those present that the temperance advocates in America had sanctioned or supported slavery." Following the convention, a few American temperance reformers rushed to the defense of their movement. Samuel L. Cox reported to the New York *Evangelist:* "The moral scene was superb and glorious—when Frederick Douglass the coloured abolition agitator and ultraist, came to the platform, and so spake *a la mode,* as to ruin the influence, almost, of all that preceded! He lugged in anti-slavery…no doubt prompted to it by some of the politic ones, who can use him to do what they would not themselves adventure to do in person." Douglass eventually responded to Cox's allegations in a letter that included the full text of his Covent Garden speech. *Lib.,* 27 November 1846; London *Morning Chronicle,* 10 August 1846; Samuel H. Cox and Frederick Douglass, *Correspondence between The Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D.D., of Brooklyn, L.I. and Frederick Douglass, a Fugitive Slave* (New York, 1846), 13–14; Daniel Dorchester, *The Liquor Problem in All Ages* (1884; New York, 1981), 280, 330.

192.22 World's Evangelical Alliance] In August 1846, over nine hundred delegates from Great Britain, Europe, and the United States met in London in the hope of forming an organization uniting evangelical Protestants of the Western Hemisphere. The Evangelical Alliance, as this organization was called, was extremely short-lived. On the ninth day of the conference, the Reverend J. Howard Hinton, a London Baptist, moved that the organization exclude all slaveholders. Almost immediately, members of the American delegation, led by conservative Presbyterians, protested that they could not exclude such a large number of American evangelicals. No compromise could be reached before the conference adjourned, and the 922 delegates left London resolving to form their separate national alliances. Ernest R. Sandeen, "The Distinctiveness of American Denominationalism: A Case Study of the 1846 Evangelical Alliance," *CH,* 45:222–34 (June 1976).

192.27 Samuel Hanson Cox] The Reverend Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox (1793–1880) was born into a New Jersey Quaker family that traced its lineage to Talbot County, Maryland. Cox left the Society of Friends in 1813 and was licensed to preach by the presbytery of New York three years later. Cox joined his brother Abraham L. Cox on the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1834. He actively denounced Jim Crow pews and called for racial integration in the church. His tactics left him open to attack during the New York antiabolitionist riots of July 1834. He later moderated his views and at the World's Temperance Convention held in London in August 1846, Cox defended the American temperance movement against charges of racial prejudice leveled by Douglass. Cox was accused of compromising his abolitionist principles to gain church offices after he helped block attempts to exclude slaveholders from the Evangelical Alliance. American Anti-Slavery Society, *First Annual Report* (New York, 1834), 15–16, 28–31, 61; London *Morning Chronicle,* 10 August 1846; London *National Temperance Chronicle and Recorder,*

September 1846; London *Patriot,* 17 September 1846; Cox and Douglass, *Correspondence,* 5, 10; George Lewis Prentiss, *The Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York* (Asbury Park, N.J., 1899), 156–63; Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan,* 114–18; Linda K. Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," *New York History,* 48:28–39 (January 1967); *NCAB,* 7:557; *DAB,* 4:481–82.

192.30–31 as it appeared in the New York *Evangelist*] The New York *Evangelist* was a Presbyterian weekly devoted to missionary work, revivalism, and social reforms such as temperance and antislavery. It was published in New York City from 1830 to 1902. In the mid-1840s it was edited by two Presbyterian ministers, George B. Cheever and W. H. Bidwell. In a letter published 10 September 1846, Samuel H. Cox called Douglass an "abolition agitator and ultraist," and claimed the speech that Douglass gave before the World's Temperance Convention had been offensive to the American delegation to that gathering. According to Cox, Douglass "allowed himself to denounce America and all of its temperance societies together, as a grinding community of enemies of his people; said evil, with no alloy of good" because they did not necessarily endorse radical abolitionism. Douglass replied to the attack in a letter of 30 October 1846, reproducing Cox's charges and refuting each in turn. Douglass's letter from Edinburgh was first printed in the *Liberator* on 27 November 1846. "Letter from Dr. Cox," New York *Evangelist,* 10 September 1846; *Lib.,* 27 November 1846; Cox and Douglass, *Correspondence,* 5–16.

193.19 *ne plus ultra*] Originally from the Latin for "no more beyond (this point)". The phrase carries the meaning of the highest point or ultimate achievement.

193.23 parricide] The act of killing one's close relative, especially one's father or mother. Also, one who commits such a murder.

194.4 Ephesian] Referring to Ephesus, a former city in Asia Minor, once under Greek rule. A church council was held in Ephesus in 431 CE while the area was occupied by the Romans. Also referring to "a boon companion," or very intimate friend. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:945.

194.20 Beecher] American Presbyterian minister Lyman Beecher (1775–1863) graduated from Yale College in 1797 and received a doctor of divinity degree from Middlebury College in 1818. Famous for his tempestuous crusades against Unitarianism and his enthusiastic support of the temperance movement, the rabidly anti-Catholic Beecher was one of the preeminent evangelistic reformers of his day. In 1832 Beecher was selected as the first president of Lane Theological Seminary, where he remained until 1850. During Beecher's tenure, Theodore Dwight Weld conducted the 1834 "Lane Debates" on slavery despite Beecher's protests. Beecher pleaded lack of time when Garrison sought his help in the antislavery crusade in the 1830s. In 1833 he lukewarmly endorsed the abolitionists but strongly supported African colonization because it offered those slave owners shaken by Garrisonian agitation "an easy, practicable way of doing their duty." During the summer of 1846, Beecher traveled to London to attend both the World's Temperance Convention and the Evangelical

Alliance. He addressed the temperance delegates on 7 August and was praised as "one of the fathers, if not the father, of this movement in the United States, and the world at large." Beecher was equally prominent in the Evangelical Alliance convention, which he described on 1 September as "the most glorious measure which the Providence of God, under the administration of Jesus Christ, has produced." Evangelical Alliance, *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference, Held at Freemasons' Hall, London, 1846* (London, 1847), 450–51; Lyman Beecher and Charles Beecher, eds., *Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher,* 2 vols. (New York, 1865), 2:320–32, 345, 426, 519–23, 541; John Ross Dix, *Pulpit Portraits; or, Pen-Pictures of Distinguished American Divines* (Boston, 1854), 150–69; Constance M. Rourke, *Trumpets of Jubilee* (New York, 1927), 3–86; Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America* (1958; Chicago, 1966), 69–86; Charles C. Cole, Jr., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826–1860* (1954; New York, 1977), 24–30, 117–19, 197–200; Henry, *Unvanquished Puritan; ACAB,* 1:216–17; *NCAB,* 3:126–28; *DAB,* 2:135–36.

194.20 Patton] American temperance advocate and religious educator William Patton (1798–1879) graduated from Middlebury College in 1818, attended Princeton Theological Seminary, and later received the doctor of divinity degree from the City University of New York. Licensed to preach in 1819 and ordained in 1820 by the Addison Congregational Association of Vermont, he moved to New York City and organized the Central Presbyterian Church. From 1833 to 1837 Patton directed the Presbyterian Education Society. Patton did not join the American Anti-Slavery Society "lest he should seem to identify himself with the objectionable sentiments and measures of some its leading advocates." He preferred to attack slavery from his pulpit, through regular prayer for abolition, and by voting "in the way which he judged to be most antagonistic to the system." In several published writings, including *The American Crisis; or, The True Issue, Slavery or Liberty* (New York, 1861), he emphasized the role abolitionists played in the outbreak of the Civil War. An early proponent of an alliance of evangelical churches, Patton argued against John H. Hinton's motion to exclude slaveholders at the 27 August session of the Evangelical Alliance. He warned that the introduction of what was essentially "a *political* question…will give birth to a series of national agitations, which will prove exceedingly painful, and adverse to the cause of Christian Union." Evangelical Alliance, *Proceedings, 1846,* 311–17; London *Patriot,* 31 August 1846; New Haven *Evening Register,* 10 September 1879; William Weston Patton, *A Filial Tribute to the Memory of Rev. William Patton* (Washington, D.C., 1880), 10–40; Prentiss, *Union Theological Seminary,* 9, 12, 121–30; "Correspondence of Rev. William Patton, with the Secretaries of the Evangelical Alliance on the Subject of the American War," *New Englander,* 22:288–315 (April 1863); Robert H. Nichols and James H. Nichols, *Presbyterianism in New York State* (Philadelphia, 1963), 106; *ACAB,* 4:677; *DAB,* 14:317–18.

194.20 Kirk] Edward Norris Kirk (1802–74) was pastor at Mount Vernon

Congregational Church in Boston when Douglass met him in 1846. Kirk served both Congregational and New School Presbyterian congregations after studying at Princeton Theological Seminary and attaining his doctor of divinity degree from Amherst College. After serving as an agent for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1826 until l828, Kirk spent nine years preaching in Albany, New York, where Charles G. Finney and Gerrit Smith numbered among his guest lecturers. Kirk supported a number of reform causes, including temperance and public schooling. Although Kirk generally supported abolition, Douglass and Garrison condemned him because he did not denounce slavery. Between 1837 and 1842 he traveled widely in Europe and the United States as a revivalist. In 1846 he was in London to help organize the Evangelical Alliance. *American Missionary,* 49:4–6 (January 1895); David O. Mears, *Life of Edward Norris Kirk* (Boston, 1877); Dix, *Pulpit Portraits,* 237–45; Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists,* 277; *ACAB,* 3:553–54; *NCAB,* 6:194; *DAB,* 10:427–28.

194.20 Marsh] Douglass refers to the Reverend John Marsh, D.D. (1788–1868), a Congregational minister and leading American temperance reformer. The son of a Wethersfield, Connecticut, clergyman, Marsh graduated from Yale in 1804 and was licensed to preach five years later. After his ordination in 1818, Marsh joined America's embryonic temperance movement. Appointed secretary and general agent of the Connecticut Temperance Society in 1829, he resigned his Haddam, Connecticut, pastorate in 1833 to devote full time to the temperance cause. In 1836 Marsh became corresponding secretary of the American Temperance Union and editor of its monthly *Journal,* posts that he retained for almost three decades. Marsh was in England in the summer of 1846 to attend the World's Temperance Convention and the Evangelical Alliance. At the World's Temperance Convention on 10 August he "rose to deny *in toto*" Douglass's early allegations that the American temperance movement excluded blacks. As a delegate to the Evangelical Alliance, Marsh consistently voted with other American representatives to prevent the Alliance from excluding slaveholders or condemning slavery. The published summary of Marsh's temperance address in Newcastle on 1 September contains no reference to legal barriers against emancipation in the United States. Marsh admitted that slavery posed a problem for American temperance advocates, but "he felt proud to say that, as a body, the teetotalers of America were strong anti-slavery men." London *Morning Chronicle,* 10 August 1846; Newcastle *Guardian,* 5 September 1846; John Marsh, *Temperance Recollections. Labors, Defeats, Triumphs. An Autobiography* (New York, 1866), 150–59, 358–60; *Congregational Quarterly,* 11:66–68 (January 1869); *DAB,* 12:300–01.

194.22 *"Mr. Chairman—Ladies and Gentlemen*] Douglass delivered this speech on 7 August 1846 at the World's Temperance Convention at Covent Garden in London. Its text was reprinted in the *Liberator* within Douglass's epistolary response to Reverend Samuel H. Cox. *Lib.,* 27 November 1846.

194.28 at this moment three millions] According to the 1830 census there were 2,009,043 black slaves in the United States. By 1840 the figure had reached 2,487,355. In 1850 there were 3,204,313 slaves living in the United States—an increase of 716,858. Therefore, in 1846 the slave population was probably around 2.9 million. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifth Census; or, Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, 1830* (Washington, D.C., 1832), 163; idem, *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States…from the Returns of the Sixth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1841), 363–64; idem, *Historical Statistics of the United States,* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1975), 1:18.

194.30–31 four hundred thousand free colored people] The U.S. Census of 1840 reports a total of 386,293 free blacks living in the country. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915* (1918; New York, 1968), 57.

195.6–12 "About the year…fangs of intemperance] Following recommendations from the 1832 National Negro Convention in Philadelphia, black abolitionists in the city began to form local and regional temperance societies in order to improve the social and economic conditions of blacks. These societies, as William Whipper asserted in a speech given to the Colored Temperance Society of Philadelphia on 8 January 1834, would consequently serve to weaken whites' rationale for discrimination and racism. The Young Men's Vigilant Association, one such temperance society that Douglass refers to here, was founded on 23 July 1841 and was based in the city's township of Moyamensing. *Lib.,*12 August 1842; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:119, 391.

195.13–23 "The cause went…hall utterly demolished."] Following vigorous agitation by abolitionists, the British Parliament enacted the Emancipation Act of 1833, which began the gradual abolition of slavery in the colonies of the West Indies. For many years thereafter British and American abolitionists celebrated West Indian Emancipation Day on 1 August. On that day in 1842 in Philadelphia, a white mob attacked blacks during a procession of the Young Men's Vigilant Association, a black temperance society. Two days of rioting resulted in the beating of many blacks, looting and destruction of black-owned structures, and the burning of the African Beneficial Hall and the Second African Presbyterian Church. The Pennsylvania militia intervened to restore order, and although a local jury blamed the Vigilant Association for provoking the violence, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ultimately awarded damages to the owners of the church and hall. William A. Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830–1865* (Oxford, Eng., 1976), Litwack, *North of Slavery,* 102, 129–75; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 1:39–40n, 391n.

196.7 Free church of Scotland] The Free Church Anti-Slavery Society was a small dissident organization from the Free Church of Scotland that criticized the church's acceptance of donations from American slave states. The organization was closely associated with the Glasgow Emancipation Society, with which it shared many members. In the early 1840s the president of the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society was Michael Willis, and the vice president was James MacBeth, both of whom immigrated to Canada in the early 1850s. There Willis formed the Canadian

Anti-Slavery Society in 1851, and MacBeth joined the faculty of Knox College. William Ewing, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843–1900,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh, Scot., 1914), 1:357; George Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery," *Scottish Historical Review,* 30:140–41 (October 1951).

196.8 Chalmers] Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), son of a Scots merchant, was an evangelical minister and university professor who tried to combat poverty among residents of his Glasgow parish—a problem he described as "home heathenism"—by using parish lay agents to administer poor relief. A prolific writer with a longstanding interest in social economy, natural science, and moral philosophy, Chalmers is best remembered for his role in the controversy over church self-government and lay patronage that split the established Church of Scotland in the 1840s. Protesting civil interference in church affairs, Chalmers led the secession in 1843 of the 474 ministers who founded the Free Church of Scotland and elected Chalmers its first moderator. To provide salaries for Free Church clergymen, Chalmers proposed to collect a penny a week from each church member. A deputation from the Free Church visited the United States in 1844 and returned home with approximately £3,000 contributed by American slaveholders. When abolitionists urged Chalmers to return this money, he defended his refusal to excommunicate slaveholders. John Smith, *Our Scottish Clergy: Fifty-two Sketches, Biographical, Theological, and Critical, Including Clergymen of All Denominations,* 3 vols. (Edinburgh, Scot., 1848), 1:149–60; Thomas Chalmers, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers,* ed. William Hanna, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, Scot., 1849), 4:581–91; George Shepperson, "Notes and Documents: Thomas Chalmers, the Free Church of Scotland, and the South," *JSH,* 17:517–37 (November 1951); idem, "The Free Church and American Slavery," 126–42; *DNB,* 3:1358–63.

196.8 Cunningham] Dr. William Cunningham (1805–61), a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and a minister of the Trinity College Church of the same city, early distinguished himself as one of the ablest advocates of the "nonintrusionist" point of view. In 1843 the Free Church sent him to the United States to explain its position to American Presbyterians. In 1844, while still in the United States, he joined the Free Church deputation, which raised the controversial donations from American slaveholders. As late as 1847 he felt that the "Send Back the Money" campaign had been "an ingenious device of Satan to injure the Church." In 1847 he became principal of New College in Edinburgh, where he had held a chair of theology since 1843, and in 1859 he was appointed moderator of the church's General Assembly. Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie, *Life of William Cunningham* (London, 1871); Shepperson, "Notes and Documents: Thomas Chalmers," 518, 526; C. Duncan Rice, "The Scottish Factor in the Fight against American Slavery, 1830–1870" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1974), 316, 393; *DNB,* 5:321–23.

196.8 Candlish] The son of a medical teacher and a graduate of the University of Glasgow, the Reverend Robert Smith Candlish (1806–73) was one of the Free Church's most effective publicists and administrators. Candlish played a leading role in the "nonintrusion" controversy, strongly denying the right of civil courts to intervene in matters of church governance. He chaired the Free Church's Committee on Slavery, helped organize the Evangelical Alliance, and served as moderator of the church's General Assembly in 1861. In late May 1846 at the General Assembly of the Free Church in Edinburgh, Candlish defended the Free Church's decision to admit slaveholders to fellowship. After the "Send Back the Money" campaign died down, Candlish sharpened his criticism of American slaveholders. He was an outspoken critic of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and defended the aims of John Brown's raid. William Wilson, *Memorials of Robert Smith Candlish* (Edinburgh, Scot., 1880); Shepperson, "Notes and Documents: Thomas Chalmers," 523–24; Rice, "Scottish Factor," 191; *DNB,* 5:321–23.

196.13 John Murray] Scottish abolitionist John Murray (?–1849) of Bowling Bay, near Glasgow, was among the founders of the Glasgow Emancipation Society in 1833. While working as a carpenter and builder of houses in St. Kitts, where he had taken up residence to recover from a pulmonary infection, Murray became an outspoken critic of slavery. Upon returning to Glasgow in the mid-1820s, Murray opened a spirit shop but abandoned the business when he became a temperance advocate. As cosecretary (1833–49) of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, Murray organized antislavery lecture series in Scotland, attacked proslavery advocates in the articles that he regularly contributed to several Glasgow papers, and played a major role in maintaining the Glasgow Emancipation Society's ties with Garrisonian abolitionists in the United States. A garbled text of Garrison's eulogy of Murray, in which Garrison is mistakenly reported as having informed the meeting of "the death of a colored friend and coadjutor on the other side of the Atlantic," appears in *NS,* 15 June 1849. R[ichard] D. Webb to [Sidney Howard] Gay, 8 April 1849, in *NASS,* 24 May 1849; Henry C. Wright to Garrison, 1, 7, 29 June 1849 in *Lib.;* James McCune Smith, "John Murray (of Glasgow)," in *Autographs for Freedom,* ed. Julia Griffiths, 2 vols. (Rochester, 1853–54), 1:62–67.

196.13–14 William Smeal] William Smeal (1793–1877) was a Glasgow Quaker and a successful tea merchant. He was a leading member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society and often served in its powerful position of secretary. A friend and devoted supporter of William Lloyd Garrison, Smeal believed with Garrison that abolitionism could be achieved only under a program that pursued such related reforms as peace, temperance, and women's rights with equal fervor. A strong Union supporter during the Civil War, Smeal and Andrew Paton prevented some clippers bound for the Confederacy from leaving Glasgow. Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 2:398, 402; 4:67, 222–23, 283; C. Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists, 1833–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 37, 41–44; Temperley, *British Antislavery,* 210–13.

196.14 Andrew Paton] Andrew Paton (1805–84) was a leading member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society in the 1840s and 1850s. A loyal friend and supporter of William Lloyd Garrison and his doctrine of nonresistance, Paton aided numerous American abolitionists who visited Scotland, including Douglass, Garrison, Wendell

Phillips, and Henry Clarke Wright. Paton ardently endorsed the North during the Civil War and on at least one occasion prevented a clipper built for the Confederacy from leaving the Glasgow docks. Paton was a successful local businessman involved in the processing of malt. Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 3:175; 4:67, 223, 283, 402; Rice, *Scots Abolitionists,* 53, 88, 130, 135, 158, 162, 199, 213.

196.14 Frederick Card] Douglass might have been mistaken about this Glasgow abolitionist's name; records of his identity and activities could not be located.

196.27 *furore*] Uproar, disturbance.

196.27 "SEND BACK THE MONEY!"] The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society convention unanimously passed a resolution that deemed it the duty of the Free Church of Scotland to send back donations received from American slaveholders. A month later the society published a letter to the general assembly of the Free Church outlining the evils of slavery and urging that the money be returned. Both American and British Garrisonians, however, protested more hotly against the Free Church of Scotland for accepting money from American slaveholders than did the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In this case, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society joined the Garrisonians in denouncing the actions of the Free Church, as did abolitionists in Glasgow. *Bristish and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter,* new ser., 1:81–112 (1 June, 1 July 1846); David Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860* (London, 1991), 78–79, 100–103, 210.

196.28 Greenock] A major Scottish port in the burgh of Renfrew, on the Clyde estuary at the head of Firth of Clyde. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 718.

196.28 Aberdeen] A small city and district constituting the chief port and commercial center in northeastern Scotland, Aberdeen is located on the North Sea, ninety-five miles northeast of Edinburgh. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:4–5.

196.29 Henry C. Wright] Abolitionist and pacifist Henry Clarke Wright (1797–1870) was one of Garrison's close associates. Reared in central New York, Wright served an apprenticeship as a hatmaker before studying at Andover Theological Seminary. In 1835 he joined the American Anti-Slavery Society and served as one of Theodore Dwight Weld's "seventy agents" until the executive board of the American Anti-Slavery Society removed him in 1837 because of his ultraist opinions. At about the same time he gave up his lecturing agency in the American Peace Society, which was also discomfited by his radicalism, and in 1838 helped found the New England Non-Resistance Society. Nonresistance, the foundation of Wright's reform philosophy, proclaimed the sovereignty of individual conscience and opposed all forms of coercion, violence, and the dominion of man over man. In theory Wright condoned violent resistance to slavery, though he personally eschewed violence. From 1842 to 1847 he traveled in Europe, lecturing on nonresistance and abolitionism. His avowal of antisabbatarian views in Scotland and his accusations (later retracted) that Free Churchmen were "drunkards" made Douglass chary of him. "Friend Wright has created against himself prejudices which I as an abolitionist do not feel myself called upon to withstand," Douglass wrote. Wright later turned to spiritualism and helped organize the Universal Peace Union in 1867. He died in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Douglass to Richard D. Webb, 10 November 1845, Anti-Slavery Collection, MB; Henry C. Wright to Douglass, 12 December 1846, in *Lib.,* 29 January 1847; Henry C. Wright, *Human Life: Illustrated in My Individual Experience as a Child, a Youth, and a Man* (Boston, 1849); Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), 516–18, 532–600, 926–27; Perry, *Radical Abolitionism,* 18–22, 60–61, 89–90, 159, 222–29, 234–38, 262, 278–82; *ACAB,* 6:623; *NCAB,* 2:232.

196.36–37 Cannon Mills] Douglass is referring to Tanfield Hall, the assembly hall of the Free Church of Scotland, which was in a section of Edinburgh known as Canonmills. Theo Lang, ed., *Edinburgh and the Lothians* (London, 1952), 59; Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (London, 1982), 334.

197.22 Established Church of Scotland] The First Book of Discipline of the Church of Scotland dates from August 1560, when the Scottish Parliament decided that the Protestant Confession of Faith should be established as the only authorized creed of the kingdom. The Union of England and Scotland into one kingdom in 1707 was resisted by many Scottish Presbyterians, who were relieved when Parliament made continuance of the Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian form of church government a fundamental condition of the Treaty of Union. Many believed that this condition ensured the security of the Established Church, but the British Parliament soon restored the right of private patronage that the treaty had abolished, a reversal of policy that led to a series of schisms within the body of the church. By the earlier half of the nineteenth century, church unity had been fractured by debates over doctrine; as a result, the Established Church was opposed openly by nonconforming groups that organized together as the United Seceders. The conflict became known as the "Disruption" of 1843, during which more than a third of congregants and clergy left the Established Church, founding the Free Church of Scotland. *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2d ed., 15 vols. (Detroit, 2003), 12:828–29.

199.5 House of Commons] The House of Commons was housed in the Victoria Tower in the Palace of Westminster. Charles Barry was commissioned to design the Palace in 1836, after the existing Houses of Parliament had been destroyed by fire in 1834. The Victoria Tower was built to be as fireproof as possible. In addition to housing the House of Commons, it served as a storage place for state documents. Christopher Jones, *The Great Palace: The Story of Parliament* (London, 1983), 108–14.

199.6 Lord Morpeth] George William Frederick Howard, seventh earl of Carlisle, or Lord Morpeth (1802–64), died at Castle Howard. Before succeeding his father as earl, Howard held the family seat of Morpeth in the House of Commons. The chief secretary for Ireland between 1835 and 1841, Howard became the viceroy in 1855. A supporter of abolition, he wrote the preface for an English edition of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 1:129, 133n; *DNB,* 28:19–21.

199.8 Kirk] Edward Norris Kirk.

199.21–22 Ellen Richardson…Henry Richardson] Ellen Richardson (1808–96) was born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Ellen dedicated herself to the education of working-class girls, holding supervisory posts at both the Royal Jubilee School for Girls and St. Mary's School. In 1846 she joined her sister-in-law, Anna Atkins Richardson, in providing the money to purchase Douglass's freedom from Thomas Auld. Anna Atkins Richardson (1806–92) of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was married to Ellen Richardson's brother, Henry Richardson, in 1833. A Quaker, she was active in several reform causes but was particularly dedicated to antislavery activism. A member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, she alienated British Garrisonians by continuing to support Douglass after he had severed ties with Garrison. With her husband, she helped lead the free produce movement of the 1850s in England; she was responsible for securing black lecturers Henry Bibb and Henry Highland Garnet to publicize the cause. From 1851 to 1854 the Richardsons published the *Slave,* a penny newssheet promoting the free produce movement. [Mary C. Pumphrey], *Ellen Richardson: In Memoriam, 1808–1896* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1896); R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860* (Baton Rouge, La., 1983), 120, 122, 134; Temperley, *British Antislavery,* 245.

199.23–24 conceived the plan…ransom from slavery] In August 1846 Anna Richardson wrote Hugh Auld asking him whether Douglass's freedom had a price. Auld replied in October that he would manumit Douglass for £150 sterling. At that time, if not before, Anna, together with her sister-in-law, Ellen Richardson, took steps to raise the purchase money and made arrangements with American abolitionists, Ellis Gray Loring of Boston in particular, to handle the details of the negotiation. On 24 November 1846, Walter Lowrie of New York City, whom Loring had apparently deputed to carry on the negotiations, notified Hugh Auld that the £150 had arrived in New York and directed him to produce proof of legal ownership of Douglass. At about this time, Lowrie also engaged the services of J. Meredith, a prominent Baltimore attorney, to act as go-between and to take care that the papers were in order. Less than a week later Thomas Auld filed a bill of sale in Talbot County signifying the transfer of Douglass to Hugh Auld, and on 5 December 1846, Hugh Auld filed Douglass's manumission papers in Baltimore County. Exactly one week afterward the transaction was consummated, Hugh Auld handing over to Lowrie via Meredith a copy of the bill of sale from Thomas Auld, a deed of manumission for Douglass, and a receipt showing he had received $711.66 for Douglass's freedom. All these papers were placed in Douglass's hands shortly thereafter. Douglass to the Editor, Belfast *Protestant Journal,* in *Lib.,* 28 August 1846; Walter Lowrie to Ellis Gray Loring, 15 December 1846; Talbot County Records, V.60, 35–36, 30 November 1846, MdTCH; Deed of Manumission for "Frederick Bailey, otherwise called Frederick Douglass," 12 December 1846, Hugh Auld's Receipt of Payment, 12 December 1846, all on reel 1, frames 637–43, FD Papers, DLC; *NASS,* 11 November 1847; *NS,* 3 December 1847; Glasgow *Christian News,* 23 December 1847.

199.31 the fugitive slave…that of 1850] The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 stated that in the case of the escape of any person held to the service of labor under the law (slaves), the person who owned such laborers might seize the fugitive and bring him or her before any United States judge or magistrate. The judge or magistrate, upon determining the validity of the slave's fugitive status, could issue a warrant for the removal of the slave from the state where he or she had fled. Any person obstructing the removal of or harboring a fugitive slave was liable to pay a penalty of $500. Replacing the 1793 law, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, part of that year's infamous sectional compromise, created a federal position of "commissioner" authorized to issue warrants for the arrest of fugitives and to certify removal of captives to the South. The law stimulated a growth in antislavery sentiment in the North, where opposition centered on the inherent bias of the commissioners, who were paid a fee of $10 each time they ordered the removal of a fugitive, but only $5 if they judged that the captive was not a fugitive slave. Many also objected to the creation of a bureau of federal officials to enforce the property rights of slave owners in the South. Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 23–25; C. W. A. David, "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793," *JNH,* 9:18–25 (January 1924); Paul Finkelman, "The Kidnapping of John Davis and the Adoption of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793," *JSH,* 56:397–422 (August 1990); Miller and Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery,* 275–76.

199.36–37 They thought it a violation of anti-slavery principles] Following the purchase of his freedom from Thomas Auld, Douglass was criticized by some abolitionists. Douglass's critics believed that entering into this transaction constituted trafficking with slaveholders on their terms; they held that the purchase undermined the natural right of men to be free. Henry C. Wright presented this argument in a letter to Douglass dated 12 December 1847. Douglass replied to Wright and others, arguing that practical considerations necessitated this course; that he must allow Auld to rob him of money in order to secure peace of mind for himself and his family upon his return to the United States, where he could continue his work without the fear of recapture. *Lib.,* 29 January 1847; Durham (N.C.) *Chronicle,* 5 February 1847; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 3, 1:179–200.

200.31 Wrightson Jones] Wrightson Jones (1828/29–?) was a merchant in the town of St. Michaels in Talbot County, where he was born and raised. His father was an important artillerist in the battle against the British at St. Michaels in August 1813. In 1850 Jones was married, had two children, owned two slaves, and had real estate valued at $1,000. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 79 (free schedule), 39 (slave schedule); Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:157, 164.

200.31 John L. Sears] All editions and impressions of *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* include a transcription of his manumission papers signed by Thomas Auld and witnessed by an individual identified as "John C. Lear." While the signature of this witness on the manuscript of Douglass's manumission document is not entirely legible, evidence from Sears's letters to Douglass suggests that the witness was most likely John L. Sears, the twenty-three-year-old husband of Auld's

daughter Arianna Amanda Auld; the two were married in 1843. The 1850 U.S. Census for Talbot County, Maryland, lists Sears as a twenty-seven-year-old schoolteacher in St. Michaels, sharing a residence with his twenty-four-year-old wife and five-year-old daughter, Anna. Sears and Douglass were unknown to each other until nearly thirty years later, when the latter located Sears in order to request a meeting with Amanda Auld Sears, whom Douglass had last seen when both were children. John L. Sears to Douglass, General Correspondence File, 21, 24 May 1877, 18 February 1885, reel 3, frames 129–30, reel 4, frames 139–140, FD Papers, DLC; Walter Lowrie to Ellis Gray Loring, 15 December 1846; Hugh Auld's Receipt of Payment, 12 December 1846, Deed of Manumission for "Frederick Bailey, otherwise called Frederick Douglass," 12 December 1846, all on reel 1, frames 637–43, FD Papers, DLC; 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 1 (free schedule); *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:215–17.

200.32 N. Harrington] Nathan Harrington (1808/09–?) was a prominent merchant in the town of St. Michaels in Talbot County and also served as the local justice of the peace. His father also resided in St. Michaels and had been a vocal proponent of war against Britain in 1812. In 1850 Harrington was married, had four children, owned three slaves, and held real estate valued at $1,500. 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Talbot County, 79 (free schedule), 39 (slave schedule); Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:406.

200.44 T. Hanson Belt] Thomas Hanson Belt (c. 1800–?) was a judge in Baltimore in 1845 and lived at 121 N. Charles Street. *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1845,* 16; 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Baltimore County, 210.

200.44 James N. S. T. Wright] James N. S. T. Wright (c. 1801–?) was a member of an old Eastern Shore family whose roots in Queen Anne's County stretch back at least to the latter half of the seventeenth century. The Wrights intermarried with the Tilghmans, Lloyds, DeCourcys, and other prominent local families. Many of them served in both the colonial and state legislatures. Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (1886–87; Baltimore, 1950), 120, 129, 219; 1850 U.S. Census, Maryland, Queen Anne's County, 224; J. Hall Pleasants, ed., "Letters of Molly and Hefty Tilghman: Eighteenth Century Gossip of Two Maryland Girls," *MdHM,* 21:33–34 (March 1926); Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature,* 2:918–27.

201.19–20 At that time…the colored people] Douglass was mistaken. There had been at least nine newspapers edited by blacks by the time Douglass started the *North Star* in 1847. These included six published in New York City: *Freedom's Journal* (1827–29), published by Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm; *Rights of All* (1829), published by Samuel Cornish; *Weekly Advocate* (1837) and *Colored American* (1837–41), both published by Samuel Cornish, Phillip Bell, and Charles Ray; *Mirror of Liberty* (1838–40), published by David Ruggles; and *Ram's Horn,* published by Thomas Van Rensselaer. Newspapers published by African Americans in other cities included *National Reformer* (1838–39), published in Philadelphia by William Whipper; *Mystery* (1843–47), published in Pittsburgh by Martin Delany; and *Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate* (1842), published in Albany by Stephen Myers. In 1847 Delany was still sporadically publishing *Mystery*. In January 1848 the African Methodist Episcopal church bought the *Mystery* out, renamed it the *Christian Recorder,* and moved it to Philadelphia, where it operated as the official organ of the denomination until 1860. Van Rensselaer's *Ram's Horn* also was still in publication when Douglass began the *North Star.* It failed in July 1848. Hutton, *Early Black Press in America,* 16–17, 165–66; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:483, 4:128.

201.23–24 nearly two thousand…such a paper] Douglass's British colleagues were enthusiastic supporters of his plans to publish an antislavery newspaper. Fundraising campaigns in England collected $2,175, and solicitations from other areas of Britain brought the total contribution of his overseas friends to more than $4,000. One fundraising campaign specifically aimed to purchase a steam-powered printing press for the venture. Another hoped that their efforts would allow Douglass to "return home with a sum in his pocket which will secure to him and his family a comfortable and handsome support for the future." *NASS,* 1 April, 10 June 1847; Temperley, *British Antislavery,* 219.

201.30 turning my face toward America] Douglass left Liverpool aboard the *Cambria* on 4 April 1847 and landed in Boston, Massachusetts, on 20 April 1847. Liverpool *Mercury,* 6 April 1847; Manchester *Guardian,* 7 April 1847; *Lib.,* 23 April 1847.

201.32–33 I was met with proscription on account of my color] Douglass had been denied first-class passage aboard the *Cambria* during his initial voyage in 1845, and when he booked passage for his return in the spring of 1847, he voluntarily sought second-class accommodations as an economy measure. However, an agent of the Cunard Line informed him that second-class passage was no longer offered, so Douglass paid the flat rate of £40 19s. required of all passengers and received a ticket to berth 72 aboard the *Cambria.* Douglass claimed that, when paying the fare, he specifically asked whether "my color would prove any barrier to my enjoying all the rights and privilege enjoyed by other passengers" and that the ticket agent responded, "No." When he boarded the ship on the morning of 3 April, Douglass learned that his berth had been assigned to another passenger. Captain Charles H. E. Judkins, who had befriended Douglass on the 1845 voyage, accompanied Douglass to the Cunard Line's Liverpool office, where officials informed him that the London agent had acted without authority in selling Douglass the original ticket. Douglass reluctantly made a bargain, agreeing to give up his berth, to dine alone, and to make no attempt to mix with the "saloon company." In return he was assigned the choice quarters recently occupied by the governor-general of Canada. Douglass charged that Charles McIver, the company's Liverpool agent, and Samuel Cunard in particular, proposed this arrangement, but McIver claimed that Douglass had agreed to the plan before coming to talk with him. McIver nevertheless noted that the Cunard Line was "not a reformatory society," and argued that Douglass's forced isolation was necessary in order to prevent a recurrence of the "serious disturbances" ignited by Douglass's speech on the

Cambria in 1845. The voyage to Boston passed uneventfully. Douglass remained in the designated portion of the ship, contenting himself with visits from sympathetic passengers and willingly shunning "a band of wild, uproarious, gambling tipplers" who frequently gave vent to "foul-mouthed utterances" on the upper decks. Douglass's acquiescence to segregation in 1847 provoked more public discussion than had his stormy confrontations with proslavery *Cambria* passengers twenty months earlier. Garrison gave over eleven columns of the *Liberator* of 14 May 1847 to extracts from the British press condemning Douglass's treatment. Douglass to the Editor, 3 April 1847, in London *Times,* 6 April 1847; Charles McIver to the Editor, 12 April 1847, in London *Times,* 13 April 1847; William Bevan to the Editor of the Liverpool *Mercury,* n.d., in *Lib.,* 14 May 1847; Douglass to Garrison, 21 April 1847, Douglass to [Anna] Richardson, 29 April 1847, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne *Christian,* 3:518–22 (1 June 1847); Douglass to "My Dear Friend," 29 April 1847, in *British Friend,* 5:116–17 (May 1847); London *Times,* 8 April 1847; Fry, *North Atlantic Steam Navigation,* 56–57.

202.8 stern rebuke from the British press] Douglass's letter to the editor of the London *Times* describing his problems securing a berth aboard the *Cambria* was intended to "lay these facts before" the British public so that they might "pronounce a just verdict on such proceedings." It first appeared in the London *Times* on 6 April 1847 and was widely reprinted in both Great Britain and the United States. "I have traveled in this country nineteen months, and have *always* enjoyed equal rights and privilege with other passengers," Douglass wrote, "and it was not until I turned my face towards America, that I met with anything like proscription on account of my colour." The *Times* responded favorably to Douglass's plea for justice. In addition to labeling the Cunard Line's actions as "ignorant and contemptible," the editors argued, "Common decency should have taught the agents of the *Cambria* not to offend our notions of justice and common sense for the sake of truckling to an unworthy prejudice of our transatlantic neighbors." London *Times,* 6 April 1847; Bristol *Mercury and Western Counties Advertiser,* 10 April 1847; Bristol *Gazette,* 8 April 1847; London *Patent,* 8 April 1847; *NASS,* 13 May 1847.

202.9 London *Times*] The London *Times* was begun by John Walters as the *Daily Universal Register* on 1 January 1785, and it became the *Times or Daily Universal Register* three years later. In the 1840s John Delane served as editor. *The History of the "Times,"* 4 vols. (1935–52; Millwood, N.Y., 1985), 1:26, 29, 2:92.

202.12–13 came out in a letter] Samuel Cunard (1787–1865), merchant and owner of the steamship line. Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Cunard began his career as a merchant involved in the whaling trade. But in the early 1830s, spurred by the British government's call for an advance in shipping to expedite the movement of mail in the North Atlantic between England, Canada, and the United States, Cunard envisioned a line of the recently developed steam-driven ships to move between these points. Securing additional capital from two Scottish investors, Cunard established the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and initiated the building of some of the world's largest steam-driven ships. The first voyage was successfully completed in July 1840, and over the ensuing years, Cunard had more than ten new ships built. Cunard's ships also carried passengers, and by the 1840s his steamship line was one of the most important means of transporting immigrants to North America as well as carrying American visitors to Europe. The inhospitable yet inexpensive steerage class made possible the immigration of tens of thousands of impoverished Irish during the Great Famine in the second half of the 1840s. T[homas] W[illiam] E[dgar] Roche, *Samuel Cunard and the North Atlantic* (London, 1971); Kay Grant, *Samuel Cunard: Pioneer of the Atlantic Steamship* (London, 1967); Babcock, *Spanning the Atlantic,* 1–135; *DNB,* 5:300.

202.28–29 "liberty and the pursuit of happiness"] A paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence: "Certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

202.30 My friends in Boston] Many Garrisonian abolitionists opposed Douglass in starting his own antislavery newspaper. They argued that numerous black newspapers already existed and that Douglass's paper would duplicate those efforts and fail financially as a result. Just as likely, they feared that a paper published by Douglass would hurt those published by white abolitionist editors, including Garrison. Moreover, the Garrisonians believed that Douglass was betraying those who had helped him establish his public career. Chapman, in particular, resented any divisions within the abolitionist movement, believing that they hurt the antislavery cause as a whole. All implied that Douglass did not have the ability to edit a newspaper and urged him to continue lecturing. Mayer, *All on Fire,* 371–75; McKivigan, "Frederick Douglass–Gerrit Smith Friendship," 207–08.

203.25 old Anti-Slavery organization] After the American Anti-Slavery Society selected a woman as an officer in May 1840, some members quit in protest and founded the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Afterward abolitionists often referred to the American Anti-Slavery Society and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as the "Old Organization" and "New Organization," respectively. By the time of this letter, the American Anti-Slavery Society had relocated its executive committee from New York to Boston. The prominent role played by William Lloyd Garrison in the Old Organization caused both friends and foes to identify the group as "Garrisonians." While some difference of opinion existed among Garrisonians, most clung to the original abolitionist commitment to moral suasion to end slavery and eschewed political action or the use of violence, even in self-defense. The Garrisonians also welcomed women as equal participants in all their activities. The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, based in New York City, focused on antislavery agitation inside both religious and political circles and did not allow women to hold elected leadership posts in their organization. McKivigan, *War against Proslavery Religion,* 56–84; Mayer, *All on Fire,* 261–84.

203.31 Rochester, N.Y.] In November 1847, after completing his speaking tour of the western states, Douglass moved to Rochester, New York, to prepare publication

of the *North Star.* By locating his newspaper in Rochester, Douglass established his independence from William Lloyd Garrison and the New England Garrisonian abolitionists. The Rochester region of western New York was known as a hotbed of reform and as the final stop on the Underground Railroad. The political abolitionists and other reformers in the area offered significant encouragement and support for Douglass's publication. The first issue of the *North Star* appeared on 3 December 1847. In February 1848 Douglass returned to Lynn, Massachusetts, to retrieve his family, who boarded in Rochester until Douglass could purchase a house. Two months later the Douglass family moved into their home at 4 Alexander Street, in the midst of white neighbors. Rochester society at first gave Douglass and his family a less than enthusiastic welcome, but the rave reception of his paper by other printers and journalists in the city soon smoothed the way for their acceptance. *NS,* 21 January, 5 February 1848; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860* (New York, 1997), 250–51.

203.32 *The North Star*] Douglass's name for his journal was undoubtedly attributed to the star that served as a polar guide for fugitive slaves fleeing north. At the time the *North Star* began publication on 3 December 1847, newspapers published by blacks were relatively new in the United States. The first black periodical, New York City's *Mirror of Liberty,* was first published in July 1838; it was followed by Philadelphia's *National Reformer* in September of the same year. Douglass's paper was not the first to reference the North Star; Stephen Myers (1800–70), a key agent for the Underground Railroad in Albany, established the *Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate* in 1842, which, after merging with the *True American* in 1849, was renamed *Impartial Citizen.* Douglass had previously contributed to the *Ram's Horn,* a New York newspaper established in 1847 by black abolitionist Willis A. Hodges. In 1851 the *North Star* merged with the *Liberty Party Paper* and was renamed *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* Glasgow *Christian News,* 23 March 1848; Penelope L. Bullock, *The Afro-American Periodical Press, 1838–1909* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 1; Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (Ames, Iowa, 1971), 20; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:378–79; Appiah and Gates, *Africana,* 1916; Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 2:486–87.

203.33 *Anti-Slavery Standard*] *National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

203.36 *non-voting principle*] In 1844 the American Anti-Slavery Society called on abolitionists to support disunion and asked them not to vote for or support a political party that favored preserving the Union. William Lloyd Garrison and his followers believed that the Constitution was an immoral covenant that allowed compromise with the South, thus perpetuating slavery. Harrold, *American Abolitionists,* 35–36; Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide,* 204–06.

203.39 "No union with slaveholders."] In May 1844 the American Anti-Slavery Society, under the control of followers of William Lloyd Garrison since 1840, adopted a resolution calling for northern secession from the Union as a means of depriving the

institution of slavery of outside support. Garrisonians found their disunionist position an extremely effective propaganda device to castigate northerners for their complicity with slavery stemming from cooperation with the South under what they deemed the "proslavery" U.S. Constitution. Perry, *Radical Abolitionism,* 161–66; Harrold, *American Abolitionists,* 35–36.

204.3–4 no necessity…southern States;"] Through the late 1840s, Douglass's views on the Constitution coincided with the Garrisonian belief that the U.S. Constitution supported proslavery interests. In a March 1849 editorial in the *North Star,* Douglass outlined his position and concluded that the Constitution was "radically and essentially pro-slavery." Following his move to Rochester and close association with political abolitionists such as Gerrit Smith, Douglass began to reevaluate his position on the Constitution. Douglass came to believe that those sections of the Constitution that excluded the sanction of "property in man" offered evidence that the founding fathers in fact viewed slavery as evil and even planned for its eventual abolition. He also observed that those clauses that the Garrisonians and slaveholders used to justify the proslavery nature of the document did not explicitly mention slavery at all. Coming to a more literal interpretation as held by political abolitionists, by 1851 Douglass began instead to interpret those clauses dealing with the basic freedoms as expressly antislavery statements. His political abolitionist colleagues praised the change and congratulated him "upon the change of sentiment" he now expressed. Gerrit Smith even remarked that "I have observed for years, that you were coming to this conclusion." Gerrit Smith to Douglass, in Salem (Ohio) *Anti-Slavery Bugle,* 2 August 1851; Bob Markle to Douglass, *NS,* 28 August 1851; *NS,* 16 March 1849; *FDP,* 24 July 1851; Martin, *Mind of Frederick Douglass,* 31, 37–38.

204.34–36 "form a more…blessings of liberty"] A quotation from the preamble to the U.S. Constitution.

205.7 large sheet, published weekly] The *North Star*'s large sheet was a standard format for nineteenth-century newspapers, which allowed them to be easily folded, carried, and stored. Douglass published the first issue of the *North Star* on 3 December 1847, changing the name to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in 1851. He continued to publish the journal under that name until 1860. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:ixi, 5:26; Shannon E. Martin, "Newspaper History Traditions," in *The Function of Newspapers in Society: A Global Perspective,* ed. Shannon E. Martin and David A. Copeland (Westport, Conn., 2003), 1–11.

205.15 Russell Lant Carpenter] The Reverend Russell Lant Carpenter (1816–92), a Unitarian minister, spent his childhood in Bristol, England. He attended Bristol College in preparation for a life of ministry, continued his studies at Manchester and York Colleges and was one of the first to graduate from London University in 1840. Carpenter became intensely involved in the temperance movement and subsequently quit his pastorate at Bridgwater, England, since part of the church's endowment came from taverns selling liquors. In August 1849 he journeyed to the United States, where he spent a full year preaching from Montreal to St. Louis to Boston. His father, Dr.

Lant Carpenter, was a well-known teacher whose Unitarian writings were already known to the antislavery men of the day. Thus, Carpenter became acquainted with Garrison, Douglass, and others. Having returned to England, he married in 1853 and continued his ministerial work there until his death. His works include *Memoirs of Lant Carpenter* (1842), *Discourses and Devotional Services* (1849), *A Monotessaron* (1851), and a biography about his brother, Philip, *Memoirs of the Life and Work of Philip Pearsall Carpenter* (1880). Carpenter also contributed frequently to the *Inquirer* and to other periodicals. London *Inquirer,* 30 January 1892.

205.18 Julia Griffiths Crofts] Julia Griffiths Crofts (?–1885) was a British abolitionist and reformer originally from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Douglass befriended her during his initial tour of Great Britain in 1845–47. Griffiths came to Rochester in 1848 and became a strong supporter and ally of Douglass in his publication of the *North Star* and later *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* She lived for a time in the Douglass home and worked as business manager of the paper, taking charge of financial matters and aiding Douglass in his work as editor. Griffiths was a successful fundraiser who continued her antislavery activities in the United States through her affiliation with the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. Following unsubstantiated rumors that hinted that Douglass and Griffiths shared more than a business relationship, she returned to Britain in 1855. Between 1856 and 1859 Griffiths traveled throughout Britain as an abolitionist lecturer and formed fifteen women's antislavery groups. Each of these groups supported Douglass and was strongly at odds with the Garrisonian wing of abolitionism. In 1859 Griffiths married H. D. Crofts, a minister from Halifax, England. Karen I. Halbersleben, *Women's Participation in the British Antislavery Movement, 1824–1865* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1993), 190–95; Clare Midgley, *Women against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780–1870* (London, 1992), 140–42; Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Slave and Citizen: The Life of Frederick Douglass,* ed. Oscar Handlin (New York, 1980), 45–46; Martin, *Mind of Frederick Douglass,* 40–41; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 163–65.

205.27 "give honor to whom honor is due."] A paraphrase of Rom. 13:7.

205.29–30 It was subsequently changed to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*] In spring 1851 New York's leading political abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, approached Douglass with a proposal to merge the latter's financially struggling *North Star* with the official organ of the New York State Liberty party. Smith promised Douglass the editorship of the new journal along with a monthly subsidy for two years. Douglass accepted, and the new periodical, *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* prospered moderately thanks to Smith's generosity and the energetic fundraising of Julia Griffiths. McKivigan, "Frederick Douglass–Gerrit Smith Friendship," 214–19.

205.38 Chief Justice Chase] Salmon Portland Chase (1808–73) served as a U.S. senator, cabinet officer, and chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. He taught school briefly in Washington, D.C., before beginning a legal career and settling in Cincinnati, where he defended a number of fugitive slaves and also acted as legal counsel for abolitionist James G. Birney. Initially a Whig, Chase joined the Liberty party in 1840 and presided at the Buffalo convention of the Free Soil party in 1848. A coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats in the Ohio legislature sent Chase to the U.S. Senate in 1849, where he remained until 1854, strongly opposing the Compromise of 1850 and favoring restriction of slavery by federal law. Joining the Republican party in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Chase became the governor of Ohio in 1855 and won reelection in 1857. After briefly resuming his U.S. Senate seat in 1861, he resigned to become Abraham Lincoln's secretary of the Treasury. Closely aligned with Radical Republicans in congress, Chase clashed repeatedly with William H. Seward and other cabinet members, and ultimately he became an opponent of Lincoln within the Republican party. After an abortive movement to nominate him for the presidency in 1864, Chase resigned from the cabinet in July, only to be appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court in October. Both before and after his appointment to the Court, Chase was a strong spokesman for black suffrage and the radical program of Reconstruction. A perennial aspirant for the Republican presidential nomination, Chase also sought the Democratic nomination in 1868 but attracted little support. Frederick J. Blue, *Salmon P. Chase: A Life in Politics* (Kent, Ohio, 1987); Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 90; Stewart, *Joshua R. Giddings,* 116–18, 153–54; Reinhard H. Luthin, "Salmon P. Chase's Political Career before the Civil War," *MVHR,* 29:517–40 (March 1943); *DAB,* 4:27–34.

205.39 Hon. John G. Palfry] John Gorham Palfrey (1796–1881), Unitarian minister, Whig politician, and noted historian, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, and educated at Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, and at Harvard College. From 1818 to 1831 he served as pastor of Boston's Brattle Street Unitarian Church, after which he was professor of sacred literature at Harvard until 1839. A longtime contributor to the *North American Review,* he was at various times its editor and owner. During the 1840s Palfrey devoted himself to Whig politics, being elected state legislator (1842–43), secretary of the commonwealth (1844–47), and U.S. representative (1847–49). After joining the Free Soil party in 1848, he was defeated for reelection and never again held elective office, although President Abraham Lincoln appointed him postmaster of Boston (1861–67). Palfrey's abolitionist activities included attendance at an antislavery convention in Paris in 1857; earlier he had emancipated the few slaves he inherited from his father, who had established a plantation in Louisiana in 1804. Palfrey's lasting fame derives from his writings, particularly *History of New England,* 5 vols. (Boston, 1858–90). Frank Otto Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); *NCAB,* 7:199; *DAB,* 14:69–70; *BDUSC* (online).

205.39 Hon. Wm. H. Seward] William Henry Seward (1801–72) was a New York state senator (1830–32) and governor (1839–43) before serving as a U.S. senator (1849–61). He originally belonged to the Anti-Mason party, but became a leader of the Whig party during the 1830s and 1840s. By 1855 Seward had moved his allegiance to the Republican party. During the Compromise of 1850, he first invoked the concept of "a higher law than the Constitution" to support abolition. As the decade

progressed, Seward became more outspoken against slavery, characterizing the struggle as an "irrepressible conflict" between opposing forces. In 1856 and 1860 he unsuccessfully sought the Republican presidential nomination. Instead, he became Abraham Lincoln's secretary of state in 1861. Seward's influence prevented European recognition of the Confederacy during the Civil War. In 1867 he negotiated the U.S. purchase of the Alaska territory, known as "Seward's Folly." Frederic Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward,* 2 vols. (1899–1900; Gloucester, Mass., 1967); *ACAB,* 5:470–73; *DAB,* 16:615–21.

206.3 William and Mary Hallowell] Arriving in Rochester in 1841, William R. Hallowell (1816–82) ran a woolen mill and leather business. He was a member of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, as well as serving on the board of education in Rochester. Mary Hallowell (1823–1913) was the daughter of Isaac Post and his first wife, Hannah. The couple were members of Douglass's circle of friends in Rochester and were active members of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Mary Hallowell was also active in local temperance and women's rights organizations and acted as an agent for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in 1865. William F. Peck, *History of Rochester and Monroe County, New York,* 2 vols. (New York, 1908), 2:1243–44; Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 61, 131, 163, 209–10.

206.3 Asa and Huldah Anthony] Asa Anthony (1800–72) married Huldah Griffin (c. 1808–90) in 1830. They lived in Greenfield, New York, until 1842, when the Quaker couple settled on a farm outside Rochester, New York, which became a stop along the Underground Railroad. The Anthonys later left the Society of Friends because of their antislavery views. Asa Anthony was a distant cousin of Susan B. Anthony. Like her husband, Huldah Anthony was an antislavery activist; she served as the president pro-tem of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society and on its executive committee. 1870 U.S. Census, New York, Monroe County, 117; *The Rochester Directory, Containing a General Directory of the Citizens, a Business Directory, and the City and County Register for the Year Beginning July 1, 1891* (Rochester, 1891), 58; *Lib.,* 5 January 1844; *NNE,* 23 May 1872; Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony,* ed. Ann D. Gordon, 4 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1997–2006), 2:495.

206.4 Western New York Anti-Slavery Society] The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society was founded in November 1842 at a meeting held in Rochester's Washington Street Presbyterian Church. Leading local Presbyterian abolitionist Samuel Porter served as its first president, but in latter years the organization was dominated by pro-Garrison abolitionists from the city's Hicksite Quaker community, especially members of the extend Post family. The group met most Tuesday evenings and sponsored an annual convention each December, which in some years drew major luminaries from the antislavery movement as speakers. Women played a prominent role among the society's leadership throughout its history. The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society provided both encouragement and tangible support to Douglass and his newspaper until he broke with the Garrisonians in the early 1850s. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 60–61, 106–07, 116–17, 140–41, 166–68, 235; Sernett, *North Star Country,* 58–62.

206.10–11 Susan F. Porter] After her marriage to land agent Samuel D. Porter in 1835, Susan Farley Porter (1812–80) moved from Waldoborough, Maine, to Rochester, New York, where she became one of the city's most active reformers. Among the founders of the Bethel Free Church, Rochester Orphan Asylum Association, and Rochester Female Anti-Slavery Society, she was also a member of the Rochester Female Charitable Society, an author of the constitution for the Home for Friendless and Virtuous Females, and president of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. 1850 U.S. Census, New York, Monroe County, 92; *FDP,* 11 March 1852; Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 55–56, 59–60, 111, 119, 126–27, 147–48, 152, 159, 191, 230.

206.11 Maria and Almira Porter] Maria G. Porter (1805–96), social activist, was born in Bristol, Maine. At twenty years of age she moved with her family to Rochester, New York, where she remained until her death. Maria helped to found the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society and served as its treasurer for many years; her sister Almira B. Porter (1825–79) served on the society's executive board. Maria also ran a boardinghouse in Rochester, which was a stop on the Underground Railroad from which she helped many fugitive slaves escape to freedom. Almira taught young women at school in Rochester. 1850 U.S. Census, New York, Monroe County, 57; *The Rochester Directory, Containing a General Directory of the Citizens, a Business Directory, and the City and County Register for the Year Beginning July, 1 1880* (Rochester, 1880), 58; *FDP,* 26 February 1852; Rochester *Herald,* 14 December 1896; New York *Times,* 15 December 1896; (Bangor, Me.) *Daily Whig & Courier,* 17 December 1896; Peck, *History of Rochester,* 1:243.

206.16–17 New York *Herald*] Founded in 1835, the New York *Herald* was owned and edited by James Gordon Bennett. In 1850 the newspaper nominally supported the Whig party, but had a reputation for balanced reporting of news events. Richard Kluger and Phyllis Kluger, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune* (New York, 1986), 44–46, 63–64.

206.23 Corinthian Hall] Douglass's Sunday evening lecture series in Rochester began on 1 December 1850, with lectures each week until the eighth given on 26 January 1851; Douglass did not lecture on 19 January 1851. *NS,* 5 December 1850, 23 January 1851.

206.23 Wm. R. Reynolds] William Abelard Reynolds (1810–72) was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and moved to Rochester, New York, with his parents in 1813. Reynolds's first business was in the seed trade, and he went on to own a flour factory in nearby Penfield. In 1845 he became manager and custodian of "The Arcade," a business emporium built in 1829 by his father, Abelard Reynolds. Rochester at that time had two libraries, one housed in part of the Arcade used by the Rochester Athenaeum, and one in a nearby building for the Mechanics' Association.

Two years after Reynolds took over operations at the Arcade, the two libraries decided to merge, and in 1848 Reynolds oversaw the erection of a new wing of the building, known in Rochester as Corinthian Hall. Reynolds donated frequently and generously to benevolent organizations and served in many public offices during his lifetime. Martin B. Anderson and Dwight K. Bartlett, *Address and Sermon on the Death of William Abelard Reynolds* (Rochester, 1872), 5–6; Blake McKelvey, ed., *The History of Rochester Libraries* (Rochester, 1937), 39–41.

206.31 Victor] Victor is a village in Ontario County, located in west-central New York. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 2022.

206.32 Farmington] Also in Ontario County, Farmington is a town located near the Cocheco River in west-central New York. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 604.

206.32 Canandaigua] Canandaigua is a city in Ontario County located on the north end of Canandaigua Lake in west-central New York. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 322.

206.32 Geneva] Spanning the border between Ontario and Seneca Counties, Geneva is a small city the north side of Seneca Lake in west-central New York. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 671.

206.32 Waterloo] Waterloo is a village in west-central New York. It is located on the Seneca River between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 2067.

206.32 Batavia] Found in Genesee County, Batavia is a small city in western New York on Tonawanda Creek. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 173.

207.7–8 More than one gentleman from the south, when stopping at Niagara, came to see me] By the 1840s, a stop at Niagara Falls in western New York was part of the informal "Grand Tour," taken by many wealthy southerners in the summer to escape their home region's unhealthy climate. Franklin, *Southern Odyssey,* 8–9, 15, 38–39, 161, 207.

207.16–17 The 2d…the ground] Douglass's house, which had stood on South Avenue in Rochester for twenty-one years, burned to the ground on 2 June 1872. Although Douglass was at the time in Washington, D.C., his wife and the family of his son-in-law, Nathan Sprague, were residing at the house when the event occurred. Douglass's family became aware of the fire in the early hours of the morning, and all managed to escape without harm. Attributed to arson, the fire began in Douglass's barn and from there spread to his house. In addition to the twelve volumes of his newspaper that he mentions, Douglass lost an estimated $7,000 in property, as well as $11,000 in U.S. bonds that he kept at the estate; only some pieces of furniture, a piano, and a portion of Douglass's library were saved. Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* 3 June 1872; *NNE,* 6 June 1872; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 268.

207.29–30 great Free Soil Convention at Buffalo] The massive convention that created the Free Soil party drew between 10,000 and 20,000 participants and observers, including Douglass, to Buffalo, New York, during the second week of August 1848. A conference committee of ex-Whigs, ex-Democrats, and Liberty party supporters hammered out positions at the city's Universalist Church that were later considered at a mass meeting in a nearby park. The approved platform opposed expansion of slavery and the use of federal power to protect slavery. The conference committee also nominated former president Martin Van Buren for president and Charles Francis Adams for vice president. Michael F. Holt, *The Fate of Their Country: Politicians, Slavery Extension, and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 2004), 44; Joseph G. Rayback, *Free Soil: The Election of 1848* (Lexington, Ky., 1970), 223–30; Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 156–58.

207.30 Nomination of Martin Van Buren] Martin Van Buren (1782–1862), eighth president of the United States, began his career as a lawyer in New York. Van Buren represented Columbia County in the New York senate in 1812, where he developed a political rivalry with DeWitt Clinton. In 1815 he was appointed state attorney general, but Clinton supporters removed him in 1819 because he opposed funding the Erie Canal. Van Buren challenged his rivals by building a Democratic-Republican organization known as the Bucktails. During Clinton's second term as governor, the Bucktails gained control of the state legislature and appointed Van Buren to the U.S. Senate in 1821. Van Buren's rise to power earned him the nickname "Little Magician" among his admirers. With his own designs on national politics, Van Buren campaigned on behalf of Andrew Jackson in 1828. Elected governor of New York that same year, Van Buren resigned when Jackson appointed him U.S. attorney general in 1829. In his new cabinet post, Van Buren developed an intense rivalry with Vice President John C. Calhoun. In 1832 Van Buren became Jackson's running mate for vice president as a reward for his loyalty and political skill. Van Buren then gained the president's support to succeed him in the Oval Office in 1836. Although Van Buren tried to continue Jackson's policies, he lost popularity following the Panic of 1837, when his enemies dubbed him Martin "Van Ruin" and blamed him for the country's economic woes. Failing to be reelected, Van Buren retired to New York in 1841. In 1848 his opposition to the extension of slavery in the territories gained in the Mexican-American War returned him to politics as the Free Soil candidate for president, but he received a mere 10 percent of the vote. In the 1850s, once more a Democrat, he endorsed the Compromise of 1850 and gave uneasy support to the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. He died in 1862, dismayed at the dissolution of the Union. Donald B. Cole, *Martin Van Buren and the American Political System* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); *ANB,* 22:159–62.

207.31 7th of March Speech by Daniel Webster] Known formally as "The Constitution and the Union," the "Seventh of March" speech is considered among Webster's most important. In the speech Webster supported fugitive slave laws and spoke out against abolitionist groups. He argued on behalf of the historicity of slavery, feeding public sentiment in favor of secession. The concluding remarks of the speech indicate that Webster wanted the Union to remain intact, but some contemporary critics believed that those remarks concealed opposite motives. Following its delivery, Webster drew criticism from his fellow Whigs for supporting fugitive slave legisla-

tion, and abolitionist Theodore Parker even compared him to Benedict Arnold. Boston newspapers published the speech with a caveat explaining that Webster's beliefs were no longer those of his constituents. Many of Webster's critics viewed the speech as an attempt to garner southern support for a possible presidential nomination in 1852. Webster's friends, however, believed the speech was a genuine attempt to assuage southerners in order to ultimately prevent secession. Nevertheless, the speech proved both inflammatory and prophetic as Webster warned that secession would not end peacefully were it to occur. Charles M. Wiltse, ed., *The Papers of Daniel Webster,* Series Four: *Speeches and Formal Writings,* 2 vols. (Hanover, N.H., 1979–89), 2:513–51; Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., *Daniel Webster and the Trial of American Nationalism* (Boston, 1973), 190–92; Remini, *Daniel Webster,* 662–81.

207.31–32 Dred Scott decision] Dred Scott (c. 1795–1858), a Missouri slave, was taken by his master in the 1830s into Illinois and Wisconsin, where slavery had been prohibited by both the Northwest Ordinance and the Missouri Compromise. In 1846 Scott sued for his liberty, arguing that his four-year stay on free soil had given him freedom. When the Missouri Supreme Court overturned a lower court ruling in favor of Scott, the case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. After much bargaining among the justices and controversial outside intermeddling by President-elect James Buchanan, the Court handed down a complicated decision on 6 March 1857. The majority opinion, written by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, held that: (1) as a black, Scott was not a citizen and therefore not entitled to sue in a federal court; (2) Scott's previous residence in free territory had not made him free upon his return to Missouri, since his status was determined by the laws of the state in which he resided when the case was raised; and (3) the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, since it violated the Fifth Amendment's prohibition against Congress's depriving persons of their property without the due process of law. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics* (New York, 1978), 242–47, 252–53, 261–65, 279–80, 305–24; Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (1935; Hamden, Conn., 1961), 35, 121–26, 139–40, 158–59, 234, 317; *ACAB,* 6:28–31; *DAB,* 18:289–94; *DANB,* 548–49.

207.32 repeal of the Missouri Compromise] The much-amended bill to organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was originally introduced into Congress by Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. The measure allowed residents of those territories to decide whether or not they would permit slavery on the "popular sovereignty" principle. In the final version, passed on 30 May 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act voided the provision of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that forbade slavery in the old Louisiana Purchase north of 36′ 30″ and established the doctrine of congressional noninterventention with slavery in the territories. P. Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise: Its Origin and Authorship* (Cleveland, 1909), 16, 182–87; David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York, 1976), 55, 160–77; Holt, *Fate of Their Country,* 103–05.

207.32–33 Border war in Kansas] The injection of the slavery issue into the process of organizing a territorial government for Kansas intensified the friction commonly found on the frontier when individuals competed for possession of newly opened lands. Encouraged by Senator David R. Atchison and other proslavery leaders, approximately 1,700 Missouri speculators, settlers, and frontiersmen who considered neighboring Kansas rightfully theirs crossed the border and voted in the election creating the territorial government in March 1854. Through intimidation, force, and illegal ballot counting, the proslavery men carried the election. Most northern settlers protested the fraud, but Governor Andrew H. Reeder, in the presence of armed slavery men, validated the election certificates of most proslavery candidates. The defeated antislavery majority of settlers set up a rival "free state" territorial government. For the next two years federal authorities struggled to quell a series of assassinations, guerrilla skirmishes, and small-scale battles between the two settler factions, each receiving aid from outside sympathizers. Reports of fighting in "Bleeding Kansas" inflamed political sectionalism. Only after free staters gained control of the territorial legislature in fall 1857 did the violence over the slavery question diminish in Kansas. Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union,* 2 vols. (New York, 1947), 2:306–11, 384–90; Potter, *Impending Crisis,* 199–204; Holt, *Fate of Their Country,* 117–18, 120.

207.34 War against the Rebellion] From the point of view of many northerners, the Civil War was an instance of southern rebellion, rather than secession, against the Union. By using the term *rebellion,* the North was able to emphasize the unconstitutional nature of the South's appeal for "states' rights" and to deny any legal grounds for its secession. Abraham Lincoln addressed the difference between the terms *secession* and *rebellion* in his message to Congress on 4 July 1861, where he deemed *secession* a "sugar-coated" term employed by the South to disguise a rebellion that would eventually lead to "the complete destruction of the Union." Southerners responded with their own nationalistic rhetoric for the war, including "War for Southern Independence" and the "War of Northern Aggression." L. E. Chittenden, comp., *Abraham Lincoln's Speeches* (1895; New York, 1908), 249–58; Hugh Tulloch, *The Debate on the American Civil War Era* (Manchester, Eng., 1999), 104; Hans Sperber and Travis Trittschuh, *Dictionary of American Political Terms* (Detroit, 1962), 360.

207.39–208.1 Marshall Pierce of Saco, Me.] Maine businessman Marshall Pierce (c. 1824–1900) was an avid collector of newspapers. After Douglass's home was destroyed in a fire, Pierce donated his two bound volumes of the *North Star* to Douglass. Around 1880 Pierce removed to Oakland, California, where his business engagements made him wealthy. Biddeford *Daily Journal,* 26 March 1900; Amy Hanmer-Croughton, "Anti-Slavery Days in Rochester," *Publications of the Rochester Historical Society,* 16:153–55 (1936).

208.8–9 Lake Ontario] Lake Ontario, bordering the United States and Canada, is the smallest and most easterly of all the Great Lakes. The city of Rochester is located on the mouth of the Genesee River on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. R. Kay Creswell and Anthony Huxley, eds., *Standard Encyclopedia of the World's Rivers and Lakes* (New York, 1965), 197; Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 1383.

208.9 Queen's Dominions] North across Lake Ontario lay the province of Ontario, since 1840 part of the United Province of Canada, under the dominion of the British Empire, ruled by Queen Victoria I. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 1383.

208.10–11 naturally made me…the underground railroad] The Rochester region of western New York, close to the Canadian border, was known as a hotbed of anti-slavery and reformist activity and as the final stop on the Underground Railroad. Both local free blacks, including the barber Jacob P. Morris, and white abolitionists, such as Douglass's good friends the Quaker couple Amy and Isaac Post, sheltered runaways reaching Rochester until they could be safely shipped, often by boat, on to Canada. Douglass possibly selected his residence at 25 Buffalo Street in Rochester in part because its relatively secluded surroundings in the 1850s provided more security to runaways hiding in the house or the stable. The Douglass household became a busy Underground Railroad station, according to the recollections of Douglass's daughter Rosetta, sometimes temporarily sheltering as many as forty runaways in a single month. In 1851 Douglass took an especially grave risk when he briefly hid William Parker, leader of the Christiana blacks, being sought by authorities for killing a slaveholder, during his clandestine flight to Canada. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 172.

208.32 St. Catharines] Saint Catharines is a city in southern Ontario, Canada, near Lake Ontario. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 1628.

208.33–34 Thomas Garrett] Thomas Garrett (1789–1871) was a prominent Quaker abolitionist born near Upper Darby, Pennsylvania. He moved to Wilmington, Delaware, with his wife, Mary Sharpless, and their children and became a wealthy iron merchant. After helping recover a free black woman from kidnapping, Garrett became a staunch abolitionist, joining the Pennsylvania Abolition Society around 1818. Fugitive slaves knew his home as a refuge from pursuit until 1848, when he was charged with assisting seven slaves to escape, which resulted in the loss of his property. Garrett, with the help of his friends, rebuilt his business and continued his role in the Underground Railroad, helping an estimated 2,700 slaves to escape. *ACAB,* 2:609; *DAB,* 7:164–65.

208.34 Melloe McKim] James Miller McKim (1810–74) was born in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and graduated from Dickinson College in 1828. After beginning the study of medicine, McKim decided to enter the Presbyterian ministry and attended both Princeton and the Andover Theological Seminary. He was ordained and assigned his first parish in Womelsdorf, Pennsylvania. After reading William Lloyd Garrison's *Thoughts on African Colonization,* McKim converted to the abolitionist cause. In 1836 he became a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society and an ardent supporter of Garrison, whom he followed after the 1840 abolitionist rupture. In that year he settled in Philadelphia in order to serve as the editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman,* the voice of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. McKim continued as editor of the *Freeman* until it merged with the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in 1854. He was also very active in the Pennsylvania Underground Railroad. McKim welcomed the Civil War and promoted the use of black troops. He supported aid to southern freedmen in Port Royal during and after the war through his membership in the American Freedman's Union Commission. William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (1872; Chicago, 1970), 654–59; William Cohen, "James Miller McKim: Pennsylvania Abolitionist" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1968); *ANB,* 15:115–16.

208.34 William Still] William Still (1821–1902) was born a free black to parents Levin and Charity Still, who were escaped slaves. He left home at the age of twenty and worked his way up through the ranks at the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia. He became chair of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. His office functioned as a social services station where he provided food and clothing to impoverished fugitives. A major abolitionist figure in Philadelphia, he published a masterful work, *The Underground Rail Road,* in 1872. The book was very successful and well received by both white and black audiences for its authenticity in portraying the real-life experiences of escaped slaves as well as heralding both the men and women of the black community for their involvement in the emancipation effort. It remains one of the most significant first-hand accounts of activity on the Underground Railroad. Still also owned a small coal and ice yard with which he supplied small stores and grocers in local communities, as well as for Camp William Penn during the Civil War. He remained active in the abolitionist community throughout his life and in social services for the poor and the aged. Still, *Underground Rail Road*; Stephen G. Hall, "To Render the Private Public: William Still and the Selling of the Underground Rail Road," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 127:35–55 (January 2003); *ANB,* 20:775.

208.34–35 Robert Purvis] Robert Purvis (1810–98) was a prominent leader of antebellum Philadelphia's black community and one of the most influential African Americans in the Garrisonian wing of the abolitionist movement. He was the son of Harriet Juda, a free black woman, and William Purvis, a white cotton broker of Charleston, South Carolina. In 1819 Robert moved north with his family to be educated. Upon his father's death in the mid-1820s, Purvis inherited a substantial fortune, which he used to support a wide array of benevolent causes, including temperance, women's rights, penal reform, and integrated education. He helped launch the *Liberator* in 1831, became a charter member of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, and served as both president and vice president of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. From the 1830s onward, he actively assisted fugitives to escape slavery. Still, *Underground Rail Road,* 711; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 24–25, 55–56; Joseph A. Borome, "Robert Purvis and His Early Challenge to American Racism," *NHB,* 30:8–10 (May 1967); Pauline C. Johnson, "Robert Purvis," *NHB,* 5:65–66 (December 1941); *NCAB,* 1:413.

208.35 Edward M. Davis] Edward M. Davis (1811–91) was born to a prosperous Quaker family in Philadelphia. An importer of foreign goods, Davis journeyed across the Atlantic on the *Sirius,* the first steamship to make the journey, in 1838. Davis joined the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1834, although his abolitionist activities hurt his business. In 1841 Davis reported one of Douglass's very first public antislav-

ery lectures while visiting Lynn, Massachusetts. In 1861 he served as personal aide to Union General John C. Frémont in St. Louis, causing the Society of Friends to expel him from their meetings. Davis also became president of the Radical Club, which advocated abolition, equal voting rights for all, and other controversial issues. He married Maria, the daughter of abolitionists James and Lucretia Mott, in October 1836, and they had three children. *PaF,* 20 October 1841; Leavenworth (Kans.) *Advocate,* 18 April 1891; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:3–5.

208.36 Napoleon] Douglass probably refers to native Virginian Louis Napoleon (?–1881), a black abolitionist who agitated for civil rights and acted as an agent for New York's Underground Railroad. Napoleon helped to emancipate a fugitive slave from Georgia named George Kirk in 1846 and, six years later, famously aided in the liberation of eight slaves from Virginia who were traveling through New York with their masters Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon. Upon discovering the Lemmons at a boardinghouse on Carlisle Street, Napoleon obtained a writ of habeas corpus on behalf of the couple's slaves from Judge Elijah Paine of the New York Superior Court on 6 November 1852. Paine emancipated the slaves within a week, citing an 1841 act that repealed any exceptions to the legal right of freedom for any slave brought into New York. The Lemmons pursued a suit against the city until 1860, when their case was dismissed. *Report of the Lemmon Slave Case* (New York, 1861); Washington (D.C.) *People's Advocate,* 2 April 1881; Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 247–48; Paul Finkelman, *Slavery in the Courtroom: An Annotated Bibliography of American Cases* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 56, 76.

208.37 Mott] A cousin to Lucretia Mott's husband, James, little is known of Abigail Mott (1803–50) other than that she was a domestic companion to her sister, Lydia (1807–75), whom she assisted in antislavery activities. Lydia taught school in Philadelphia, where Susan B. Anthony had numbered among her students, before moving to Albany in 1824. For several years she ran a "gentleman's furnishing store" or shirtmaking business with her sister. Their home served as a way-station for fugitive slaves and a boardinghouse for itinerant abolitionist and women's rights lecturers. From 1845 to 1848 Douglass sent his daughter Rosetta to Albany to live and study with the Mott sisters. Although the two sisters supported Douglass early in his career, being among the first subscribers to the *North Star,* an unknown quarrel alienated them from him sometime before the death of Abigail on 5 September 1850. Lewis G. Hoffman, comp., *Hoffman's Albany Directory, and City Register, for 1844–45* (Albany, N.Y., 1844), 255; idem, *Hoffman's Albany Directory, and City Register, for 1848–49* (Albany, N.Y., 1848), 291; Thomas Clapp Cornell, *Adam and Anne Mott, Their Ancestors and Descendants* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1890), 218–19, 283, 321; Stanton and Anthony, *Papers,* 1:28; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 4:272n; Sterling, *Ahead of Her Time,* 159.

208.37 Stephen Myers] Stephen A. Myers (1800–?), an African American journalist and reformer from Albany, New York, edited the *Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate.* Myers was born enslaved in New York, but received his freedom at age eighteen. He founded his first abolitionist newspaper in 1842, then merged it with Samuel Ringgold Ward's *True American* in 1849 to create the *Impartial Citizen.* Myers relinquished his editing post to Ward, but acted as a general agent and business partner in the venture. In addition to abolition, Myers was a strong advocate of temperance, and on at least two occasions published short-lived newspapers dedicated to that cause. In Albany, Myers operated a temperance boardinghouse and acted as president of the Delevan State Temperance Union of New York. He also operated a station on the Underground Railroad, sheltered many fugitives in his home, and worked to raise funds for the Albany Vigilance Committee. Myers participated in the New York and National Negro Convention movements and supported the Liberty party in the early 1850s. His ties to the Florence Settlement grew out of his advocacy of agrarian life as a means toward black elevation. Myers acted as president and general agent of the Florence Farming Association, which encouraged blacks to occupy and farm land owned by Gerrit Smith. New York *Colored American,* 17 October 1840; *NS,* 30 June 1848, 31 January, 2, 16 February, 4 May, 29 June 1849; *FDP,* 10 September, 1 October 1852; Toronto *Provincial Freeman,* 6 December 1856; Phillip S. Foner and George E. Walker, *Black State Conventions, 1840–1865,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1979–80), 1:76; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:378–79n.

208.38 J. W. Loguen] Jermain Wesley Loguen (c. 1810–72), son of a slave mother and his Tennessee owner, escaped to freedom in Canada in 1835. After working as a farm laborer and a hotel porter, he attended the Oneida Institute in Whitesboro, New York. Loguen taught school in several New York communities and then became a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. After passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Loguen moved to the comparative safety of Syracuse, where he was active in the Underground Railroad. In 1851, when indicted for his part in the Jerry Rescue, Loguen briefly fled to Canada. He later supported Gerrit Smith's Radical Abolition party and aided John Brown to recruit men for the Harpers Ferry raid. After the Civil War Loguen was elected a bishop of his denomination and championed missionary work among the freedmen. New York *Daily Tribune,* 1 October 1872; San Francisco *Elevator,* 5 October 1872; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom,* 39–44, 65–66, 73–75; idem, *Black Abolitionists,* 66–67, 154, 188; *DAB,* 11:368–69.

208.38–39 J. P. Morris] Jacob P. Morris (1820–?), a barber in Rochester, helped direct fugitive slaves along the Rochester station of the Underground Railroad. Along with Douglass and other area abolitionists, Morris provided care and transportation for fugitive slaves arriving in Rochester. He participated in several national and local black conventions, including the 1843 National Negro Convention in Buffalo, where he voted against Henry Highland Garnet's "Appeal to the Slaves," a proposition endorsing slave violence. He also assisted in the preparation of Rochester for the 1853 black national convention. 1840 U.S. Census, New York, Ulster County, 350; 1860 U.S. Census, New York, Ulster County, 496; *FDP,* 10, 17 June 1853; Siebert, *Underground Railroad,* 414; "Minutes of the National Convention of Colored

Citizens: Held at Buffalo, on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of August, 1843," in *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions, 1830–1864,* ed. Howard Holman Bell (New York, 1969), 1–26; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 4:98–100.

209.1 Hiram Wilson] Born in Acworth, New Hampshire, Hiram Wilson (1803–64) studied at Oneida Institute and then Lane Seminary, where he was one of the abolitionist "Rebels." He completed his religious studies at Oberlin under Charles Finney. Together with ex-slave Josiah Henson and Quaker James C. Fuller, in 1841 Wilson cofounded the British-American Institute, a manual labor school for fugitive slaves at Dawn, near Chatham, Canada West. Wilson traveled to England and across the North fundraising, but financial problems plagued the institute, and he resigned as its head in 1849. In the 1850s he headed another school for fugitive slave refugees in St. Catherines, Canada West, supported by the American Missionary Association. Harriet Tubman brought slaves whom she rescued to Wilson's St. Catherine's school. Lawrence Thomas Lesick, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (Metuchen, N.J., 1980), 168, 181, 191; Jason H. Silverman, *Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves, 1800–1865* (Millwood, N.Y., 1985), 30, 54–56, 116; William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, *Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America* (Madison, Wis., 1963), 64, 68; idem, *Bound with Them in Chains,* 115–39.

209.4–5 Men were better than their theology] Paraphrase of Ralph Waldo Emerson from his essay "Compensation." Douglass acknowledges that individuals, regardless of political persuasion, helped fund the work of the Underground Railroad, echoing Emerson's point that daily behavior defines persons more accurately than the ideologies they may embrace publicly. Emerson, *Collected Works,* 6:95.

209.25 Crofts] Julia Griffiths, who married Henry O. Crofts in England in 1855.

209.37–39 A seminary…Alexander street] Rochester's Tracy Female Institute, also known as the Seward Seminary, was located on four acres of land at 45 Alexander Street, just down the block from Douglass's home. Seward Seminary was a private institution that annually enrolled seventy-five to one hundred female students between the ages of ten and seventeen. Under the direction of Lucilia Tracy, pupils studied botany, physics, moral philosophy, history, and rhetoric. *Daily American Directory for the City of Rochester [for 1851–52]* (Rochester, 1851), 18; Blake McKelvey, *Rochester on the Genesee: The Growth of a City* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1973), 54; idem, *Rochester: The Flower City, 1855–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 38; Mary L. McMillan, "Mr. Editor If You Please: Frederick Douglass in Rochester, 1847–1852" (Honors paper, Mount Holyoke College, 1985), 51.

210.22 Horatio G. Warner] Horatio Gates Warner (1801–76), an attorney from Madison County, New York, moved to Rochester in 1840. There he assumed the editorial chair of the Rochester *Courier* while continuing to practice law. He later served as president of the Bank of Rochester and in 1869 as regent of the State University of New York. William F. Peck, *Landmarks of Monroe County, New York: Containing an Historical Sketch of Monroe County and the City of Rochester* (Boston, 1895), 113; *ACAB,* 2:433–34.

210.29 inferior colored school] The public school for black students in Rochester, New York, was located on North Washington Street and existed from 1832 to 1856 in the cellar of the Zion Methodist Church on the west side of the Genesee River. Douglass became one of the most outspoken opponents of the segregated school system in early 1848. Douglass's leadership changed the nature of the "colored school" issue in Rochester, and by 1854 his children were attending the nearby white district school. This did not signal the end of the colored school. The fact that Douglass's papers indicate no discussion of the colored school issue after 1849 has led some scholars to suggest that he prematurely believed the issue resolved. In fact, in 1850 only twenty-four of the seventy-three colored students, aged five to sixteen, attended the district schools of their white counterparts. The final closing of the colored school occurred as a result of a combination of activism and economic influences. By 1854 attendance at the colored school had fallen to only twenty-six students, thus increasing the average cost per student to a rate far above that of the average white public school attendee. The hiring of veteran abolitionist Lucy N. Colman in 1855 contributed the fatal blow. Colman advised the parents of her few remaining pupils to send their children to their respective district schools, and she recommended that the Zion Methodist Church withdraw its permission for use of the building; thus, the next year there were neither pupils nor a place for them to meet. While this ended the use of the colored school in Rochester, the city school board never took a definitive stand against segregation. *NS,* 10 August 1849; *FDP,* 8 September 1854; Judith Polgar Ruchkin, "The Abolition of 'Colored Schools' in Rochester, New York, 1832–1856," *New York History,* 51:377–95 (July 1970).

211.5–6 Wm. C. Bloss] William Clough Bloss (1795–1863) was born in West Stockbridge, Massachusetts. A committed abolitionist, Bloss was also an advocate for reforms in temperance laws, capital punishment, and women's suffrage. In 1833 Bloss promoted a series of antislavery meetings and helped to organize the first antislavery convention in Monroe County. Along with other members of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Society, he began publishing the *Rights of Man,* an abolitionist newspaper, in 1834. Ten years later the Whig party elected Bloss to the state assembly, where he unsuccessfully fought for a state amendment banning discrimination in voting rights based on race. Bloss was also active in the Underground Railroad, and sheltered fugitive slaves in his home. *ANB,* 3:54–55.

211.6 Benj. Fish] Douglass considered Benjamin Fish (1797–1882), a gardener or nurseryman, one of his best and earliest supporters in Rochester. During the 1840s Fish and his wife, Sarah, lived in the utopian Fourierist Phalanx at Sodus Bay, near Rochester, where their daughter Catherine married abolitionist Giles B. Stebbins in 1846. Fish and his wife continued their reform activities after moving into Rochester, and, as ultraists, the couple was expelled from the Genesee Yearly Meeting of

Hicksite Friends in 1849. 1850 U.S. Census, New York, Monroe County, 244; *Daily American Directory for the City of Rochester [for 1850–51]* (Rochester, 1850), 125; Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 61, 118–19, 131, 143.

211.14–15 New York Central] The New York Central Railroad was formed in 1853 following the consolidation of twelve smaller railroad companies in that state. There were thirteen directors of this railroad, with Erastus Corning serving as president. The New York Central initially ran from Albany to Buffalo, and included stops in cities such as Syracuse and Rochester. Alvin F. Harlow, *The Road of the Century: The Story of the New York Central* (New York, 1947), 75–78.

211.21 Mount Hope] Mount Hope Cemetery, located in Rochester, New York, was established in 1838. With its rural, gardenlike design, it is considered the first Victorian-style cemetery in America. Some of the notable people interred there include Susan B. Anthony, women's rights activist; Myron Holley, abolitionist and proponent of the Erie Canal; and eventually Frederick Douglass. Richard O. Reisem, *Mount Hope, Rochester, New York: America's First Municipal Victorian Cemetery* (Rochester, 1994), 4, 15.

211.34 a man] Douglass recalls his first contact with John Brown (1790–1859). Born in Torrington, Connecticut, Brown grew up in Hudson, Ohio. After receiving a rudimentary education, he attempted, but failed at, careers as a tanner, wool dealer, and farmer. Long a supporter of emancipation, Brown became more militant in his antislavery activities after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. In 1855 Brown followed four of his sons to Kansas, where he became a leader of the armed opposition to the admission of the territory as a slave state. His participation in the massacre of proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie Creek in May 1856 made him a nationally known figure. In 1857 Brown secretly began to recruit men and raise funds for a plan to establish a base in the southern Appalachian Mountains from which to raid plantations and free slaves. Brown's plotting culminated in the unsuccessful attack by a small band on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in October 1859. Captured and tried for treason under Virginia law, he was executed on 2 December 1859 and immediately became a martyr to many northerners. Stephen Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York, 1970); Richard O. Boyer, *The Legend of John Brown: A Biography and a History* (New York, 1973); *ACAB,* 1:404–07; *NCAB,* 2:307–08; *DAB,* 3:131–34.

212.7 prominent, busy street] John Brown ran a wool commission business while living in Springfield, Massachusetts. He initially operated it from an old warehouse on Water and Railroad Streets. From there he moved into a larger building on North Main Street that included stores and apartments. Brown's business failed in 1849. David S. Reynolds, *John Brown: Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights* (New York, 2005), 81.

212.17–18 back street…and mechanics] John Brown moved his family from Ohio to Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1847. They eventually settled into a house on Hastings Street, which would later become 51 Franklin Street. The house was around the corner from his store, in a working-class neighborhood. Reynolds, *John Brown,* 85.

212.21–22 would have satisfied a Spartan] During the classical period of Greece, the Spartan people were known for their austerity and discipline in their homes, education, and lifestyles. Michael Whitby, ed., *Sparta* (New York, 2002), 104–24.

212.38–39 He fulfilled…the family] The Pauline epistles of the New Testament offer ethical suggestions on household roles and duties, including those of the father or husband, advising Christian husbands to love their wives as they love themselves and for husbands to avoid provoking their children to anger. Eph. 5:23–33; Col. 3:19–21; 1 Cor. 7:3.

213.36–38 It did not…the slave masters.] While still residing in Springfield, Massachusetts, in the 1840s, John Brown had begun formulating his "Subterranean Pass Way" plan to establish bases in the southern Appalachian Mountains from which to raid plantations, free slaves, and assist them to reach freedom in the North. For years Brown studied maps of the South and histories of guerrilla activities during the Napoleonic Wars. While originally conceptualized as an extension of existing Underground Railroad activities, Brown secretly recruited men and raised funds for an ill-fated October 1859 attack on the Harpers Ferry arsenal. Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 61, 64, 86; Boyer, *Legend of John Brown,* 40–41, 87–88.

215.22–23 Speaking at an anti-slavery convention in Salem, Ohio] Douglass spoke at a Quaker meetinghouse in Salem, Ohio, on 23 August 1852. Also present were Parker Pillsbury, Joseph Barker, and Sojourner Truth, with nearly a thousand spectators in attendance. Douglass's speech covered the unconstitutionality of slavery, but shied away from the position of the disunion-leaning Garrisonians. He cautiously endorsed the use of force as a means to end slavery, what his critics called a "political" position, in contrast to the abolitionists' original moral suasion stance of promoting emancipation through appeals to the conscience. *FDP,* 3 September 1852; *Lib.,* 10 September 1852; Carleton Mabee, *Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend* (New York, 1993), 83–86; Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol* (New York, 1996), 160–63.

215.25 Sojourner Truth] Sojourner Truth (1797–1883) was born a slave in Ulster County, New York. Named Isabella at birth, she passed through a number of owners before achieving freedom in 1827 and acquiring the surname Van Wagener from Quaker friends. A deeply religious woman, she claimed to see visions and hear the voice of God, renaming herself Sojourner Truth after receiving a vision to evangelize in the eastern states. Her involvement with the Northampton Association of Education and Industry, a communal farm in Massachusetts run by George W. Benson, William Lloyd Garrison's brother-in-law, first brought her into contact with Frederick Douglass. Over the years, the two frequently shared the speaker's platform at antislavery and women's rights meetings. With Olive Gilbert, a white woman, as her amanuensis, Truth produced an autobiography in 1850. That book, her association with such prominent people as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Abraham

Lincoln, and her sometimes flamboyant speeches and behavior gave rise to many apocryphal stories about her. From 1850 until her death, she lived in Battle Creek, Michigan. Sojourner Truth, *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave,* ed. Olive Gilbert (Boston, 1850); Arthur Huff Fauset, *Sojourner Truth: God's Faithful Pilgrim* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1938); Hertha Pauli, *Her Name Was Sojourner Truth* (New York, 1962); Painter, *Sojourner Truth,* 160–63; *NAW,* 3:2.

215.25–27 the question, "Frederick…end in blood."] The now-famous quotation has been preserved in multiple forms. Harriet Beecher Stowe originally published the story with this language in 1860 as a critique of President Buchanan's proposal to legalize slavery in the Constitution. Douglass reports the quotation verbatim from the 1878 compilation of Sojourner Truth's writings; however, other sources vary. Truth's writings were published in several forms during the author's life, originally with variations introduced by her amanuensis, Olive Gilbert. The work was later republished and expanded while Truth lived in Battle Creek, Michigan, with Frances Titus as editor. Today the text exists in several forms; however, her interjection during Douglass's speech is recorded only in the portion of the text called "The Book of Life." Margaret Washington's introduction to Truth's *Narrative* quotes her as having said, "Be careful, Frederick. Is God Almighty dead!?" Truth, *Narrative,* ed. Gilbert, x, 168; Mabee, *Sojourner Truth,* 83–86.

215.28–30 she too…was declared.] Sojourner Truth's deep, millenarian religious convictions did not endear her to pacifism. With the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, her anger toward whites increased. In her speeches during this period she made no distinction between slaveholders and nonslaveholders. She fiercely condemned "white people" in general, and spoke of the time when blacks would rise up and take revenge against their white oppressors. Because she spoke to mostly white audiences, Truth masked her anger by talking in biblical code and lacing her harsh remarks with humor, making it easy for white listeners to gloss over her most venomous pronouncements. Amidst her anger over the Fugitive Slave Law, Truth generally maintained an apolitical stance, preferring instead to frame her denunciations of slavery and women's inequality in religious terms. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, however, she championed the Union cause even before it openly challenged slavery or allowed black men to serve in the military. She spoke at numerous pro-Union meetings and rallies, but as a black woman she often ran afoul of the law. At a rally at the courthouse in Steuben County, Indiana, Truth incensed the locals by calling for the enlistment of blacks into the Union army, after which a mob erupted and she was detained for ten days. When black men, including her grandson, James Caldwell, were accepted into the army in 1863, Truth worked in volunteer service for black regiments until the end of the war. Painter, *Sojourner Truth,* 132–34, 179–82.

215.39 had only been sheet lightning] A reference to a type of lightning in which the electrical discharge does not reach the earth but instead bounces from cloud to cloud. The channel and branches of the lightning are not visible; the discharge instead appears as a white sheet against the clouds. Douglass compares the fleeting nature of sheet lightning to antislavery societies that did not devote the full extent of their energies to the antislavery cause. Just as sheet lightning reveals only the flash, not the lightning bolt itself, Douglass criticized certain antislavery societies for spouting rhetoric without substantial action. John E. Oliver, ed., *Encyclopedia of World Climatology* (Dordrecht, Netherlands, 2005), 451–53.

216.2 cast seven thousand votes] In April 1840 many Whigs' fears came to fruition in the form of the antislavery splinter group, the Liberty party. With ex-slaveholding Kentuckian James G. Birney as their candidate, the Liberty men attempted to make a dent in the 1840 presidential election. They fared poorly, winning only 7,000 votes (0.3 percent of the total), the bulk coming from Massachusetts and New York. Yet amidst this failure, the Liberty party's presence laid the foundation for antislavery forces in national politics. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., ed., *Running for President: The Candidates and Their Images,* 2 vols. (New York, 1994), 153.

216.3 James G. Birney] Son of a wealthy Kentucky slaveowner, James Gillespie Birney (1792–1857) moved to Alabama in 1818. There he helped shape the antislavery features of the state's new constitution and served one term in the state legislature. Birney was a leading colonizationist and advocate of gradual emancipation from the mid-1820s to 1834, when he publicly endorsed immediate emancipation and freed his six slaves. He published the antislavery newspaper the *Philanthropist,* first in Kentucky and then in Ohio. Birney served as executive secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the late 1830s and as the Liberty party's presidential candidate in 1840 and 1844. Betty Fladeland, *James Gillespie Birney: Slaveholder to Abolitionist* (1955; New York, 1969); *NCAB,* 2:312–13; *DAB,* 2:291–94.

216.6–7 increased their numbers at one time to sixty thousand voters] The Liberty party reached its apex in 1844, when its presidential candidate, James G. Birney, garnered 62,197 ballots, or 2.3 percent of the total popular vote. Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 2:430–32.

216.12 Barnburners] The term "Barnburner" broadly refers to persons demonstrating uncompromising, unrelenting determination, even at the risk of total loss. Barnburners are often described as practitioners of the art of the impossible. The term can be traced to a 1629 sermon by Thomas Adams: "The empiric to cure the fever, destroys the patient; so the wise man, to burn the mice, set fire to his barn." In political terms, the word originally designated Martin Van Buren's antislavery wing of the Democratic party in New York in the 1840s. The term was used by the "Hunkers," the Democratic opposition faction, who ridiculed Van Buren's radical approach as akin to "the manner of the Dutch farmer who burned his barn to destroy the rats." In the 1848 presidential election the Barnburners bolted from the Democratic national convention and allied with the Free Soilers. The combined vote swung the election to Whig Zachary Taylor. By the mid-1850s the Barnburners' antislavery views led most of them into the Republican party. William Safire, *Safire's New Political Dictionary: The Definitive Guide to the Language of Politics* (New York, 1993), 45.

216.12 Free Democrats] At its 1852 national convention in Pittsburgh,

Pennsylvania, the Free Soil party renamed itself the Free Democratic party, as part of an effort to retain northern Democrats who had supported its 1848 nomination of Martin Van Buren, the ex-Democratic president. The Free Democrats' platform also endorsed traditionally Democratic positions on federal banking practices and the strict interpretation of the Constitution. The capstone of the party's strategy was its nomination of former Democratic Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire for president. Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York, 2005), 663–64; Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 243–46.

216.20 Julius LeMoyne] Francis Julius LeMoyne (1798–1879), a leading political abolitionist, was born in Washington, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Washington College in 1815 and went on to study medicine with his father, John Julius LeMoyne, and at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. Later LeMoyne became a vocal opponent of the American Colonization Society, and he was the Liberty party's candidate for vice president in 1840 and for governor of Pennsylvania in 1841, 1844, and 1847. His house in Washington, Pennsylvania, was a station along the Underground Railroad. Dumond, *Antislavery,* 186–87; *DAB,* 11:163–64.

216.21 Free-Soil party] The Free Soil party, a coalition of political abolitionists, Whigs, and Democrats, formed in response to the controversy over admitting slavery to the territories acquired in the war with Mexico. The party also called for federal funding of internal improvements, which attracted former Whigs; endorsed tariffs for revenue only and the election of civil officials, which appealed to Democrats; and opposed the extension of slavery and the slave trade in Washington, D.C., which satisfied former Liberty party members. In August 1848 the party held its first convention, adopted the slogan "Free soil, free speech, free labor, free men," and nominated former president Martin Van Buren as its presidential candidate. Frederick J. Blue, *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics, 1848–1854* (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 70–71, 74–75; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (1970; New York, 1995), 124–25; Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 153–58.

216.28–29 It is easy…the one adopted] On 9 August 1848, in Buffalo, New York, some 20,000 people gathered under a massive tent to witness the creation of the Free Soil party and nominate a presidential candidate. Frederick Douglass and several other free blacks were present. Every northern state, three slave states (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia), and British Columbia were represented. The sundry assortment of egos and politics necessitated that a "Committee of Conference," composed equally of Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty party men, be delegated to frame an acceptable platform and nominate a candidate. The finalized platform, summed up in the concluding slogan, "Free soil, free speech, free labor, free men," offered something for everyone. For the Liberty men, it endorsed the Wilmot Proviso by declaring that Congress had no power to extend slavery, and should prohibit its extension. For the Whigs, the platform called for federal funds for internal improvements. For Democrats, it demanded the election of civil officials and tariff reform. To placate the large contingent of farmers, eastern workers, and land reformers, the platform suggested a homestead bill with a free land grant to settlers. The convention nominated Martin Van Buren for president. Van Buren's selection resulted from a mutual swap between the New York Barnburners, who wanted the candidate, and Liberty men, who wanted the platform. To satisfy the Whigs, the committee nominated Charles Francis Adams for vice president. While the Buffalo convention was a landmark in the political war against slavery, contemporaries and historians alike criticized its embracing a platform of nonextension over direct abolition. Blue, *Free Soilers,* 70–80; Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom,* 156–59.

216.30 impossible for the mountain to go to Mahomet] An allusion to the proverb "If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain." It refers to the founding prophet of the Islamic faith. Legend has it that when the Arabs asked Mohammed to provide miracles as proof of his teachings, the prophet ordered Mount Safa to come to him. When the mountain did not budge, Mohammed said, "God is merciful. Had it obeyed my words, it would have fallen on us to our destruction. I will therefore go to the mountain and thank God that He has had mercy on a stiff-necked generation." Douglass uses the phrase to express the mindset of a person who, unable to get his way, accepts the inevitable. Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 937.

216.32 "All is well that ends well."] The title of Shakespeare's 1602 play is actually derived from the line "all ends well," in *Orestes,* a play by the Greek author Euripides, believed written in 410 BCE. Burton Stevenson, ed., *The Macmillan Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1966), 678–79.

217.2 Republican party] As Douglass recounts, a majority of Liberty party supporters had merged their organization with antiextensionist Democrats and Whigs in the presidential campaign of 1848. After experiencing declining vote totals in most subsequent elections, Free Soil leaders forged new electoral alliances in various northern states with other antiextensionist northerners opposed to passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. After a few years, this new coalition became known nationally as the Republican party, running its first presidential candidate in 1856. L. Sandy Maisel, ed., *Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An Encyclopedia,* 2 vols. (New York, 1991), 1:290–91, 409–10, 585–86.

217.6 Samuel Ringgold Ward] The parents of Samuel Ringgold Ward (1817–c. 1866) carried him along on their escape from slavery on Maryland's Eastern Shore in about 1820. The family settled six years later in New York City, where young Ward received an elementary education. In 1833 he embraced religion and received ordination in 1839. His two New York congregations, at South Butler (1841–43) and Courtland (1846–51), consisted mostly of whites, but Ward vigorously agitated for the rights of both slaves and free blacks. The American Anti-Slavery Society appointed Ward a lecturing agent in 1839. As one of the earliest black supporters of political abolitionism, Ward acted as spokesman for the Liberty party after 1844. Ward studied law and medicine briefly, and also tried his hand at editing during the late 1840s. His

Impartial Citizen, published from Syracuse, and another newspaper venture both failed financially. In 1851 Ward's leading role in the Jerry Rescue caused him to fear arrest and to emigrate to Canada. There he launched the *Provincial Freeman* in 1853 and acted as agent for the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada. In the latter capacity, Ward journeyed to Britain in 1853 on a fundraising tour. In 1855 Ward published his *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro* and accepted a British Quaker's gift of fifty acres of land in Jamaica. He lived his last decade on that island, farming, writing, and ministering to a small Baptist congregation. *NS,* 2 February 1849; Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History,* 2d ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1997), 206–08, 227, 265–66, 361, 395; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 79, 98, 133, 138, 210.

217.7 Henry Bibb] Henry Bibb (1815–54), born a slave in Shelby County, Kentucky, escaped in 1837, only to be recaptured in his unsuccessful attempt to rescue his wife and child. By 1842 he had escaped once again and settled in Detroit, Michigan, his residence until 1850. Immediately plunging into political and antislavery work, Bibb was hired as a lecturer by the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society and spoke on behalf of Liberty party candidates. Although Bibb planned to visit England in 1848, he was advised against making such a tour because the bigamous implications of his marriage to a free woman, Mary E. Miles, might limit his antislavery appeal. He toured the East in 1849, at one point acting as an agent for the *North Star,* and published his *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb* (1849). After the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, Bibb settled in Windsor, Canada West, where he published the *Voice of the Fugitive* (1851–53). In January 1852 the Refugee Home Society was founded to assist American blacks to migrate to Canada and chose Bibb as a trustee. Bibb was also active in the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, serving as one of its vice presidents in 1852. *NS,* 24 March 1848; Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb: An American Slave* (New York, 1850); Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization, 1787–1863* (London, 1975), 106–07, 110–15, 149; Winks, *Blacks in Canada,* 204–08, 254–55, 396–97; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 61–62, 185, 218–19; Pease and Pease, *Black Utopia,* 109–22; idem, *They Who Would Be Free,* 65, 252–53; Fred Landon, "Henry Bibb: A Colonizer," *JNH,* 5:437–47 (October 1920).

217.11 Caucasian race] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), a German philosopher and physiologist, was one of the first scientists to study comparative anatomy. His research led to the conclusion that there existed "varieties" of human beings. Although he used the term "race" to identify five types of humans, it was not until the nineteenth century that the "Caucasian race" became associated with explicitly racist usage. While Blumenbach's view was racially equitable, notable European and American scientists, including Georges Cuvier, William Lawrence, and Samuel George Morton, believed that "race" was a set of defining characteristics, identifiable through scientific investigation. These differences led these white scientists to conclude that the "Caucasian race" was superior to all others. Public perception of race in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the United States, solidified around this view as public scrutiny of slavery intensified. Bruce Baum, *The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity* (New York, 2006), 95–101.

217.18–19 "Free Soil,"…its banner] Douglass closely paraphrases the platform adopted by the Free Soil party at its founding convention in Buffalo in August 1848: "[W]e inscribe on our banner, 'Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men,' and under it we will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions." Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., *National Party Platforms,* 2 vols. (Urbana, Ill., 1978), 1:13–14.

217.19–20 almost permanently victorious Democratic party] The Democratic party dominated most electoral contests from 1828 to 1859. Democrats lost presidential elections only twice in that period: to Whig nominees William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Zachary Tyler in 1848. Congressional Democrats also faired well, controlling the Senate for all but four years from 1836 to 1860, and House Democrats won a majority in almost every year during the same time. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., ed., *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968,* 4 vols. (New York, 1971), 1:581; *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections,* 4th ed., 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2001), 2:849–91, 1235–66; Maisel, *Political Parties and Elections in the United States,* 1:251.

217.21 General Lewis Cass] Lewis Cass (1782–1866), Democratic politician and onetime presidential candidate, served in the Ohio legislature, held a series of federal administrative appointments, and attained the rank of major general of volunteers for Ohio during the War of 1812. For his distinguished service during the war, he was appointed governor of Michigan territory in 1813. Additional federal appointments by Andrew Jackson included secretary of war in 1831 and minister to France in 1836. Upon his return to the United States, Cass was elected to the Senate by the Michigan legislature in 1845. Considered a party regular, he advocated a strong nationalism, supported Jacksonian policies in the West, and believed in limiting the use of federal power in domestic matters. Following the conservative line, Cass opposed limiting the spread of slavery through the Wilmot Proviso, and instead supported popular sovereignty as a solution to sectional tensions. At the Democratic national convention held in Baltimore in 1848, Cass received his party's presidential nomination on the fourth ballot. Campaigning on a conservative platform of limited government, acceptance of slavery and its possible expansion, and resistance to centralization, he lost to Whig challenger Zachary Taylor. Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston, 1892); Frank B. Woodford, *Lewis Cass: The Last Jeffersonian* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1950); *ACAB* 1:551–53; *NCAB,* 5:3–5; *DAB,* 3:562–64; *ANB,* 4:546–547.

217.21 Calhoun] John Caldwell Calhoun (1782–1850), a prominent politician from South Carolina, is best known for his advocacy of states' rights. He appeared on the national political scene in 1812 as one of the "war hawks." Calhoun quickly rose to prominence and was appointed secretary of war under James Monroe. In 1824 and 1828 he was elected vice president under Andrew Jackson, but he resigned and

returned to South Carolina to defend the rights of his home state during the Nullification Controversy of 1831–32. Election to the U.S. Senate from South Carolina ensured that Calhoun would remain on the national political scene, and he returned to a cabinet post as secretary of state under John Tyler. Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York, 1993); *DAB,* 2:411–19.

217.34–35 two instead of one President of the United States] John C. Calhoun wrote two theoretical treatises, which he finished shortly before his death: *A Disquisition on Government* (1851) and *A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States* (1851). Both were published posthumously. *Disquisition* had already been copied from his handwritten manuscript, though he had no chance to correct it, and *Discourse* existed only as a holograph. The former established Calhoun's theoretical bases of political thought, with an emphasis on his concept of the "concurrent majority." This political theory advocated a system by which a minority group could veto laws created by a majority; this plan, Calhoun believed, would prevent a tyranny of the majority and strengthen the political position of the southern states. In *Discourse* Calhoun developed practical ways to implement his theories. Among these was a plan to elect two presidents of the United States. One would be from the North and one the South. Both would have veto powers, thereby providing concurrent majority status to both free and slave states. This plan, Calhoun hoped, would preserve the Union. John C. Calhoun, *The Works of John C. Calhoun,* ed. Richard K. Crallé, 6 vols. (New York, 1851–55), 1:392; John C. Calhoun, *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun,* ed. Ross M. Lence (Indianapolis, 1992), xvii–xx.

218.3–6 in 1850…be final] Over the opposition of some militants from each section, the leadership of both major parties in the 1852 election declared that the Compromise of 1850 had forever ended disputes over slavery in western territories. In their 1852 platform the Democrats resolved to "resist all attempts at renewing, in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question." The Whigs, "deprecating all further agitation" of the slavery question, pledged in their 1852 platform to "discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation." Holt, *Fate of Their Country,* 88–91; Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 1:17, 21.

218.8 Fugitive Slave Bill] The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

218.8 James M. Mason] James Murray Mason (1798–1871), grandson of Revolutionary patriot George Mason, received his education in the Georgetown schools and at the University of Pennsylvania and the College of William and Mary. After establishing a law practice in Winchester, Virginia, in 1820, he served in the Virginia House of Delegates, the state constitutional convention of 1829, and the U.S. House of Representatives (1837–39). In 1847 Mason was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he remained until Virginia seceded. Although he had been a presidential elector for Andrew Jackson in 1832, Mason became a close associate of John C. Calhoun and one of the most articulate and effective defenders of southern rights. On 3 January 1850 he "gave notice of his intention…to introduce a bill to provide for the more effective execution" of the Constitution's fugitive slave clause, an intention that was carried out the following day. After months of debate, Mason's much-amended bill passed in the Senate on 24 August 1851 and in the House on 12 September 1851. Mason supported secession in 1860 and served briefly in the Confederate Congress before being appointed commissioner to England. On 8 November 1861, while traveling on the British steamer *Trent,* Mason and John Slidell, the Confederacy's diplomatic representative to France, were captured by the U.S. Navy and sent to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. This affair so strained relations between the United States and Great Britain that many feared war would break out. Upon his release in January 1862, Mason proceeded to England, but his efforts to gain British recognition of the Confederacy and intervention on its behalf were unsuccessful. At the close of the war he went to Canada, where he stayed until 1868. Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861–1865* (New York, 1979), 173–79; Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 15–23; Ezra J. Warner and W. Buck Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress* (Baton Rouge, La., 1975), 169–70; *NCAB,* 2:93; *DAB,* 12:364–65.

218.16–17 Doctors of Divinity] A number of prominent northern ministers such as John Chase Lord of Central Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, New York, delivered widely publicized sermons counseling obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law. Douglass was highly critical of such political preaching in speeches and editorials he offered during 1851 and 1852. For example, in a speech at Rochester's Corinthian Hall on 12 January 1851, Douglass characterized Lord's teaching as a "bold and blasphemous theory." He went on to describe Lord and other clergy with similar opinions as "hypocritical Doctors of Divinity" and "wolves in sheep's clothing—thieves and liars," whose ability to preach such ideas "with impunity from Northern pulpits, implies a depth of moral debasement and blindness in the community beyond the power of human language to describe." *NS,* 16 January 1851; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:285; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1941), 42.

218.29–30 flee to Canada, and thousands followed his example] Within weeks after President Millard Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Law on 18 September 1850, reports circulated that an unprecedented number of frightened fugitives and free blacks were leaving northern states for Canada. Pittsburgh hotels lost most of their waiters; one Baptist church in Buffalo counted 130 fewer members; traffic allegedly peaked on the escape routes through Vermont. Governor-General James Bryce believed Canada was "likely to be flooded by blackies." By year's end abolitionists reported that at least 3,000 fugitives had already found refuge under the British flag. Estimates of the total number of American-born blacks fleeing to Canada between 1850 and 1860 range from 15,000 to 75,000, the lower figure apparently being a more reasonable one. Many fugitives reported as "passing through" northern communities "on their way to Canada" probably halted their flight somewhere short of the border. Even at the height of emigration immediately following passage of the Fugitive Slave Law only 800 blacks were in Amherstburg, the principal entry to Canada for fugitives.

Wilbur H. Siebert, *Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record* (Columbus, Ohio, 1937), 101; Winks, *Blacks in Canada,* 233–37; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 256; Fred Landon, "The Negro Migration to Canada after the Passing of the Fugitive Slave Act," *JNH,* 5:22–27 (January 1920); Jason H. Silverman, "The American Fugitive Slave in Canada: Myths and Realities," *Southern Studies,* 19:215–27 (Fall 1980).

218.30 Daniel A. Payne] Daniel Alexander Payne (1811–93) began a career that emphasized educational and cultural uplift in his native Charleston, South Carolina, where he initiated a school for fellow blacks in 1828. After legislative restrictions spelled the school's demise, the freeborn Payne moved to Pennsylvania, where he received Lutheran seminary training before his 1841 association with the African Methodist Episcopal church. His 1848 appointment as church historian preceded by four years his election as bishop. In 1863 he seized an opportunity to purchase Wilberforce University, in Greene County, Ohio, and became the nation's first black president of a black institution of higher education. The incident referred to by Douglass occurred on 25 February 1882, when Payne, who had purchased a first-class ticket on a train from Jacksonville to Fernandina, Florida, encountered a conductor who ordered him to move to a car reserved for blacks. The septuagenarian refused and returned to Jacksonville on foot. *ChR,* 3 August 1882; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* (1887; New York 1970), 1078–85; Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years; ACAB,* 4:685; *NCAB,* 4:188; *DANB,* 484.

218.30–31 African Methodist Episcopal church] The founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church began to meet in 1795. Dissatisfaction by black members of New York City's John Street Methodist Episcopal Church resulted in black members' meeting to worship amongst themselves in 1795. The group officially requested to meet as a separate group in August 1796, with permission being granted that year. The A.M.E. Zion church opposed racism but did not openly attack the pro-slavery attitudes of white Methodists. The church also held back from abolitionist religious principles, a stand exemplified by its rejection of legislation aimed at barring slaveholding members. Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War,* 6–8; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 20; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 92–104; McKivigan, *War against Proslavery Religion,* 93, 107–09.

218.35 from Detroit to Windsor] Detroit is a city in southeastern Michigan, on the Detroit River. Windsor is found in southern Ontario, Canada, across the river from Detroit. Fugitive slaves frequently used the Detroit-to-Windsor route on the Underground Railroad, as both the local newspapers and police well knew. The fugitive slaves caused an increase in the black population in both areas, with Detroit's growing to 4,000 by 1852, and to 200 in Windsor by 1854. Many former slaves fled further into Canada to prevent their discovery and return to captivity. Winks, *Blacks in Canada,* 233, 245; Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 507, 2096.

219.4 yet only a few of all the fugitives] One modern authority estimates that only a "few hundred" fugitive slaves were returned to their owners between 1850 and 1860. Approximately 332 cases were brought to court under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, only of 11 of whom were released, and 141 fugitive slaves were returned to their owners without due process. Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 196–207.

219.24 "blows to take as well as blows to give."] This quotation is from a speech titled "Second Speech on Foot's Resolution," which Daniel Webster delivered on 26 January 1830. The passage in full reads as follows: "Sir, I shall not allow myself on this occasion, I hope on no occasion, to be betrayed into any loss of temper; but if provoked, as I trust I never shall be, into crimination and recrimination, the honorable member may perhaps find that, in that contest, there will be blows to take as well as blows to give; that others can state comparisons as significant, at least, as his own, and that his impunity may possibly demand of him whatever powers of taunt and sarcasm he may possess." *Papers of Daniel Webster,* ser. 4, 1:291.

219.25–26 Millard Fillmore] Millard Fillmore (1800–84), thirteenth president of the United States, represented the Buffalo region in the New York state legislature (1828–32) and in the U.S. House of Representatives (1833–35, 1837–43), where he generally voted with the Henry Clay wing of the Whig party. Defeated in the 1844 New York governor's race, Fillmore secured the Whig vice-presidential nomination in 1848 and assumed the presidency upon Zachary Taylor's death in July 1850. Fillmore vigorously advocated passage of the Compromise of 1850 and signed each of its measures into law. Denied his party's nomination in 1852, Fillmore ran for president on the American party ticket in 1856 and supported John Bell and the Constitutional Union party in 1860. *NCAB,* 6:177–78; *DAB,* 6:380–82.

219.26–27 The rescue of Shadrach] One of the most famous of all fugitive-slave "rescues" was the case of Frederick Wilkins, popularly called Shadrach. An escaped slave from Virginia, Shadrach was working as a waiter in a Boston restaurant when arrested by a U.S. deputy marshal on 15 February 1851. The captive was taken directly to a hearing before Fugitive Slave Commissioner George Ticknor Curtis. While Shadrach's lawyers motioned for a delay to prepare a defense, a crowd of blacks gathered in the courthouse. Without warning, the crowd broke into the hearing room and spirited Shadrach away before the court officers could react. Shadrach successfully reached Canada, and none of his rescuers was ever punished. Marion Gleason McDougall and Albert Bushnell Hart, *Fugitive Slaves, 1619–1865* (1891; New York, [1967]), 47–48; Gary Collison, *Shadrach Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 148–51; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 205–06.

219.28 cases of Sims and Anthony Burns] On 3 April 1851 an escaped slave named Thomas M. Sims was apprehended in Boston. Because another fugitive slave, Shadrach, had been rescued from custody in that city the previous February, special precautions were taken by authorities to prevent a recurrence. Barriers were erected around the Boston courthouse to control crowds, and Sims was constantly kept under armed guard. Legal efforts by Robert Rantoul, Jr., Charles Greely Loring, and Samuel E. Sewall failed to prevent Fugitive Slave Commissioner George Ticknor Curtis from

ordering Sims's rendition to his master, James Potter of Chatham County, Georgia. Three hundred armed men escorted the fugitive to the Boston docks, whence he was transported to Georgia aboard the U.S. brig *Acorn.* Sims was later sold to a new master in Vicksburg, Mississippi. After the war he moved to Washington, D.C. Fugitive slave Anthony Burns (1834–62) precipitated one of the most dramatic incidents connected with enforcement of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Born in Stafford County, Virginia, Burns was hired out from age seven onward. Upon reaching his late teens he was sent to Richmond, where he soon began working under the nominal supervision of a local druggist who allowed Burns to find his own employment and report back every two weeks with his earnings. Aided by a sympathetic seaman, Burns stowed away on a northern merchant ship in February 1854 and reached Boston early the next month. He remained there until 24 May 1854, when he was arrested on a warrant from Fugitive Slave Commissioner Edward G. Loring. Fearful of his fate and apparently intimidated by the presence of his master and other hostile whites, Burns initially wanted to return south voluntarily and had to be persuaded even to accept legal counsel. Coinciding as it did with congressional passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Burns's arrest and confinement caused intense excitement among antislavery Bostonians. An emotion-charged evening rally at Faneuil Hall ended in violence when Thomas Wentworth Higginson led an unsuccessful mob attack on the courthouse where Burns was being held. Efforts to purchase Burns's freedom were thwarted, and Richard Henry Dana's able but hastily contrived legal defense also proved futile. President Franklin Pierce, anxious to appease southern supporters, sent federal troops to Boston to assist in the fugitive's rendition. On 2 June 1854, Boston police, together with 1,500 volunteer militiamen and military detachments from Rhode Island and New Hampshire, escorted Burns through crowds of would-be rescuers and saw him safely aboard the U.S. revenue cutter *Morris* bound for Norfolk, Virginia. After several months' confinement in Richmond, Burns was sold at auction for $910 to a North Carolina slave trader. In February 1855, northern sympathizers led by black Boston clergyman Leonard A. Grimes purchased Burns's freedom for $1,300. As a slave, Burns had been a devout Christian and had functioned as a Baptist lay preacher. He continued his ministerial career as a free man and, after studying at Oberlin College and Fairmont Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, assumed the pastorate of Zion Church in St. Catharines, Canada West. Anthony Burns to Richard Henry Dana, 23 August 1854, in *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies,* ed. John W. Blassingame (Baton Rouge, La., 1977), 109; *Lib.,* 13 August 1858, 22 August 1862; Charles Emery Stevens, *Anthony Burns: A History* (1856; New York, 1969); Albert J. Von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, *The Fugitive Law and Anthony Burns: A Problem in Law Enforcement* (Philadelphia, 1975); McDougall and Hart, *Fugitive Slaves,* 44–45; Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 31, 99–100, 106, 117–21; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 207–09; Samuel Shapiro, "The Rendition of Anthony Burns," *JNH,* 44:34–51 (January 1959); Donald M. Jacobs, "A History of the Boston Negro from the Revolution to the Civil War" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1968), 286–91; *DANB,* 80–81.

219.32 Christiana, Penn.] On 11 September 1851 Maryland planter Edward Gorsuch, accompanied by a party of neighbors, attempted to recover two of his runaway slaves in Christiana, Pennsylvania. The fugitives had found refuge in the home of William Parker (1822–?), who himself had escaped slavery in 1839. Parker refused to turn over the fugitives to Gorsuch, and the predominantly black community rallied against the slave catchers. A fight broke out during which Gorsuch was killed and the other whites driven off. Parker and several other black participants in the affair fled to Canada, where they settled permanently. Douglass himself assisted Parker during his secret passage through Rochester. Thirty-six blacks and five whites were eventually indicted for treason, but none was successfully prosecuted. William Parker, "The Freedman's Story," *Atlantic Monthly,* 17:152–66 (February 1866), 17:276–95 (March 1866); Jonathan Katz, *Resistance at Christiana: The Fugitive Slave Rebellion, Christiana, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1851—A Documentary Account* (New York, 1974), 18–21, 27, 74–80, 92–103, 169–70, 234–35, 260–61, 279; Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 99–101, 151–54.

219.32 Gorsuch] Edward Gorsuch (1795–1851), a prosperous grain farmer from Baltimore County, Maryland, owned twelve slaves in 1851. Gorsuch came into his own in 1845 when he inherited "Retreat," a substantial part of the family's original tract in the northern end of Baltimore County. In 1849 his operation consisted of seventy cows and sheep, a dozen horses, and six plows. Although he owned slaves and used their labor on his farm, Gorsuch was known to be a fair master, even making provisions for his slaves to be freed at age twenty-eight. When four of his slaves ran away in 1851, Gorsuch pursued them under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. He followed them to Pennsylvania and was shot and killed trying to secure their return. Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York, 1991), 3–15.

220.10 news in the New York papers] On 13 September 1851 the morning edition of the New York *Herald* reported on the events at Christiana, Pennsylvania, where two days previously Maryland planter Edward Gorsuch had been killed while attempting to recover two of his runaway slaves. New York *Herald,* 13 September 1851.

220.17 Genesee River] The Genesee River lies in western New York. It flows northward from just south of the town of Genesee, Pennsylvania, to Lake Ontario. The Genesee bisects the city of Rochester at a location where the river drops over 200 feet in a series of falls, providing the energy for numerous water-powered industries. Henry W. Clune, *The Genesee* (New York, 1963), 24–26; Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 671.

221.2 "Uncle Tom's Cabin,"] Harriet Beecher Stowe began writing the first installments of what was to become *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in March 1851. The fictional-

ized account of slavery and the Underground Railroad was initially serialized in the Washington (D.C.) *National Era* from June 1851 through April 1852. Appearing in book form the next year, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly,* the novel quickly achieved international success. About 300,000 copies sold in America during the first year, and English sales ultimately exceeded 1.5 million. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the first American novel to sell more than a million copies. Its success generated further interest in the antislavery movement in the North, while it deepened alienation in the South. Many blacks and abolitionists qualified their praise for the book on account of their disapproval of Stowe's advocacy of colonization. Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (New York, 1941), 283–98; Claire Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852–2002* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Eng., 2007), 67–89, 203–06; Marie Caskey, *Chariot of Fire: Religion and the Beecher Family* (New Haven, Conn., 1978), 3–33, 169–207.

221.11 promised to give her a testimonial] In the nineteenth century testimonials were sometimes given by individuals or groups of persons to acknowledge services rendered or merit; in particular, they were given as a show of respect or admiration. The testimonials given to Harriet Beecher Stowe on her first trip to England in 1853 were of the latter variety. In practically every town she visited, huge crowds awaited her, and when she left England, she had collected around $20,000 in testimonials. These monies usually had been donated without preconditions for their use, but occasionally donors would direct that the money be used for a specific purpose. Some of the testimonials Stowe received on her trip included £130 from the women of Liverpool; a sum from the Negroes' Friend Society Meeting to be used in benefit of slaves; £150 from Aberdeen for the Underground Railroad; and at a famous Edinburgh soiree, Stowe took home £1,000 collected on a silver salver. More significantly, Stowe's audience in the British Isles, realizing that she would receive no English royalties for her book, took up a donation of a penny per copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold, which they called the "Penny Offering." Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 240.

221.13–14 spend a day at her house in Andover, Mass.] Stowe interviewed Douglass at her home in Andover, Massachusetts, in February 1853. In a letter dated 8 March 1853, Douglass wrote, "You kindly informed me, when at your house a fortnight ago.…" Douglass to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 8 March 1853, in *FDP,* 2 December 1853.

221.29–30 an educational institution…an industrial school] At the first meeting of the National Council of the Colored People, held in July 1853, Douglass defined the concept of and defended the need for an industrial and agricultural school for young blacks. The council passed the plan for a manual labor school, arguing that freedmen could not allow their children merely to replace them in their own menial occupations; such a course would result in stasis or downward mobility. In the midst of the Industrial Revolution, the council reasoned that mechanical trades could provide an opportunity for better incomes and advancement for future generations. Douglass was appointed the key solicitor of funds for this institution. However, by the time of the council's meeting in May 1855, Douglass had yet to generate any funding for the school. When the council disbanded in the mid- to late 1850s, its plan for an industrial school remained unfulfilled. *FDP,* 15, 22 July 1853; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:51–85; Henry Allen Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 13, 48, 84–89, 112–14.

222.1–2 I argued that…the colored people] A paraphrase of 1 Tim. 6:10.

222.16 ROCHESTER, March 8, 1853] Douglass accurately reports both the date and content of his letter to Mrs. Stowe. *FDP,* 2 December 1853; Woodson, *Mind of the Negro,* 654–59.

223.30 We have two or three colored lawyers in this country] A small number of blacks had been admitted to the legal bar in the United States around the time of Douglass's 1853 letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe. Douglass was probably aware of Macon Bolling Allen (1816–94), the first black lawyer in the United States, who was admitted to the state bar of Maine in 1844 and moved the next year to Boston, Massachusetts, to practice law in Suffolk County. Robert Morris (1823–85), mentioned in *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1847 and worked for thirty-five years as a lawyer in Suffolk County, where he became well known as a representative for local blacks and Irish immigrants. Douglass was also familiar with John Mercer Langston (1829–97). The son of a white slaveholding planter and an emancipated black Native American, Langston entered the state bar of Ohio in 1854 and spent much of his life advocating for civil rights, notably during Reconstruction. Two other black lawyers, Jonathan Jasper Wright (1840–85) and Edward Garrison Draper (1834–58), also practiced before the Civil War: Wright, who studied law before the Civil War in Montrose, Pennsylvania, was not officially admitted to the state's bar until 1865, primarily because of racial reasons; Draper worked as a teacher in Baltimore and then was admitted to the Maryland bar in 1857, albeit with the understanding that he would practice law only in Liberia. New York *Emancipator,* 17 May 1838; *Lib.,* 9 May 1845; *FDP,* 13 May 1852; J. Clay Smith, Jr., *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844–1944* (Philadelphia, 1993), 152–53, 163–64, 407–09; Walter J. Leonard, "The Development of the Black Bar," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 407:134–43 (May 1973); *ANB,* 1:335–36; 13:164–66; 15:913–14; 24:34–35.

224.1 Russwurms] John Brown Russwurm (1799–1851) was the coeditor of *Freedom's Journal,* the first black-owned and -operated newspaper in the United States. After graduating in 1826 from Bowdoin College in Maine, he met Samuel Cornish and began *Freedom's Journal.* In his native New York City, Russwurm was highly regarded within his community. While working as coeditor, he also taught at a free evening school in New York City. Believing that blacks should take the lead in the uplift of their own people, Russwurm saw colonization to Liberia as the best option for blacks to improve their status. In 1829 he left the *Freedom's Journal* and migrated to the colony of Liberia. Hutton, *Early Black Press in America,* 4–7, 123–24; *ANB,* 19:117–18.

224.2 Crummells] Raised and educated in New York, Alexander Crummell (1819–98) became an Episcopal priest, an active member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a contributor to the *Colored American.* He believed that black people should develop and support separate organizations that focused on the specific interests of African Americans. Although Crummell opposed the American Colonization Society, for which Douglass praised him, he later supported black immigration to Africa after spending twenty years in Liberia from 1850 to 1870. He and Douglass differed on various issues, including the type of education most useful for black people, the importance of racial difference, and the legacy of slavery in the years after the Civil War. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Alexander Crummell: A Study of Civilization and Discontent* (New York, 1989); William H. Ferris, *Alexander Crummell: An Apostle of Negro Culture* (1920; New York, 1969); *DANB,* 145–47; *ANB,* 5:820–22.

224.18–19 'brethren in bonds,'] Possibly Heb. 13:3.

225.13–14 hewers of wood and drawers of water] Josh. 9:21.

227.10–11 July, 1853, at…in this country] The Colored National Convention held in Rochester from 6 to 8 July 1853 resulted in the creation of the short-lived National Council of the Colored People, and a proposal to establish an industrial college for blacks. The convention was held in Rochester's Corinthian Hall; James W. C. Pennington of New York was elected its president, and it consisted of 114 delegates. Douglass served as chair of the Committee on Declaration of Sentiments, and he presented his letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe regarding the creation of an industrial college for blacks. *Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, 1853,* 6, 18–20, 26, 30–33, 35; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:448.

227.22 Henry Ward Beecher] Henry Ward Beecher (1813–87), the fourth son of Presbyterian clergyman Lyman Beecher and brother of antislavery novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe, was the noted pastor of Brooklyn's Plymouth Church for forty years. After his graduation from Amherst College in 1834, Beecher studied at Lane Theological Seminary and served as pastor of Presbyterian churches in Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, Indiana, before becoming minister at Plymouth Church in 1847. Committed to making the church an active instrument of social reform, Beecher in his sermons addressed the major social and political issues of his time with a force and drama that established him as one of the century's major orators. Although he denounced the evil of slavery, he denied that a constitutional basis existed for interfering with the institution in states where it already existed. Instead, Beecher urged that its exclusion from the territories would achieve abolition gradually and peacefully. His theology, minimizing doctrinal differences, stressed the religious worth of personal loyalty to Christ, and in 1882 he led his church out of the Congregational denomination. In addition to writing extensively for the secular press, Beecher edited the widely read religious journals New York *Independent* (1861–63) and *Christian Union* (1870–81). His reputation survived five years of public discussion that preceded the 1875 court trial and subsequent Congregational council's examination of New York Congregational journalist Theodore Tilton's charge that an adulterous relation existed between his wife and Beecher. Caskey, *Chariot of Fire,* 208–48; *NCAB,* 3:129–30; *DAB,* 2:129–35.

227.23 New York *Independent*] Henry Ward Beecher's letter appeared on 2 June 1853. In it Beecher defended Harriet Beecher Stowe's use of funds collected in England, pointed out ironies of racial prejudice in both northern and southern America, and advocated placing blacks on the same footing as other immigrants, providing them with equal opportunities. Douglass, however, mistakenly identifies Henry Ward Beecher as the then editor of the *Independent.* Beecher edited the religious paper from 1864 to 1870. New York *Independent,* 2 June 1853.

227.27–28 through the columns of my paper] Douglass's defense of Harriet Beecher Stowe appeared in *FDP,* 6 May 1853.

227.34 she had reconsidered her plan for the industrial school] Before her departure for England in 1853, Harriet Beecher Stowe had consented to raise funds for the creation of an industrial school for students of any sex, religion, or color. The school was to be located about 100 miles from Erie, Pennsylvania. Upon her return, however, she had lost interest in the project. Although no record exists of Stowe's exact reasons for her reconsideration, two factors may have played key roles: public sentiment and her experiences growing up at Lane Theological Seminary. First, as Stowe's reputation for accepting testimonials grew, so too did the public's annoyance regarding her dispersal of said funds. Many African American advocates of the school felt that monies she acquired from England should be used for the new school; however, Stowe rejected these arguments, insisting that if they wanted a school, there were blacks wealthier than she, and they should contribute the funds. Second, her father, Lyman Beecher, the first president of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, had long struggled to garner the necessary donations to keep that manual labor school open. Thus, supporting a school fighting to open its doors might be money invested in vain. *FDP,* 24 March 1854; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 129–131; Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe,* 112, 159–60, 247.

228.20–21 said "he never…Bunker Hill monument."] These remarks were attributed by New Hampshire Senator Daniel Clark to his Georgia colleague Robert Toombs in a congressional debate on 27 February 1860. Toombs immediately interrupted his colleague to state that he had published several denials of the claim that he had boasted that someday he would call the roll of his slaves before the Bunker Hill Monument. Toombs attributed the source of the apocryphal story to reports in the New York *Tribune* and other Republican papers in the 1860 election campaign, but it probably stemmed from hostile accounts of a proslavery lecture delivered by Toombs at Tremont Temple in Boston on 26 January 1860. Douglass had carried reports of Toombs's original remarks in his own newspaper and subsequently repeated the disputed account in his public lectures. *FDP,* 2 May 1856, 24 February 1860; *Congressional Globe,* 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, 838; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:229; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *The Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913), 184.

228.23 "gag rule,"] John Quincy Adams, who served in the House of Representatives from 1831 to 1848, led the resistance to the infamous "gag rule" that automatically tabled all antislavery petitions to that body. On the day the gag was first adopted in 1836, he denounced the action as an unconstitutional violation of the freedom of speech. For more than seven years he and a growing number of antislavery Whigs tried to circumvent the gag by various parliamentary stratagems. Despite two unsuccessful attempts by southern members to censure him for violation of House rules, the former president remained determined in his opposition. Each year his resolution to repeal the gag gained more support, until it finally passed by a vote of 105 to 80 on 3 December 1843. Marie B. Hecht, *John Quincy Adams: A Personal History of an Independent Man* (New York, 1972), 545–51, 584–85, 590–95, 609–10, 613–15; Bemis, *John Quincy Adams,* 337–47, 371–72, 379, 420–22, 446–48; Leonard L. Richards, "The Jacksonians and Slavery," in *Antislavery Reconsidered,* ed. Perry and Fellman, 109–15.

228.27–28 demand…the high seas] Douglass undoubtedly refers to the *Creole* incident of 1841. The *Creole* was carrying 135 slaves, eight crewmen, five sailors, six white passengers, and a shipment of tobacco from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to New Orleans when, on 7 November 1841, a mutiny led by Madison Washington erupted during the eleventh, not the ninth, day of her voyage. Though only 19 slaves followed Washington's lead, they wounded the captain, killed one white man, and easily overpowered the crew, who ran for the rigging when the battle intensified. The crew convinced the mutineers that the ship lacked sufficient provisions for a voyage to Liberia. The new command, aware that British authorities had freed a cargo of slaves that had shipwrecked near Abaco Island in the Bahamas the year before, agreed to make the two-day sail to Nassau. On 12 November the British government, ignoring the recommendation of the American consul, freed all the slaves not involved in the mutiny and jailed the nineteen mutineers. Southern congressmen, fearful for the security of the coastal slave trade, demanded either the return of the mutineers or reparations. In 1842 disagreement over the *Creole* incident not only threatened an Anglo-American settlement of Oregon and Maine boundary disputes but also hindered agreement on measures for the joint suppression of the Atlantic slave trade. The Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842 did not resolve the *Creole* controversy or the problem of slave mutinies. The Nassau attorney awarded $110,330 to the owners of the freed slaves. After his emancipation, Madison Washington dropped out of recorded history. Washington's role in the mutiny aboard the *Creole* inspired Douglass's novella "The Heroic Slave," written in 1853. *Senate Documents,* 27th Cong., 2d sess., ser. 396, 2 (no. 51):1–46; *Lib.,* 10 June 1842; Frederick Douglass, "The Heroic Slave," in *Autographs,* ed. Griffiths, 1:174–238; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 1:68n; Howard Jones, "The Peculiar Institution and National Honor: The Case of the *Creole* Slave Revolt," *CWH,* 21:28–50 (March 1975); Wilbur Devereux Jones, "The Influence of Slavery on the Webster-Ashburton Negotiations," *JSH,* 20:48–58 (February 1956); *DNB,* 1:1110–11.

228.29 the annexation of Texas] In early 1845 the U.S. Congress voted by a simple majority vote to annex Texas. Texas became the twenty-eighth state in December of that year with the agreement it could split into five separate states at any point in the future. Texas, originally part of Mexico, was populated with slaveholding Americans who had settled with the permission of the Mexican government on the condition that they relinquish their slaves. The reluctance of the American settlers to assimilate into Mexican social and political life, in large part due to their dependence on slave labor, resulted in revolution and the creation of the Republic of Texas in 1836. From the beginning of the republic, Texans had always intended to annex themselves to the United States, but concern over the extension of slavery and application of the gag rule in Congress delayed the request for a number of years. In 1844 annexation became a central issue in the presidential election. Randolph Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821–1865* (Baton Rouge, La., 1989), 12–53; Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 217–20; Paul R. Bergeron, *The Presidency of James K. Polk* (Lawrence, Kans., 1987), 51–60.

228.31 the war with Mexico] The Mexican-American War (1846–48) occurred as the result of a border dispute between the United States and Mexico but had its roots deep in the issue of slavery. When Texas was annexed in 1845, tensions with Mexico blossomed when the United States declared the boundary of the new state to extend to the Rio Grande, much farther south than the Nueces River border recognized by the Mexican government. An American army led by General Zachary Taylor set out to enforce this proclamation, resulting in skirmishes with Mexican troops. In May 1846 Congress declared war on Mexico. After a series of successful campaigns by American troops, Mexico surrendered in February 1848. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo formally ended the war and gave the United States not only the disputed territory in Texas but also land extending to the Pacific Ocean. The discussion over the existence of slavery in the massive amount of territory formed the crux of national political debate during the following decade. Many abolitionists believed that the Mexican-American War was nothing less than an attempt by southern politicians to acquire more area for the expansion of slavery. K. Jack Bauer, *The Mexican War, 1846–1848* (New York, 1974); Campbell, *Empire for Slavery,* 35–36, 48–49.

228.31–32 the filibustering expeditions against Cuba and Central America] The term "filibuster" entered the English language as a derivation of the Spanish *filibustero* and the French *flibustier,* both of which came from the Dutch *vrijbuiter,* a term known in English as "freebooter," a synonym of filibuster in Douglass's time. Following the highly publicized failure in 1850 of one of the most famous filibusters, Narciso López (1797–1851), American journalists began using the term to describe individuals attempting to subvert or gain control over a sovereign country without their government's consent. In Douglass's time, many Americans believed in "Manifest Destiny," which advocated the spread of American sovereignty throughout

the North American continent, and even beyond. Prior to López's attempts to capture Cuba and annex it to the United States as a new slave state, other filibusters had attempted to capture the Yucatán, Venezuela, Canada, and elsewhere. López, a Venezuelan-born Spanish army officer and functionary, attempted twice to liberate Cuba from Spanish colonial rule. Engaging the support of John Quitman, then governor of Mississippi, López landed some 600 filibusters in Cuba in May 1850 but soon had to evacuate to Key West, Florida. The next year, López, accompanied by Colonel William Crittenden, nephew of Kentucky's famed Whig politician John J. Crittenden, disembarked on Cuba's shores about sixty miles west of Havana. Spanish troops crushed the filibusters and Crittenden, and his men were publicly executed on 17 August. On 1 September 1851 López was garroted in a plaza. The other famous filibuster was William Walker (1824–60); in 1853 he attempted to capture and annex Baja California, but was soon forced back into the United States. Turning farther south, Walker filibustered in Nicaragua, a nation in the midst of a civil war. Walker captured the capital, Granada, and installed a puppet government that received official recognition from U.S. President Franklin Pierce. A feud between Walker and the shipping magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1857 forced Walker to abandon Nicaragua. Walker returned to Latin America in 1860 to the Republic of Honduras, but the British Navy captured Walker and turned him over to Honduran authorities. On 12 September 1860 Walker was shot by firing squad. Tom Chaffin, *Fatal Glory: Narciso López and the First Clandestine U.S. War against Cuba* (Charlottesville, Va., 1996), 1–10; Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), 1–18, 40–52.

228.32–33 the cold-blooded decision of Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case] Roger Brooke Taney (1777–1864), second son of a Calvert County, Maryland, plantation owner, was admitted to the Maryland bar in 1799. He maintained a lucrative private practice and a sporadic political career despite his tendency to support unpopular causes. He defended Jacob Gruber, a Methodist preacher accused in 1819 of inciting slave revolt. At that time Taney spoke of slavery as a "blot on our national character" and expressed hopes for its extinction. Taney served as attorney general of Maryland from 1827 to 1831, at which point he became attorney general of the United States. A Federalist turned Democrat, Taney supported President Andrew Jackson's revocation of the charter of and removal of the government deposits from the United States bank, and, as *ad interim* secretary of the Treasury, issued the order for removal in 1833. The Senate rejected Taney's permanent cabinet appointment, as it later did his first nomination by Jackson to the U.S. Supreme Court. His second nomination, following the death of Chief Justice John Marshall, was confirmed in 1836. Unlike Marshall, he emphasized state sovereignty rather than federal powers, a stance that alienated several of his fellow justices. He remained infamous for his 1857 Dred Scott decision, which was credited with having deepened the hostilities between the North and South. Taney's actions as a private citizen sometimes belied public perception of his character; he emancipated his own slaves and provided for those too elderly to care for themselves during his lifetime. Samuel Tyler, *Memoir of Roger Brook Taney* (Baltimore, 1872); *ACAB,* 6:28–31; *NCAB,* 1:27–28.

228.34–35 "negroes are deemed…bound to respect"] Douglass paraphrases Taney's decision in *Scott v. Sandford:* "They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, and the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit." *Scott v. Sandford,* 60 U.S. 393 (1856).

229.5 Hale] John Parker Hale (1806–73), U.S. congressman (1843–45) and senator (1847–53, 1855–65) from New Hampshire, and minister to Spain (1865–69), was the presidential nominee of the moribund Liberty party in 1847–48 and of the Free Soil party in 1852. Read out of the regular Democratic party in 1845 because of his opposition to Texas annexation, Hale helped forge an antislavery coalition of Whigs and Independent Democrats that gained control of the New Hampshire legislature in 1846 and elected him to the U.S. Senate. Unhampered by partisan ties, Hale emerged during the first two years of his term as virtually the sole antislavery spokesman in the upper chamber. His approach to abolitionism was often indirect and legalistic, however, as exemplified by his response to the 1848 *Pearl* incident. Though deeply moved by the plight of the recaptured fugitives, Hale did not openly attack slavery or the slave trade but instead raised the issue of proslavery mobs. On 20 April 1848, two days after the mob attack on the *National Era* office, he introduced a bill to make local communities in the District of Columbia liable for damage to private property by any "riotous or tumultuous assemblage of people." The bill contained no specific mention of slavery, yet it produced heated responses from several southern senators, including Henry S. Foote, who threatened to lynch Hale if the New Hampshireman ever ventured inside the state of Mississippi. The *Pearl* incident and its aftermath enhanced Hale's stature among most abolitionists and helped to solidify his antislavery convictions. Within two months, Hale introduced an unsuccessful resolution for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. *Lib.,* 5 May 1848; *Congressional Globe,* 30th Cong., 1st sess., 1848, appendix, 500–10; Richard H. Sewell, *John P. Hale and the Politics of Abolition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

229.5 Chase] Salmon Portland Chase.

229.5 Wilson] Elected to the U.S. Senate from Massachusetts by a coalition of Free Soilers, Know-Nothings, and Democrats in 1855, Henry Wilson (1812–75) strongly advocated the abolition of slavery as a political goal. In 1862 Wilson introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, as a Radical Republican, he was one of the strongest voices denouncing the Black Codes enacted under Presidential Reconstruction. In 1865 he introduced a bill aimed at nullifying all laws and ordinances discriminating against freemen and former slaves. Wilson replaced Schuyler Colfax as vice president for Ulysses S. Grant's second term, but died in office. Ernest McKay, *Henry Wilson: Practical Radical* (London, 1971), 94–95, 197–98.

229.7–8 the summary manner…hanged John Brown] John Brown and four other surviving raiders were captured by a force of U.S. Marines inside the Harpers Ferry arsenal's engine house on the morning of 18 October 1859. Though seriously wounded by a sword thrust, Brown was soon after interrogated by Virginia governor Henry A. Wise and other officials and then taken to the county jail in Charlestown, eight miles away. Brown and other captured raiders were examined in magistrate's court on 25 October. The next day the judge charged a grand jury, and the following day the jury reported back an indictment of Brown for murdering four whites and one black, inciting slave insurrection, and committing treason against Virginia. The trial began on 27 October with Brown lying on a cot in the courtroom. The whole proceeding took only until 31 October, when the jury returned a guilty verdict after only forty-five minutes of deliberation. On 2 November the judge sentenced Brown to be hanged just one month later. Brown used that final month to conduct an energetic propaganda campaign against slavery. The execution was carried out on schedule before 1,500 Virginia militia and scores of spectators on 2 December 1859. This rush to try and execute Brown was interpreted by many northerners as further evidence of southern injustice and added to the perception of his martyrdom. Paul Finkelman, ed., *His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995), 7–8; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 34–52, 299–309, 324–27.

229.16–17 "in the deep bosom of the ocean buried,"] *Richard III,* sc. 1, line 4.

229.35 John C. Frémont] John Charles Frémont (1813–90), the illegitimate son of a French émigré schoolteacher, was born in Savannah, Georgia, and educated at Charleston College. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the army in 1837, he began a career as an explorer and topographer, a career that was advanced greatly by his marriage to Jessie Benton, the daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. In the 1840s he gained national fame for commanding several mapping expeditions of the Rocky Mountains. On one of these expeditions, Frémont assumed a leading role in the Bear Flag revolt in California. When the Mexican-American War broke out, Frémont clashed with higher-ranking military officers in California and was court-martialed. After leaving the army, Frémont continued his western explorations and briefly served as one of California's first U.S. senators (1850–51). Defeated for reelection as an antislavery candidate, he led another cross-continent expedition in 1853 and in 1855 moved to New York City. Opposed to both the extension of slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, Frémont was the presidential nominee of the 1856 Republican convention and carried eleven states in a contest against Democrat James Buchanan. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Lincoln appointed Frémont major general in command of the Department of the West. On 30 August 1861 Frémont issued a proclamation emancipating the slaves of rebel Missourians, which Lincoln quickly revoked. Replaced in this western command, Frémont unsuccessfully battled Thomas ("Stonewall") Jackson in the latter's Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1862. A Cleveland convention of antislavery radicals seeking an alternative to Lincoln nominated Frémont for president in 1864, but the candidate withdrew when approached by the Lincoln administration. After the Civil War, Frémont lost his fortune in railroad promotion schemes and played only a minor role in Republican politics. Ferol Egan, *Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation* (Garden City, N.Y., 1977); Alice Eyre, *The Famous Fremonts and Their America* ([Santa Ana, Calif.], 1948), 17–22, 41–49, 274–80, 295–306; Allan Nevins, *Frémont: Pathmarker of the West,* 2 vols. (1955; New York, 1961); *ACAB,* 2:545–48, *DAB,* 7:19–23.

229.35 William L. Dayton] A graduate from Princeton College, New Jersey, William Lewis Dayton (1807–64) served in the U.S. Senate from 1842 to 1851, where he actively voiced his disapproval of the Mexican-American War, mainly for antislavery reasons, and voted against the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. After leaving the Senate, Dayton joined the Republican party in 1856 and the very same year became the party's first vice-presidential nominee alongside running mate John Charles Frémont. In 1861 Lincoln appointed Dayton to serve as U.S. minister to France, where he worked to ameliorate diplomatic relations between the two countries during the Civil War. Dayton died of apoplexy during a stay in Paris in 1864. Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel,* 23 June 1856; Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 21 December 1864; Washington (D.C.) *Daily National Intelligencer,* 22 December 1864; *DAB,* 5:166–67; *ANB,* 6:280–81.

230.7 "rule or ruin,"] A paraphrase from John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (London, 1681), I, lines 173–74: "In Friendship False, Implacable in Hate:/ Resolv'd to Ruin or to Rule the State." Douglass employs the expression "rule or ruin" to describe the North's resolution against the slave power in reaction to Preston S. Brooks's 1856 assault on Charles Sumner.

230.7–9 cowardly and brutal…from South Carolina] Charles Sumner delivered his celebrated and vitriolic "Crime against Kansas" speech in the Senate on 19 and 20 May 1856, and immediately became the object of published and unpublished insults and threats. On 22 May, Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina caned Sumner in the Senate chamber in response to the oration on Kansas. Donald, *Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War,* 282–97.

230.17–18 Abraham Lincoln] Whig turned Republican Illinois politician Abraham Lincoln (1809–65) was sworn in as the sixteenth president of the United States on 4 March 1861. Douglass met Lincoln at the White House in 1863 and was charmed by the president's earnest political consideration of emancipation. A year later Lincoln granted Douglass's request that his son Charles be discharged from the Army because of illness. Douglass met in private with Lincoln on 19 August 1864, when they discussed stepping up efforts to recruit slaves to the Union's cause. Lincoln was elected to a second term in November 1864, and Douglass attended his inauguration festivities. James M. McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (New York, 1990), 109, 134–35, 139; Phillip Shaw Paludan, *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln* (Lawrence, Kans., 1994), 4–5, 15–16, 183, 285–87; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 229–35.

230.18 Stephen A. Douglas] Born in Brandon, Vermont, Stephen Arnold Douglas (1813–61) migrated to Illinois at twenty. He joined the young state's bar and the Democratic party and rose rapidly. After two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, Douglas won the U.S. Senate seat in 1846 that he held for the remainder of his life. He played a leading role in securing passage of the 1850 compromise measures initially presented in the Senate by Henry Clay. A former chair of the Senate Committee on the Territories, Douglas framed the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Douglas angered many southerners when he broke with President James Buchanan over enforcement of the "Popular Sovereignty" provision of that legislation in Kansas. While Douglas narrowly defeated Republican challenger Abraham Lincoln for reelection to the Senate in 1858, the two men's contest for the presidency in 1860 had the opposite result. Douglas supported Lincoln's military effort to put down southern secession but died early in the Civil War. Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1973); Gerald M. Capers, *Stephen A. Douglas: Defender of the Union* (Boston, 1959).

230.23–25 "Union could not…extinction of slavery."] Abraham Lincoln's famous quotation was first uttered on 16 July 1858 at the Illinois state Republican convention in Springfield. In the closing address before the delegates who had just chosen him as their nominee for the U.S. Senate, Lincoln said: "'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." Lincoln repeated this statement often and in a number of variations in his debates with Stephen Douglas for the Illinois senate seat in 1858 and during his run for president in 1860. Abraham Lincoln, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* ed. Roy P. Basler, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953–55), 2:462; James Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York, 2007), 4–5.

230.37–39 Its papers teemed…much else and worse] During the presidential campaign of 1860, newspapers across the country depicted candidate Lincoln in pejoratively rural terms. The growing popularity of illustrated newspapers further fueled the national imagination surrounding Lincoln; caricatures frequently portrayed him as a "rail-splitter" and "back-woodsman." However, some historians note that the prevalence of Lincoln's image in the media, even the negative, helped to propel him into national prominence far more effectively than his own campaign. Gary L. Bunker, *From Rail-Splitter to Icon: Lincoln's Image in Illustrated Periodicals, 1860–1865* (Kent, Ohio, 2001), 16–17, 31–66; Michael Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life,* 2 vols. (Baltimore, 2008), 1:629–40.

231.2 American Anti-Slavery Society in New York] Douglass incorrectly identifies the abolitionist organization where he made the following address on 11 May 1853. Instead of the American Anti-Slavery Society headed by William Lloyd Garrison, Douglass had addressed the anniversary of its rival, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The latter had been founded in May 1840 by bolters from the American Anti-Slavery Society. The secession was in protest to the Garrisonians' solidifying their control of the original national abolitionist organization. Supporters of the "New Organization" opposed Garrisonian support for women's rights, opposition to political antislavery activism, and denunciation of the nation's churches as hopelessly corrupted by slavery. The new body headquartered itself in New York City and was dominated by a small circle of white and black evangelical ministers and laymen. These men kept the new group's abolitionist activities focused on lobbying religious institutions, although most also endorsed the new antislavery Liberty party. The society's New York City-based executive committee held conventions during the spring "anniversary week" of most benevolent and religious societies and issued an annual report chronicling antislavery developments in religious and political circles. Douglass addressed the group's annual meeting on 11 May 1853. *FDP,* 27 May 1853; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:425–26; Harrold, *American Abolitionists,* 37–38; McKivigan, *War against Proslavery Religion,* 75–81.

231.20 President Pierce] Democratic presidential candidate Franklin Pierce (1804–69), who was to become the fourteenth president (1853–57) of the United States, graduated from Bowdoin College (1824), sat in the New Hampshire legislature (1829–32), where he twice served as speaker, and represented his native state in the House of Representatives (1833–37) and the Senate (1837–42). In 1842 Pierce resumed his law practice in Concord, New Hampshire, and became a leading organizer of the state Democratic party machine. Strongly favoring the annexation of Texas, Pierce volunteered in 1846 for military duty in the war with Mexico and was appointed a brigadier general the next year. In 1852 Pierce won the heavily contested Democratic party nomination and went on to easily defeat Whig candidate Winfield Scott for the presidency. Pierce's support for passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 and attempts to annex Cuba were widely blamed for inflaming sectional tensions. The Democrats rejected Pierce and nominated James Buchanan for president in 1856. Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia, 1931); *ACAB,* 5:7–12; *NCAB,* 4:145–46; *DAB,* 14:576–80.

231.28 Silver Gray Whigs] In the period to which Douglass alludes, Silver Gray Whigs were conservative, proslavery supporters of President Millard Fillmore within the Whig party. The Whigs had a "Silver Gray" organization as early as 1836, but that group was comprised solely of men over sixty years of age. Francis Granger of New York popularized the term in the 1850s, but then the phrase was used derisively for Whigs of any age, whose views were seen as out of touch with the rest of the Whig party, especially on the issue of slavery. Holt, *Fate of Their Country,* 87–88, 105, 107–08; Sperber and Trittschuh, *American Political Terms,* 404–05.

231.28 Hunker Democrats] Douglass probably refers to the term "Hunker," which was applied to conservative Democrats in New York state politics in the late 1840s. The label originally referred to the fiscally conservative faction of the state's Democratic party, but after an 1847 split over the Wilmot Proviso the term also dif-

ferentiated Unionist followers of William L. Marcy and Daniel S. Dickinson from the antislavery "Barnburners." A study of the election of 1848 suggests that the word was used to ridicule the conservatives' strenuous efforts to get a large "hunk" of the spoils of office; others thought it was a corruption of the Dutch slang word *hanker,* freely translated as "greedy." By the 1850s the "hunker" designation was commonly applied to the great conservative Unionist majority of the Democratic party throughout the North. Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1850–1854* (New York, 1923), 18, 198–99; Rayback, *Free Soil,* 16n.

231.30–31 Pilate and Herod made friends] Douglass paraphrases Luke 23:12.

232.6 'shot its leprous distillment'] An adaptation of *Hamlet,* sc. 5, line 681.

232.22–23 the black law…State of Illinois] Douglass probably refers to an 1855 law passed by the Illinois legislature titled "An act to reclaim persons who have been decoyed or kidnapped and taken away beyond the boundaries of this state." This acted to repeal an 1827 law allowing the governor of Illinois to hand over fugitives from other states on demand. The 1855 law allowed the governor to restore the freedom of fugitives captured and deported from the state. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage,* 2:134, 136–37; Paul Finkelman, *An Imperfect Union: Slavery, Federalism, and Comity* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), 96–98, 150–55.

233.15–20 The Irish…their pockets] Since most of the arriving Irish immigrants came impoverished to the United States, and many of the northern free blacks lived in depressed areas of cities, the two groups often found themselves in close company. They competed for the same jobs with one another and with poor native-born white Americans, found themselves populating city jails together, and sometimes engaged in interracial sexual or romantic relationships. Racial slurs portrayed African Americans and Irish immigrants unfavorably and were used by one group to slander the other. Both groups grew to detest one another and to adopt the dominant stereotypical view of the other, leading to a number of fights and demonstrations between the two races during the 1840s and into the 1860s. The political scene generally reflected the deeply rooted prejudice between Irish immigrants and blacks, with very few Irish Americans joining the newly formed Republican party in 1856 because of its antislavery sentiments. Even as most northern Irish immigrants began to adopt a pro-Union position during the Civil War, they typically asserted that this shift was in no way correlated with antislavery views, and many continued to oppose the party's gradual movement toward emancipation as the war progressed. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995), 40–42, 55; Carl Wittke, *The Irish in America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1956), 125–26, 130–31.

233.34 American Colonization Society] Founded in 1816, the American Colonization Society settled free black volunteer emigrants and emancipated slaves in its colony of Liberia on Africa's west coast. Most free black leaders and later the abolitionists condemned the racist premises behind the colonizationist effort. Though endorsed by many prominent whites, including ministers and politicians, the society managed to transport only a few thousand to Africa before the Civil War. In the early

1850s longtime colonization advocate Henry Clay led an effort to revive support for the movement, which resulted in a slight increase in donations and the number of emigrants in that decade. Philip J. Staudenraus, "The History of the American Colonization Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1958); Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 1:33–25.

234.26–27 'There can be *no peace,* saith my God, to the wicked.'] Isa. 57:21.

234.36 'thou art verily guilty concerning thy brother.'"] Adapted from Gen. 42:21.

235.1 James Buchanan] James Buchanan's proslavery views were evident in the very week of his inauguration; on 6 March 1857, only two days after taking the oath of office, he publicly endorsed the outcome of the Dred Scott case. Controversy arose over Buchanan's involvement in and foreknowledge of the Supreme Court's decision, particularly among those in the newly formed Republican party who felt that Buchanan's improper association with the legal proceedings signified his decidedly southern sympathies. Buchanan only alienated the North further in his vehement opposition to the abolitionist movement, his advocacy for Kansas's admission as a slave state, and his selection of primarily proslavery members for his cabinet. James Buchanan, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (New York, 1866), iv; Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York, 1978), 201–03; Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidency of James Buchanan* (Lawrence, Kans., 1975), 16, 24–29; *ANB,* 3:835–39.

235.1–2 One sowed, the other reaped] A paraphrase of Gal. 6:7: "Do not be deceived; God is not mocked, for you reap whatever you sow."

235.38–39 the effect…the North] The North reacted far more strongly than had been expected to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Stephen A. Douglas, architect and prime supporter of the bill, had believed that, after an initial outcry, northerners would accept the new legislation. Instead, northerners perceived the legislation as a threat to free soil, and thus implicitly a threat to the rights of free labor. The result was a politicization of the issue of slavery's expansion to an unprecedented level of intensity. Northerners, who had believed the issue of slavery moot in their section of the country, now began to view it as one requiring their political attention. The backlash against the Kansas-Nebraska Act was directed at Democrats, who had engineered passage of the act; many believed that southern interests had controlled northern politicians, and had encroached on free soil to exploit it for their own interests. The results were terrible losses for northern Democrats in the following midterm elections; northern Democratic representation fell from 91 seats to 25. Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence, Kans., 2004), 24; Mark Voss-Hubbard, *Beyond Party: Cultures of Antipartisanship in Northern Politics before the Civil War* (Baltimore, 2002), 126–28; Potter, *Impending Crisis,* 238–39.

236.2–3 "Draw on me…the conflict lasts,"] Historians have estimated that Gerrit Smith contributed as much as $16,000 to support the free-state cause in Kansas terri-

tory. Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith: A Biography,* 2d ed. (New York, 1879), 323–33; Jeffery Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators: John Brown, the Secret Six, and a Theory of Slave Violence* (Philadelphia, 1982), 96.

236.4 George L. Stearns] A leading financial supporter of John Brown, George Luther Stearns (1809–67) was the son of a teacher from Medford, Massachusetts. Stearns earned progressively larger fortunes as a ship chandler, a linseed oil processor, and a lead-pipe manufacturer. He joined the antislavery movement in the early 1840s as a Liberty party activist and later was an important organizer of the Massachusetts Free Soil and Republican parties. While chairman of a committee to raise funds to arm free-state settlers in Kansas Territory, Stearns met John Brown and became a convert to his plan for inciting a slave insurrection. Although he fled to Canada after Harpers Ferry, Stearns soon returned to the United States and testified before congressional investigators that he had no advance knowledge of Brown's plans but now condoned the attack. During the Civil War, Massachusetts Governor John A. Andrew engaged Stearns to enlist troops for the first black regiment raised in the North, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry. Establishing recruiting offices across the North and Canada and hiring agents including Frederick Douglass, Stearns quickly enlisted enough blacks to fill two regiments for Massachusetts. Impressed by his success, the federal government commissioned Stearns a major and placed him in charge of recruiting blacks into federal army units. By January 1864 Stearns had brought substantial order to these efforts but then resigned; in part, to protest the unequal pay and treatment of black soldiers. He remained a friend of equal rights for blacks and, in the 1860s, helped found such periodicals as the *Nation* and *The Right Way* to champion that cause. Frank Preston Stearns, *The Life and Public Services of George Luther Stearns* (Philadelphia, 1907); Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York, 1956), 235–38, 242–43; Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators,* 56–63, 83–85, 221–23, 239–40, 254–57.

236.5 H. W. Beecher] Henry Ward Beecher, who was the editor of the New York *Independent* from 1861 to 1863, had earlier written a series of guest editorials for that paper against the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the proslavery actions resulting from it. New York *Independent,* 23 February, 2, 9 March, 6 April 1854.

236.14 his sons] John Brown had a total of twenty sons and daughters with his two wives, Dianthe Lusk Brown and Mary Day Brown. Most of his children shared the senior Brown's commitment to abolitionism. Five of his sons, Owen, Salmon, Frederick, Jason, and John, Jr., traveled to the Kansas Territory in advance of their father to assist its free-state cause. Frederick was killed in Kansas in 1856 by a proslavery settler. Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 75, 84–88, 168–69; Boyer, *Legend of John Brown,* 509–13.

236.28–29 he often…at Rochester] John Brown visited Frederick Douglass's Rochester home on at least four occasions. While visiting Rochester in December 1856, Brown was invited to dine at Douglass's home. Brown actually resided at Douglass's house for three weeks beginning on 27 January 1858 and returned for one

evening the following April. Brown's last visit with Douglass at Rochester in April 1859 lasted only a few hours and took place at Douglass's newspaper office. Douglass to [John] Brown, 7 December 1856, Dreer Manuscripts, Phi; Douglass to [John Brown], 22 June 1858, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, NjP; Franklin B. Sanborn, ed., *The Life and Letters of John Brown: Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia,* 2d ed. (Boston 1891), 433–35, 440–41; Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800–1859: A Biography Fifty Years After,* rev. ed. (New York, 1943), 317; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 224–25; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom,* 38–44; idem, *Frederick Douglass,* 172–73; Horace McGuire, "Two Episodes of Anti-Slavery Days," *Publications of the Rochester Historical Society,* 4:218–20 (1925).

236.31–32 "Osawatomie Brown"] In August 1856 Brown had been victorious over proslavery opponents in a skirmish at Osawatomie in Kansas Territory. In his own account of the Osawatomie battle against John W. Reid's Missouri troops, Brown reported that his band of around thirty men suffered fewer than five casualties, only one of which was fatal, while inflicting seventy to eighty casualties on the enemy, including over thirty fatalities. Modern scholarship indicates that Brown's figures on enemy loses were inflated tenfold. John Brown to His Family, 7 September 1856, in *Life and Letters of John Brown,* ed. Sanborn, 31–20; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 172.

237.6–7 The border ruffians from Missouri] The injection of the slavery issue into the process of organizing a territorial government for Kansas only intensified the friction commonly found on the frontier when individuals competed for possession of newly opened lands. Encouraged by Senator David R. Atchison and other proslavery leaders, Missouri speculators, settlers, and frontiersmen who considered neighboring Kansas rightfully theirs formed secret organizations in the summer of 1854 to "assist in removing any and all emigrants" who came to Kansas under the auspices of free-state emigrant-aid societies. Shortly before the November 1854 election of a congressional delegate, Atchison, fearful that the proslavery side would lose, reminded Missourians that "when you reside within one day's journey of the Territory, and when *your peace, your quiet, and your property,* depend upon your action, you can without an exertion send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions." On election day over 1,700 Missourians crossed the border to vote, many of them well armed and only a few making any effort to prove residency. Their action insured victory for the proslavery candidate, even though the majority of bona-fide settlers reportedly opposed him. Large numbers of Missourians again crossed the border to vote in the March 1855 election for the territorial legislature. Through intimidation, force, and illegal ballot counting, the proslavery men carried the election. Free Soilers protested the fraud, but Governor Andrew H. Reeder, in the presence of armed slavery men, validated the election certificates of most proslavery candidates. Returning east to warn the Pierce administration of potential violence, Reeder later condemned "the armed force from beyond her borders" that had "invaded, conquered, and subjugated" Kansas. The legislature that met at Shawnee Mission in July expelled antislavery legislators and passed, over Reeder's vetoes,

legislation protecting slavery in the territory. In September, Cincinnati lawyer Wilson Shannon, who supported the proslavery faction, replaced Reeder as governor. On 5 September, the date of his speech, a "Free State Convention" at Big Springs repudiated the proslavery legislature, and called for a convention to meet at Topeka on 19 September to draft a state constitution. Free-state settlers ratified the Topeka constitution in December and in early 1856 set up a rival territorial government. Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union,* 2:306–11, 384–90; Potter, *Impending Crisis,* 199–204.

237.19 Henry Clay Pate] Henry Clay Pate (1832–64), a deputy U.S. marshal and captain in the Missouri militia, also acted as a correspondent for the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* during the period of violent clashes between free-state and slave-state settlers in the Kansas Territory. Born in Bedford County, Virginia, he studied at the University of Virginia before moving to Missouri. On receiving word of the Pottawatomie massacre, Pate led a band of Missourians into Kansas Territory to capture John Brown and his sons. Pate had arrested Jason Brown and John Brown, Jr., before the senior Brown assaulted the Missourian's camp at Black Jack Creek with approximately thirty followers. When Pate sought a truce under a white flag, Brown forced him at gunpoint to surrender his party. Brown offered to exchange Pate for his imprisoned sons, but U.S. cavalry troops liberated the Missourian after only a few days. In his published account of the battle, Pate accused Brown of dishonorable conduct, which the latter vehemently denied. Pate returned to Virginia in the late 1850s and subsequently served as a colonel in the Confederate army. Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, Kans., 1875), 199–201; Villard, *John Brown,* 200–08; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 143, 152–56, 159.

237.20 In this battle] Details of the "battle" of Black Jack on 2 June 1856 in the Kansas Territory remain disputed. John Brown and Samuel T. Shore combined their small free-state militia commands to confront a unit of Missouri "Border Ruffians" led by Henry Clay Pate. The two sides probably were of approximately equal size when the engagement began in the morning with the free-staters attacking Pate's camp. Perhaps a dozen men under Brown and Shore deserted during the five hours of subsequent skirmishing. Four Missourians were killed. When Pate attempted to parley under protection of a white flag, Brown instead forced his surrender at pistol point. With the pistol at Pate's back, Brown marched into the Missourians' camp and coerced the rest to surrender. Although critics charged that Brown had acted dishonorably, his victory in this battle greatly enhanced his reputation among militant abolitionist ranks. Reynolds, *John Brown,* 185–88; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 151–54; Boyer, *Legend of John Brown,* 114–15.

237.23–24 on another memorable occasion] In late August 1856 a detachment of 250 well-armed Missouri "Border Ruffians" under the command of John W. Reid was detached from an even larger proslavery force to attack the free-state settlement of Osawatomie, Kansas. In an opening skirmish on 30 August, a party of Reid's soldiers killed John Brown's son, Frederick, on the outskirts of Osawatomie. Brown displayed great personal courage while leading about forty free-staters in resisting Reid's assault, but finally had to retreat, and the settlement was burned. Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 168–71; Reynolds, *John Brown,* 199–202.

237.25 General Reid] Born near Lynchburg, Virginia, John Williams Reid (1821–81) had migrated to Missouri in 1840. Reid practiced law in Jefferson City and represented that community in the state legislature (1854–56). Elected to the U.S. Congress as a Democrat, he held his seat only from March to August 1861 and then resigned to serve in the Confederate army. After the war, Reid resumed his legal career in Kansas City, Missouri. In August 1856 Reid served as second in command under David R. Atchison of a force of approximately 500 "Border Ruffians" who invaded Kansas from Missouri to battle free-state settlers. Leading a 250-man detachment from that main body, he defeated John Brown and thirty-odd supporters at Osawatomie on 30 August 1856 and then burned that town. Reid soon retreated back to Missouri when confronted by a numerically superior free-state force from Lawrence led by James H. Lane. G. Murlin Welch, *Border Warfare in Southeast Kansas, 1856–1859* (Pleasanton, Kans., 1977), 5–7; Villard, *John Brown,* 240–47, 257; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 168–72, 176; *BDUSC* (online).

237.30 Lawrence] Contemporaries and historians have disputed the role that John Brown played in the defense of Lawrence, Kansas, in September 1856. Over 2,700 Missourians, under the command of David R. Atchison, John W. Reid, and John H. Stringfellow, advanced to the town of Franklin, on the Wakarusa River, a few miles east of Lawrence. Brown had been present in Lawrence to confer with Charles Robinson, the political leader of the territory's free-state faction, when the alarm over the Missourians' approach was sounded. Brown's earliest biographers, James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton, state that Brown played the leading role in organizing the community's defense. Later scholars credit eyewitness reports, contending that James B. Abbott was in fact the free-state commander. Brown's role was to tour the simple forts of Lawrence, encouraging the men and offering military advice as he went. Fortunately, battle never occurred on 14 September, as a large force of U.S. cavalry troops, accompanied by territorial governor John W. Geary, arrived to prevent further bloodshed. Fearing arrest, Brown immediately departed Lawrence and soon left Kansas for the East. James Redpath, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown* (Boston, 1860), 70–74; Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men* (1894; New York, 1968), 45–52; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas,* 108; Villard, *John Brown,* 256–60; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 175–76.

237.31 Wakarusa river] The Wakarusa River is in eastern Kansas at the edge of the Flint Hills and flows east to the Kansas River at Eudora. James E. Deacon and Artie L. Metcalf, "Fishes of the Wakarusa River in Kansas," *University of Kansas Publications Museum of Natural History,* 13:311 (February 1961); Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 2053.

237.32 General Jim Lane] Flamboyant politician James Henry Lane (1814–66) was the son of Amos Lane, a prominent Indiana Democratic congressman and friend of Andrew Jackson. The younger Lane studied law under his father and followed him

into Democratic party politics. After serving as a colonel of a volunteer regiment in the Mexican-American War, Lane was elected lieutenant governor of Indiana (1849–53) and then a member of the U.S. House of Representatives (1853–55). He declined to run for a second congressional term when his vote in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 generated considerable discontent among his constituents and instead relocated to the Kansas Territory. After failing to create a regular Democratic party organization in Kansas, Lane took a leading role in the free-state faction in territorial politics. He also became an important militia commander of the free-staters and in 1856 established the "Jim Lane Trail" through Iowa to circumvent a blockade by Missourians. When Kansas was admitted to the Union in 1861, the legislature elected Lane to the U.S. Senate as a Republican. Without resigning that office, he briefly fought in Union army campaigns in the West and was among the first to recruit blacks as soldiers. Loudly condemned by most Kansas Republicans for having endorsed Andrew Johnson's veto of the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, Lane became despondent and committed suicide. John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane, "The Liberator of Kansas," with Corroborative Incidents of Pioneer History,* 2d ed. (Garden City, Kans., 1897); William Elsey Connelley, *James Henry Lane: The "Grim Chieftain" of Kansas* (Topeka, Kans., 1899); Glenn Noble, *John Brown and the Jim Lane Trail* (Broken Bow, Neb., 1977), 29–31, 43–50, 54–57; *ACAB,* 3:606; *DAB,* 10:576–78.

237.34 liberated a dozen slaves] During the evening of 20–21 December 1858, John Brown and a small band of followers raided Vernon County, Missouri, from their base in Fort Snyder, Kansas Territory. Brown's party attacked two plantations and shot one slaveholder. The raiders liberated eleven slaves, including a pregnant woman who soon afterward gave birth. These slaves were hidden for a month near Osawatomie, Kansas, while Brown waited to see if the border area would ignite into general warfare. When many free-state leaders instead condemned Brown and expressed hope for continued peace with Missouri, the raiders and the liberated slaves left the territory for Iowa. Although President James Buchanan authorized a $250 reward for the capture of Brown, his party proceeded on through Chicago to Detroit, where the slaves crossed the border into Canada. Welch, *Border Warfare in Southeast Kansas,* 191–99, 208, 219–21; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 261–65.

238.18–19 divided for a time the democratic party] During the 1860 Democratic national convention in Charleston, South Carolina, an irresolvable dispute arose between the northern and southern delegates regarding the issue of slavery. Southern delegates demanded the adoption of a platform that explicitly protected slavery in new federal territories. Northern delegates instead insisted upon retaining their party's "Popular Sovereignty" policy on this issue. After a contentious vote, the northern platform position was adopted, causing many southern delegates to leave the convention in protest. Stephen A. Douglas was nominated as the presidential candidate of the now split Democratic ticket in Baltimore when the convention reconvened a month later. Meanwhile, southern delegates, in a separate rump convention also held in Baltimore, nominated former Vice President John C. Breckinridge as their candidate for president. *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, Held in 1860, at Charleston and Baltimore* (Cleveland, 1860); Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 1:30–33.

238.19 John C. Breckinridge] John Cabell Breckinridge (1821–75), of Lexington, Kentucky, was a lawyer, soldier, and Democratic politician. Educated at Centre College, Transylvania University, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton), he won election to the state legislature in 1849, to Congress in 1851, and to the vice presidency in 1856. In 1859, while still vice president, he was chosen to fill a Senate term slated to begin in March 1861. During the 1860 Democratic convention in Charleston, South Carolina, he declined to be considered a presidential candidate but did accept nomination by the anti-Douglas wing of the party that met in Baltimore in June 1860. In the general election Breckinridge received nearly 700,000 votes, running third behind Lincoln and Douglas. In his brief tenure as senator he attempted to ward off secession by urging the implementation of a sectional compromise authored by his colleague John C. Crittenden. When Union troops secured Kentucky, Breckinridge resigned from the Senate and joined both the Kentucky (Confederate) provisional government and the Confederate army, in which he rose to the rank of major general. After the war Breckinridge escaped to Cuba and lived briefly in Europe and Canada before returning to his Kentucky law practice in 1868. William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge, La., 1974); Frank H. Heck, *Proud Kentuckian: John C. Breckinridge, 1821–1875* (Lexington, Ky., 1976); *DAB,* 3:7–10.

239.4–5 William H. Seward…soft, persuasive speech] Douglass alludes to Seward's speech delivered to a crowded Senate chamber on 29 February 1860, in which he moderated his strong antislavery views, calling free states "labor states" and slave states "capital states." Seward moved away from his former "Irrepressible Conflict" position, arguing that disunion was not inevitable and that a compromise between pro- and antislavery factions could be reached. This stance outraged many abolitionists and "Irrepressibles"—supporters of Seward's former antislavery position. Many historians argue that the speech ultimately cost Seward the presidential nomination, which was decided in March in Chicago. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *William H. Seward* (New York, 1967), 217–25; John M. Taylor, *William Henry Seward: Lincoln's Right Hand* (New York, 1991), 116–20.

239.8 16th of October, 1859] Brown's party of twenty-one raiders left their base at the Kennedy Farm in Maryland at eight o'clock on the evening of 16 October 1859 and had captured the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry before midnight. Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 288–92.

239.8–9 the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers] The Potomac River flows from the Fairfax Stone in West Virginia into Chesapeake Bay, which is bordered by Virginia and Maryland. The Shenandoah River flows northward through Virginia and connects with the Potomac at the town of Harpers Ferry. Although Harpers Ferry is now located in West Virginia along the border with Maryland, this state did not separate from Virginia until 1863. Frederick Gutheim, *The Potomac*

(New York, 1949), 380; Julia Davis, *The Shenandoah* (New York, 1945), 9; Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 760.

239.19 Col. Robert E. Lee] Robert Edward Lee (1807–70) was the son of Revolutionary hero Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee and scion of one of Virginia's most distinguished families. He graduated from West Point in 1829 and throughout his military career attracted the praise of superiors, particularly for his service under Winfield Scott in the Mexican-American War. In 1859 he supervised the capture of John Brown following the failed raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. When Virginia seceded, he followed his beloved state into the Confederacy. Despite lackluster performance early in the war, Lee was given command of the main Confederate force in the Virginia theater in June 1862. From then on, Lee campaigned brilliantly, defeating federal forces often twice the size of his own and staving off Confederate defeat in the East for nearly three years. After his surrender, he returned to Richmond as a paroled prisoner of war. In September 1865 he became president of Washington College, later Washington and Lee University, in Lexington, Virginia. Lee scrupulously avoided involvement in the political controversies of Reconstruction. Emory M. Thomas, *Robert E. Lee: A Biography* (New York, 1995); Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography,* 4 vols. (New York, 1934–35); Charles Bracelen Flood, *Lee: The Last Years* (Boston, 1981); Burke Davis, *To Appomattox: Nine April Days, 1865* (New York, 1959), 96–101, 379–87; E. B. Long and Barbara Long, *The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac, 1861–1865* (Garden City, N.Y., 1971), 663–64, 670–71; *DAB,* 11:120–29.

239.26–27 Charles Town] Charles Town, Jefferson County, West Virginia, originally functioned as a small village during the late eighteenth century in what was then Virginian territory. Colonel Charles Washington, George Washington's youngest brother and the town's namesake, acquired the territory in 1770 and petitioned for the town's settlement to the Virginia General Assembly on 23 November 1786. Charlestown, as it was initially named, was officially established the following year on 7 January. Millard Kessler Bushong, *A History of Jefferson County, West Virginia* (Charles Town, W.Va., 1941), 17, 305–06; Everett B. Wilson, *Fifty Early American Towns* (New York, 1966), 278.

239.31 woe-stricken widow] The daughter of a Meadville, Pennsylvania, blacksmith, Mary Anne Day Brown (1816–84) received no formal education after her family had relocated from Granville, New York, in 1826. She married John Brown at age sixteen and bore thirteen children, seven of whom died in childhood. While most of the males of the family participated in the antislavery struggle in Kansas and later in Maryland and Virginia, she and three daughters managed the Brown farm near North Elba, New York, remaining there until 1864. Mary Brown spent her last twenty years living with several of her children in California. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown,* 497–99; Villard, *John Brown,* 19, 24–25; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 26.

239.32 North Elba] Despite efforts by the Medical College of Virginia to obtain John Brown's body for dissection and examination, Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise ordered it turned over to the widow. Mary Brown received the corpse at Harpers Ferry and transported it to the family farm at North Elba, New York, for burial. Abolitionists J. Miller McKim and Wendell Phillips accompanied Mary Brown on the trip through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, Troy, and other communities. On 8 December 1859, Brown's body was interred beside a large boulder a short distance from the farmhouse. Brown's black and white neighbors gathered as the Reverend Joshua Young of Burlington, Vermont, offered prayers, and Phillips delivered a eulogy. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom,* 131–33; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 356–58; Villard, *John Brown,* 561–62.

239.34 Adirondacks] The Adirondack Mountains are located in northeastern New York. This range extends from near the Quebec border in the north to the Mohawk Valley in the south. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 13.

240.4–5 I was speaking…National Hall, Philadelphia.] Douglass lectured on the topic of "Self-Made Men" in Philadelphia's National Hall on Tuesday evening, 18 October 1859. Located at 1229 Market Street, National Hall opened on 8 January 1856 and became a frequent site for abolitionist meetings. On 28 October 1859 the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society met at the hall to protest preparations for John Brown's execution; another meeting followed on 2 December 1859 to honor Brown on the day of his hanging. In 1873 National Hall was converted into the New Olympic Theatre, which burned to the ground on 29 January 1874. The building was never rebuilt. New York *Weekly Anglo-African,* 29 October 1859; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884,* 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1884), 2:980; Joseph Jackson, *Market Street, Philadelphia: The Most Historic Highway in America* (Philadelphia, 1918), 162–63; Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller, eds., *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790–1940* (Philadelphia, 1973), 158–59; *DAB,* 7:260–61.

240.16 Governor Wise] Henry Alexander Wise (1806–76), governor of Virginia from 1856 to 1860, graduated from Washington College in Pennsylvania, studied law under famed jurist Henry St. George Tucker, and briefly practiced law in Nashville, Tennessee, before entering Virginia politics as a Jacksonian Democrat and opponent of nullification. Serving in Congress from 1833 to 1844, he attracted considerable notoriety for his impassioned defense of slavery and southern rights. Wise switched allegiances for a time to the Whig party, supporting the Harrison-Tyler presidential ticket of 1840, and serving as the ambassador to Brazil under the Tyler administration. During the 1850s Wise, again a Democrat, successfully opposed Know-Nothingism in Virginia, arguing in part that the new party harbored antislavery sentiments. As governor, Wise reacted zealously to John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and desired particularly to implicate Douglass. He requested that President Buchanan hire two Virginia detectives as special federal agents to capture Douglass and deliver him to Virginia authorities. Even after Douglass had left the United States, Wise employed a detective "to find out the whereabouts of the Negro Frederick Douglass and keep an eye on his movements and associates." The northern press reported that a group of

prominent southerners, including Wise, had offered $50,000 for Douglass's capture. After his term as governor, Wise served as a delegate to the Washington Peace Convention of 1861 and as a general in the Confederate army. Douglass to the Editor of the Rochester *Democrat [and American],* 31 October 1859, reprinted in Montreal *Daily Transcript,* 5 November 1859; *DM,* 2:162–63 (November 1859); *Lib.,* 23 December 1859; *FDP,* 5 January 1860; Barton H. Wise, *The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia, 1806–1876* (New York, 1899); Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 180–85; idem, *Allies for Freedom,* 115; *ACAB,* 6:579–80; *DAB,* 20:423–25.

240.17–18 Samuel G. Howe] Born into one of Boston's leading families, Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–76) graduated from Brown University in 1821 and Harvard Medical School in 1824. For the next six years, Howe participated as a soldier, surgeon, and relief worker in the Greek rebellion against Turkish rule. After returning to the United States, he pioneered in the education of the blind, deaf, and insane. Howe married Julia Ward in 1843, and the two coedited the Free Soil newspaper, the Boston *Commonwealth,* in the early 1850s. His active support of the free-state movement in Kansas brought Howe into close contact with John Brown, who recruited Howe as one of the "Secret Six" who financed the raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859. After that incident, Howe wrote a public letter disclaiming any advanced knowledge of Brown's plans and fled to Canada, returning later to testify before the congressional panel investigating the raid. During the Civil War he assisted the U.S. Sanitary Commission and, at the conflict's conclusion, served on the Freedman's Inquiry Commission. In 1871 Howe traveled to Santo Domingo as one of the three members of the commission, which Douglass accompanied as secretary, charged to study the advisability of U.S. annexation of that nation. Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators,* 26; *ACAB,* 3:283–84; *NCAB,* 8:372–73; *DAB,* 9:296–97.

240.18 Frank B. Sanborn] Franklin Benjamin Sanborn (1831–1917) was one of the famous Secret Six who financed John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Son of a farmer from Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, Sanborn was educated at Phillips Exeter academy and Harvard College. After his graduation he accepted the invitation of Ralph Waldo Emerson to operate a school in Concord, Massachusetts, where he became part of the literary circle that included Bronson Alcott, William Ellery Channing, and Henry David Thoreau, all of whom became the subjects of books he wrote or edited. Sanborn met John Brown in 1857 and was converted to his plans for a violent overthrow of slavery. After Brown's capture in 1859, Sanborn initially fled to Canada to avoid testifying on the conspiracy before a U.S. Senate committee. When deputies acting for the Senate attempted to arrest him in Concord in April 1860, townspeople came to his rescue, chasing the deputies out of town and obtaining a writ of habeas corpus from Judge E. R. Hoar. Sanborn later edited the Boston *Commonwealth* (1863–67) and Springfield *Republican* (1868–72) and served the Massachusetts Board of Charities as secretary, inspector, and chairman. In addition to his works on literary figures, Sanborn wrote biographies of John Brown and Samuel Gridley Howe and published a two-volume autobiography, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1909). Otto J. Scott, *The Secret Six: John Brown and the Abolitionist Movement* (New York, 1979), 69–70, 227–29, 247–49, 296–97, 317; Robert E. Burkholder, "Franklin Benjamin Sanborn," in *The American Renaissance in New England,* ed. Joel Myerson (Detroit, 1978), 160–61; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 181–87, 314–16; *ACAB,* 5:384; *DAB,* 16:326–27.

240.20 Thomas J. Dorsey] Thomas Joshua Dorsey (1810–75), one of the leading caterers in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, was born a slave in Liberty, Maryland. In 1856 William Still, an agent for Philadelphia's Underground Railroad, helped Dorsey escape there. Abolitionist friends later raised $1,000 to purchase the fugitive's freedom. Following his emancipation he married a free woman by the name of Louise Tobias (?–1879) and established a popular dining establishment on Locust Street, which served many prominent individuals in the abolitionist movement, including Charles Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison, and Douglass. Douglass remained good friends with the Dorseys throughout their lives; in fact Mrs. Dorsey accompanied Douglass to Lincoln's second inauguration in 1865. Philadelphia *Times,* 17 October 1896; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (Philadelphia, 1899), 34; Roger Lane, *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours: On the Past and Future of the Black City in America* (New York, 1991), 2, 301; John N. Ingham and Lynne B. Feldman, *African-American Business Leaders* (Westport, Conn., 1994), 226; Randall K. Burkett, Nancy Hall Burkett, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *Black Biography, 1790–1950,* 3 vols. (Alexandria, Va., 1991), 1:364; *ANB,* 20:775–76.

240.20 John Hurn] John W. Hurn (1823–87), born in Norwich, England, was a telegraph operator in Cincinnati and later in Philadelphia. When Douglass was lecturing in Philadelphia in 1859, Hurn suppressed a telegram that ordered Douglass's arrest for complicity in the Harpers Ferry raid. Instead of delivering the telegram to the Philadelphia sheriff, Hurn alerted Douglass, who fled the city. Hurn later moved to New Jersey and became a newspaper editor. Douglass to John W. Hurn, 12 June 1882, Frederick Douglass Mss., LNArc; *FDP,* 28 April 1854; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 21 February 1895; C. S. Williams, *Williams' Cincinnati Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror; or Cincinnati Illustrated, 1853* (Cincinnati, 1853), 193, 378; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:472; Bessie Bristol Mason, "Louis Jules Gabriel Boussard Mounier," *Vineland Historical Magazine,* 23:160 (January 1938).

240.26 Walnut street wharf] Walnut Street in Philadelphia was originally named Pool Street, because Dock Creek was found at its terminus. Cope's wharf, established in 1815, was located here. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* 3:2157; Robert I. Alotta, *Street Names of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1975), 142.

240.26 Camden] Camden is a city in southwestern New Jersey on the Delaware River, across from Philadelphia. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 315–16.

240.30 Franklin Turner] Franklin Turner, a Philadelphia abolitionist, headed the Committee of Fifty that had invited Douglass to speak in that city in 1854. In 1855 Turner attended and served on the business committee at the national convention of free blacks held in Philadelphia. In 1860 Turner wrote a public letter condemning

emigration that was used by George T. Downing and Charles L. Reason at a New York City mass meeting considering Henry Highland Garnet's African Civilization Society. *Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, Held in Franklin Hall, Sixth Street, Below Arch, Philadelphia, October 16th, 17th and 18th, 1855* (Salem, N.J., 1855), 3, 8; *Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, 1853,* 46; *FDP,* 1 December 1854; *Lib.,* 4 May 1860; Bell, *Survey of the Negro Convention Movement,* 232–35.

240.35 till "all ashore" was ordered] "All ashore" is an abbreviation of the original order, "All ashore that's going ashore," a warning issued facetiously by sailors for anyone lingering too long on the boat before the gangplank was pulled up. George Davis Chase, "Sea-Terms that Have Come Ashore," *NEQ,* 14:272–91 (June 1941).

240.38 Barclay street ferry] Established in 1775, the ferry from New York City to Hoboken, New Jersey, was purchased by engineer and inventor John Stevens in 1789, who maintained the ferry in its original New York location at Vesey Street. Stevens ceased ownership of the ferry in 1791 but repurchased the lease in 1811, thereafter utilizing the ferry to experiment with his innovative steamships until 1817. Because of the crowded nature of Vesey Street, the ferry's New York location was moved to Barclay Street on 8 June 1818. John H. Morrison, *History of American Steam Navigation* (New York, 1908), 525–27; *DAB,* 17:614–16.

240.39 Hoboken] Hoboken is a city in northeastern New Jersey on the Hudson River. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 790.

240.39 Marks] Clara B. Marks, a woman of German descent, was well acquainted with both Douglass and feminist Ottilie Assing. Assing resided in Marks's home on Washington Street, Hoboken, from 1856 to 1865. Douglass often visited Marks and Assing during this period, and he stayed in touch with Marks following Assing's suicide in 1884. Clara B. Marks to Frederick Douglass, 26 October 1886, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 420–21, FD Papers, DLC; Maria Diedrich, *Love across Color Lines: Ottilie Assing and Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1999), xv, 143, 260–61.

241.8 Ottilie Assing] Ottilie Assing (1819–84) was born to Rosa Maria Antoinette Pauline Assing, a Christian, and Assur David Assing, a Jew, in Hamburg, Germany. Assing received an accelerated education from her mother and was generally described as bright and vivacious. After the death of her mother in 1840 and father in 1842, Ottilie and younger sister Ludmilla spent time with relatives, but she grew depressed and attempted suicide in 1843. After returning to Hamburg, Assing began writing reviews of local culture. In 1851 she became a correspondent for the German periodical *Morganblatt für gebildete Leser.* Assing first met Frederick Douglass when she came to America in 1855, supposedly inspired to make his acquaintance after reading *My Bondage and My Freedom.* She arrived in Rochester and interviewed him for an article that subsequently appeared in *Morganblatt.* Thereafter Assing published numerous articles about Douglass for her German readership, and also translated *My Bondage and My Freedom* into German, contributing an introduction. The two began

an intimate friendship in 1856 that lasted twenty-eight years. During that time Douglass and Assing corresponded regularly. When in the United States, Assing was a regular visitor at the Douglass home in Rochester. She was friendly with his children, although his wife, Anna Murray, did not approve of her husband's relationship. Douglass and Assing often appeared in public together, but no contemporary public speculation questioned the propriety of their relationship. Following Anna Murray Douglass's death in 1882, Assing hoped that she might become Mrs. Frederick Douglass. However, in January 1884, while Assing was in Europe, Douglass married his secretary, Helen Pitts. Becoming increasingly more ill, possibly with cancer, and despondent from Douglass's rejection, Assing committed suicide in a Paris park on 21 August 1884. She left her entire estate to Douglass. Christoph Lohmann, ed., *Radical Passion: Ottilie Assing's Reports from America and Letters to Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1999), 69, 329–62; Diedrich, *Love across Color Lines,* 7, 23, 38, 56, 184, 368, 371.

241.12 B. F. Blackall] Burton F. Blackall (c. 1833–1901), an expert electrician based in Rochester, was married to Sarah C. Blackall, a friend of Susan B. Anthony. Blackall gained a national reputation for his technical skills and worked for a number of electrical businesses, including the Gamewell Fire Alarm Company. At the time of Douglass's telegram following John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Blackall and his family lived on Alexander Street in Rochester. In 1875 the Blackalls moved to Rowley Street after purchasing a lot from Douglass's daughter, Rosetta Douglass Sprague. Throughout his lifetime Douglass remained close friends with the Blackalls, particularly their daughter Gertrude, from whom Douglass received the gold pen that he used to write *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass.* Rochester *Democrat & Chronicle,* 1 May 1901; Victoria Sandwick Schmitt, "Rochester's Frederick Douglass, Part Two," *RH,* 67:1–55 (Fall 2005).

241.29 Johnston] In a speech delivered in Washington, D.C., on 2 May 1883, Douglass recounted his connection to John Brown and his flight from authorities following the failure of the Harpers Ferry raid. In this speech Douglass acknowledged the assistance of a "Mr. Johnson" in traveling from Hoboken, New Jersey, to his Rochester home without detection. No other details survive to identify this individual. Speech File, reel 19, frames 352–63, FD Papers, DLC; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:635.

241.30 Paterson] Paterson is a city in northeastern New Jersey at the falls of the Passaic River. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 1437.

241.30 Erie railroad] The Erie Railroad was originally chartered in 1832, with its route running from south of Albany, New York, to west of Buffalo. The Erie Railroad was initially restricted to the state of New York, although it would eventually expand from Jersey City, New Jersey, to Chicago, Illinois. Edward Hungerford, *Men of Erie: A Story of Human Effort* (New York, 1946), 7, 19–20.

241.33 Lieutenant-Governor Selden] Born in Lyme, Connecticut, Henry Rogers Selden (1805–85) settled in the Rochester area in 1825 to practice law. Politically, he

began as a Democrat but became a founding member of the Republican party because of his opposition to slavery. In 1856 Selden successfully campaigned as a candidate for the lieutenant-governorship. He served as an appointed judge on the state court of appeals (1862–65) and then in the legislature. Selden was the defense attorney for Susan B. Anthony when she was prosecuted for illegally voting in the 1872 election. *ACAB,* 5:456–57.

242.5 B. J. Lossing] Benson John Lossing (1813–91), wood engraver, author, editor, and historian, was born in Beekman, New York, to parents of Dutch descent. Having received only three years of formal schooling because of his parents' deaths while he was a boy, Lossing became a wood engraver for J. A. Adams, an illustrator. In 1838 Lossing moved to New York City and edited and illustrated the weekly *Family Magazine.* In 1848 Lossing began work on what would become his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* an illustrated multivolume work that presented scenes from the American Revolution. In his lifetime, Lossing authored more than forty illustrated historical and biographical works. *ACAB,* 4:31; *DAB,* 11:421–22.

242.8–27 "[Confidential.]…Henry A. Wise."] The correspondence between Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise and President James Buchanan regarding the apprehension of Douglass apparently has not survived. Several generations of biographers of both John Brown and Douglass have relied upon the accuracy of the account of this incident as presented in *Life and Times.* Villard, *John Brown,* 529, 650n; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 314, 408n; Reynolds, *John Brown,* 342; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 200–201.

242.17 Benjamin M. Morris] Benjamin M. Morris (1819–?) was born in New Kent County, Virginia, in the town of Orchard Grove. He married Elizabeth W. Howle in 1876. Trained as a carpenter and homebuilder, Morris joined the Richmond police force in 1850 and served as constable until 1865. While a Richmond police officer, Governor Henry A. Wise charged him with the capture of fugitives from the Harpers Ferry insurrection. Although they never caught Douglass, Morris and his partner, William N. Kelley, captured John Edwin Cook and Albert Hazlett in Pennsylvania. In his later years, Morris was a trustee of the poor in Orchard Grove. 1880 U.S. Census, Virginia, New Kent County, 362; H. H. Hardesty, *Hardesty's Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia…Wayne, Lincoln and Cabell Counties, West Virginia* (New York, 1884), n.p.

242.34–245.11 "Canada West…Frederick Douglass."] Douglass accurately dates the open letter, which varies only slightly from the text published by various newspapers. New York *Herald,* 4 November 1859; Montreal *Daily Transcript,* 5 November 1859; *Lib.,* 11 November 1859.

242.36 Cook] Born in Haddam, Connecticut, John Edwin Cook (1830–59) studied for a time at Yale University and then worked as a law clerk in Brooklyn, New York. By 1855 Cook had migrated to Kansas and was among the first to enlist in Brown's plan to raid the South. Brown sent Cook ahead to live in Harpers Ferry for more than a year prior to the raid. A genial and observant young man, Cook worked as a lock tender, married a local woman, and surreptitiously gathered information about the armory and its watch patrols. Part of the rearguard during the raid, he managed to escape as far north as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, before being captured. While in jail, he wrote a public confession that implicated several of Brown's abolitionist supporters, including Douglass, whom Cook accused of failing to bring promised reinforcements for the raid. At his trial, Cook pleaded for mercy on the grounds that he had not been informed of Brown's true intentions until the time of the attack. After an unsuccessful escape attempt, he was executed on 16 December 1859. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men,* 78–79, 110, 329, 561–64; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 218–19, 251–52, 275, 286, 298, 315–16, 328; Villard, *John Brown,* 307–08, 338, 344, 408, 446–47, 570–73.

243.10–12 The lightning…of liars] In the nineteenth century electricity was commonly referred to as "lightning;" the "electric telegraph" was referred to as the "lightning telegraph," and "telegraph wires" were called "lightning wires." Thus, the term "lightning" became a colloquial reference to the telegraph, which was patented in 1837. David Paull Nickles, *Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 116; Kenneth Silverman, *Lightning Man: The Accursed Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (New York, 2003), 240, 243; Richard B. Du Boff, "The Telegraph in Nineteenth-Century America: Technology and Monopoly," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 26:4:572, 582 (October 1984).

245.9–10 All know…in November] As early as August 1859, Douglass had publicly announced his intentions to lecture in Great Britain. The newspaper notice states that he intended to depart near the beginning of September, which corroborates Douglass's claim that the Harpers Ferry insurrection had "rather delayed than hastened" his departure. Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* 23 August 1859; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 202.

246.39–247.2 I have…my house] John Brown's Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States mirrored the original Constitution of the United States but expanded citizenship to the "Proscribed and oppressed races of the United States." It also contained a number of moral provisions, such as the outlawing of "profane swearing, filthy conversation, indecent exposure of the person, or intoxication of the sexes," the obligation of all citizens to "labor in some way for the general good," and the institutionalization of the Sabbath. In 1858 William Howard Day published a version of Brown's constitution in Canada. John Brown, *Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States* (St. Catharines, Ont., 1858).

247.3 his friends from Chatham (Canada)] On the morning of 8 May 1858, at a schoolhouse in Chatham, Canada West, John Brown convened a secret convention attended by a dozen of his followers and by thirty-four blacks. The meeting framed a constitution for the revolutionary state that Brown proposed to create for liberated slaves in the Appalachian fastnesses. Article 46 of the unanimously adopted constitution denied any intention to overthrow state or federal governments or to cause the

dissolution of the Union. The delegates reassembled that evening and elected Brown military commander of the provisional government. When no one would accept the office of the president, the meeting chose a committee of fifteen headed by John Brown to perform the duties of that position. Redpath, *Public Life of Capt. John Brown,* 234–36; Villard, *John Brown,* 331–36.

247.25 Colonel Forbes] Hugh Forbes (1808–92), a British-born soldier and mercenary, graduated from Oxford University in 1823. He was commissioned in the Coldstream Guards in 1826. By 1848 Forbes was serving the Venetian Republic in the Lombard War, and later he served in Palermo, Sicily, as part of the resistance there. Sometime after the winter of 1849 he retired to the United States, and by 1857 he was allied with John Brown's abolitionist agenda. In March of that year Forbes and Brown met in New York City, and the latter hired Forbes as a drill instructor. Forbes, however, became disgruntled with Brown's leadership and financial compensation, and proposed to take command, an offer Brown was impelled to decline. Forbes then left Missouri for the East, where he sought out Douglass and others with the intention of receiving compensation for his work with Brown, threatening to reveal their plans for the Harpers Ferry raid if he was not paid. Forbes did in fact reveal plans to Massachusetts Senator Henry Wilson. Panicked, Brown's abolitionist supporters got him to return to Kansas to draw attention away from the long-planned attack on Virginia. With Brown acting as a decoy, the Forbes danger abated. However, Forbes's threats of blackmail delayed Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry by a year. Forbes eventually returned to Europe, where he served with Italian rebels led by Giuseppe Garibaldi. W. E. B. Du Bois, *John Brown* (New York, 1909), 218–19, 225; George Macaulay Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, 1848–9* (London, 1907), 52–58, 243–44; Louis Ruchames, ed., *A John Brown Reader* (New York, 1959), 27; W. A. Phillips, "Three Interviews with Old John Brown," in ibid., 210; Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators,* 132–35, 160–80.

248.5–6 Forbes had told…officials at Washington] Angry at not receiving funds promised him for assisting John Brown in training his raiders, Hugh Forbes threatened to expose the plot. In spring 1858 Forbes went to Washington, D.C., and provided some details of Brown's intentions to Republican politicians, including William H. Seward and Henry Wilson. To divert suspicion Brown returned to Kansas rather than launch preparations for his assault on Harpers Ferry. Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 248–50; Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators,* 160–64.

248.5–6 Horace Greeley] Horace Greeley (1811–72), journalist, reformer, and Republican politician, was the founder and lifelong editor of the New York *Tribune.* Born in Amherst, New Hampshire, Greeley moved to New York City in 1831 and became coeditor of a small literary periodical in 1834. With the sponsorship of William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed, Greeley soon entered the field of political journalism, editing Whig campaign weeklies in 1838 and again in 1840. The next year he launched the *Tribune,* which quickly outstripped its local competitors and attained a large circulation throughout the North. In addition to promoting a panoply of social

causes ranging from Fourierism to the abolition of capital punishment, the *Tribune* under Greeley became the leading editorial voice of the Republican party during the 1850s. Openly hostile to abolitionism during the early 1840s, Greeley grew steadily more radical on the slavery issue, but his racial attitudes mirrored the ambivalence of many northern free-labor spokesmen. Greeley felt that blacks deserved legal equality and a fair chance to compete in the marketplace, but he doubted that African Americans as a group were capable of taking full advantage of such opportunities. Thus, during the 1840s and 1850s Greeley worked to extend equal suffrage to New York blacks while simultaneously accepting that they were an "indolent, improvident, servile, and licentious" race incapable of achieving social equality with whites. In his *Recollections* Greeley claims to have rejected colonization during the mid-1830s, but in fact he gave periodic support to emigrationist schemes throughout the antebellum era, and clashed repeatedly with Frederick Douglass, James McCune Smith, and other black leaders over the issue. Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868); Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley: Nineteenth-Century Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1953); Ralph Ray Fahrney, *Horace Greeley and the "Tribune" in the Civil War* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1936); Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men,* 262–63, 297–300; *DAB,* 7:528–34.

248.13 "Shields Green."] Born Esau Brown (c. 1834–59), Shields Green had escaped by boat from slavery in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1856. Green stopped briefly in Rochester before crossing over to Canada, where he worked for two years as a waiter and house servant. In 1858 Green returned to Rochester to conduct a clothes cleaning business and there was introduced by Frederick Douglass to John Brown. When Brown invited Douglass to confer with him in Chambersburg, he specifically requested that Green also be present. Unlike Douglass, Green decided to join Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. He played an active role in the fighting but was accused of cowardice by his captors for attempting to escape at the very end by pretending to be one of the captured slaves. Green was tried for murder and for fomenting slave insurrection and executed on 19 December 1859. Despite abolitionist efforts to obtain his body, students at the Winchester Medical College dissected it. Quarles, *Allies for Freedom,* 76–78, 85–86, 101, 105, 109–10, 137; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 224, 282–83, 327–28, 338.

248.18 "stuff" Green "was made of,"] Paraphrases *The Tempest,* sc. 8, lines 1612–13.

248.24 Chambersburg, Penn.] Chambersburg is a market town in southern Pennsylvania in the Cumberland Valley. It is located nearly sixty miles north of Harpers Ferry. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 366.

248.24 Kagi] Son of a blacksmith in Bristolville, Ohio, John Henri Kagi (1835–59) had witnessed slavery at first hand while a schoolteacher in Hawkinstown, Virginia. Dismissed from that post for expressing antislavery sentiments, Kagi traveled to Nebraska in 1855 and on to Kansas in 1856, where he worked irregularly as a newspaper reporter. He joined free-state militia units in Kansas and fought under

James Montgomery, Aaron D. Stevens, and eventually John Brown. An early convert to Brown's plan to liberate slaves, Kagi accompanied Brown to the Chatham, Canada West, convention and was designated secretary of war under the Provisional Constitution drawn up there. Kagi supported Brown's decision to attack Harpers Ferry but always maintained that the raiders should then move off rapidly into the mountains. During the occupation of Harpers Ferry, Kagi unsuccessfully implored Brown to evacuate before becoming completely surrounded. Rather than surrender, he died as he was leading an isolated party of raiders in a doomed escape attempt. John W. Wayland, *John Kagi and John Brown* (Strasburg, Va., 1961); Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 220, 246, 266–68, 280, 290–96; Noble, *John Brown,* 60–66, 80, 93–97; Villard, *John Brown,* 679.

248.29–30 James Gloucester and his wife] Reverend James Newton Gloucester (1818–90) and his wife, Elizabeth A. Gloucester (1820–83), were friends of Douglass and notable leaders of the African American community in New York. James grew up in Philadelphia, entered the Presbyterian clergy, and eventually led a congregation in Brooklyn's black community. Along with Elizabeth, a native of Richmond, Virginia, who owned and operated a furniture store in Brooklyn, Gloucester was involved in philanthropic causes and the black national convention movement. He supported John Brown's attempted raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859. During the Civil War he served as president of the American Freedmen's Friend Society, which offered aid to black residents of Brooklyn. 1870 U.S. Census, New York, Kings County, 265; *The New York Supplement: Containing the Decisions of the Intermediate and Lower Courts of Record of New York State,* 300 vols. (St. Paul, Minn., 1888–1938), 15:899–900; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 4:379–81.

248.36 Henry Watson] Born in Maryland, Henry Watson (c. 1812–?), was a free black barber in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania in the 1850s. He was an Underground Railroad operator and assisted in the preparations for John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry in 1859. Around 1865 Watson and his wife, Eliza, moved to Elyria, Ohio, where Watson became a day laborer. 1860 U.S. Census, Pennsylvania, Franklin County, 185; 1870 U.S. Census, Ohio, Lorain County, 458; 1880 U.S. Census, Ohio, Lorain County, 432; Henry P. Organ, "John Brown, Frederick Douglass, and Shields Green," in *John Brown Mysteries: Allies for Freedom,* ed. Jean Libby (Missoula, Mont., 1999), 94–95.

250.27–29 have been assailed…about their criticisms] Douglass probably alludes to published criticism made by black abolitionist minister J. Sella Martin of his failure to join John Brown at Harpers Ferry and his subsequent flight abroad. New York *Weekly Anglo-African,* 31 December 1859; Quarles, *Allies for Freedom,* 114.

251.4 Jeremiah Anderson, one of Brown's men] Douglass confused two members of John Brown's raiding party. Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson (1833–59) had been born in Indiana and worked at a number of trades in Illinois and Iowa. In 1857 he migrated to Kansas and soon enlisted in the free-state militia under the command of James Montgomery. He joined Brown's slave-liberating raid on Missouri and followed him east to participate in the Harpers Ferry raid. He was killed by U.S. Marines assaulting the raiders' last stronghold. Oliver Perry Anderson (1830–72) was a free black born in West Fallowfield, Pennsylvania. He had migrated to Canada where he became a printer. He enlisted in Brown's party at the time of the 1858 convention in Chatham, Canada West. Anderson escaped capture after the failure of the raid on Harpers Ferry. Seeking sanctuary in Canada, he wrote *A Voice from Harpers Ferry,* detailing his account of the raid. Anderson served in the Union army and then resided in Washington, D.C. Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 243, 246, 261, 298–300; Villard, *John Brown,* 681, 685.

251.17 12th of November, 1859] According to the New York *Herald,* the steamship *Nova Scotian* left from Quebec for Liverpool on the morning of 12 November 1859, briefly anchoring in Kamouraska the same evening because of a snowstorm. New York *Herald,* 15 November 1859.

251.18 Captain Borland] The Glasgow *Herald* identifies the captain of the *Nova Scotian* as Borland. Douglass does not mention the steamship captain's name in his letter dated 18 November 1859 to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Glasgow *Herald,* 25 November 1859; *FDP,* 16 December 1859.

251.18 Allan line] Founded in 1819 by Captain Alexander Allan (1780–1854), the Allan Line became known as the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company after the latter's formation in 1854 by Alexander's son Sir Hugh Allan (1810–82), a Scottish immigrant who moved to Montreal in 1826 to enter the shipping business. The company gained a reputation for its innovatively designed steamships, which included the *Canadian,* the *North American,* the *Anglo-Saxon,* and the *Nova Scotian,* and in 1856 the company was contracted by the Canadian government to deliver mail from Montreal to Liverpool. As a result of increasing financial difficulties around the turn of the century, the Allan Line was sold to the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1909. Arthur J. Maginnis, *The Atlantic Ferry: Its Ships, Men, and Working,* 3d ed. (New York, 1900), 72–73, 210; James H. Marsh, *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* 3d ed. (Toronto, 2000), 65–66.

251.21–23 in Canada…to Virginia] On 9 August 1842 the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was signed in Washington, which enforced a number of extradition laws between the U.S. and the British Canadian colonies. According to Article X of the treaty, officers in both regions were granted the authority to arrest individuals charged with murder, assault, piracy, arson, or robbery. Hugh Taylor Gordon, *The Treaty of Washington, Concluded August 9, 1842, by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton* (Berkeley, Calif., 1908), 1, 76–77.

252.4 On reaching Liverpool] The *Nova Scotian* arrived at Liverpool on 24 November 1859, after fog detained the steamship at the mouth of the River Mersey on the previous morning. London *Daily News,* 25 November 1859.

252.12–13 publicly declared that…at any cost."] A paraphrase of a public address made by Governor Henry A. Wise. The speech was reprinted in *FDP,* 5 January 1860.

252.14–15 George M. Dallas] George Mifflin Dallas (1792–1864), Philadelphia-born lawyer and Democratic politician, served as vice president (1845–49) under

James Polk. Other political offices Dallas held during his public career included U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (1829–31), U.S. senator (1831–33), Pennsylvania attorney general (1833–35), and U.S. minister to Russia (1837–39). Although retired to private law practice in 1849, he expressed his support for the Compromise of 1850 and its provisions for the return of fugitive slaves in a letter to Guy M. Bryan published in the New York *Times,* 13 October 1851. Denouncing "the self-slaughter of intermeddling with the institutions and rights exclusively of state creation, state responsibility, and state control," Dallas observed that "the act for the extradition of fugitives is the pretext for protracted and persevering war upon the guarantees of the Constitution." As a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1852, Dallas was asked whether he would enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, and he answered unequivocally, "Yes, I would!" Dallas held the post of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the British Court of St. James during James Buchanan's presidency. No record survives of Douglass's approach to him for a passport during his second visit to the British Isles in the winter and spring of 1860. George Mifflin Dallas to Guy M. Bryan, 25 July 1851, in New York *Daily Times,* 13 October 1851; New York *Daily Times,* 31 May 1852; John M. Belohlavek, *George Mifflin Dallas: Jacksonian Patrician* (University Park, Pa., 1977), 138–43; *NCAB,* 6:268; *DAB,* 5:38–39; *BDUSC* (online).

252.16 Napoleon III] Born Louis-Napoleon, Napoleon III (1808–73) was the nephew of Napoleon I and son of Napoleon I's brother, Louis, King of Holland, and Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of Napoleon I's first wife, Josephine. After the death of his older brother and of the only son of Napoleon I, he came to think of himself as the heir to the Napoleonic regime. He was elected president of the Second Republic of France in December 1848 and declared himself emperor in December 1852. His reign was marked by a volatile relationship with Britain, which was tied to an assassination attempt in Paris on 14 January 1858. Orchestrated by Dr. Simon Bernard, a French exile in London, and attempted by the Italian Felice Orsini, two unnamed Italians, and one Spaniard, the assassins threw explosive bombs at the imperial coach on the rue Lepelletier. Napoleon III was deposed in 1870 after leading his country to defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and died in exile in England. Roman Golicz, "Napoleon III, Lord Palmerston and the Entente Cordiale," *History Today,* 50:10–17 (December 2000); Roger Price, "Napoleon III," *History Review,* 45:14–18 (March 2003).

252.25–26 that I was not a citizen of the United States] In the U.S. Supreme Court decision of the 1857 *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney delivered the opinion that blacks, free as well as slaves, could never be U.S. citizens. John S. Vishneski III, "What the Court Decided in Dred Scott v. Sandford," *American Journal of Legal History,* 32:373–90 (October 1988).

252.27 French minister at London] The French minister at London at the time of Douglass's visit was Jean Gilbert Victor Fialin (1808–72), comte and later duc de Persigny. A committed Bonapartist, he held various high governmental posts under Napoleon III before falling out of favor in 1863. Contemporary newspaper accounts note that in fact the French consul at Newcastle, M. de Pianelli, provided Douglass with a passport. Newcastle *Courant,* 3 February 1860; New York *Times,* 1 March 1860; London *Morning Chronicle,* 5 March 1860; Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 24 April 1860; Clement Pascal, *Persigny: The Man Who Invented Napoleon III* (Paris, 2006).

252.34 in speaking on slavery, and other subjects] After arriving in Liverpool on 24 November 1859, Douglass stationed himself in Halifax, England, at the home of Julia Griffiths Crofts. While in the British Isles, Douglass delivered lectures on slavery, John Brown, upward mobility, British racial attitudes, and divisions within the antislavery movement. Traveling from Halifax Douglass spoke all around England, including several engagements at Mechanics' Hall in Halifax, the Leeds Music Hall, the Wakefield Corn Exchange, and the Sheffield Temperance Hall. He then journeyed to Scotland, where he lectured to such antislavery groups such as the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society in Edinburgh and the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies of Falkirk, Dalkeith, Montrose, and Dundee. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:xxx–xxxii, 276, 289, 312, 323, 334.

253.3 death of my beloved daughter Annie] Douglass's younger daughter, Annie, died in Rochester, New York, on 13 March 1860, less than two weeks before her eleventh birthday. *DM,* 2:243–44 (April 1861).

253.6 first outgoing steamer for Portland, Maine] In March 1860 Douglass's most likely transatlantic route was the Allan Line from Liverpool to Portland, which docked in Montreal in the summer, but in Portland when the St. Lawrence was icebound during the winter and early spring. George Henry Preble, *A Chronological History of the Origin and Development of Steam Navigation* (Philadelphia, 1883), 390–91.

253.14 Emerson's prediction] In a lecture titled "Courage," delivered to the Parker Fraternity in Boston on 8 November 1859, Emerson said that John Brown's execution would "make the gallows glorious, like the cross." George Willis Cooke, *Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Life, Writings, and Philosophy* (Boston, 1882), 140.

253.17 John Brown song] When first published in 1861 by Oliver Ditson, the well-known Civil War ballad "John Brown's Body" was given the title "Glory, Hallelujah." Though possibly the same tune, "Old John Brown" was named by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson as a popular song in his black regiment in South Carolina. "March On" was a slave folk song that also became popular among black Union army troops. "Blow Ye, the Trumpet Blow," also known as "The Year of Jubilee," was another widely sung hymn at the time of emancipation. Joshua Leavitt, *Companion to the Christian Lyre* (New York, 1833), 139–40; William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison, *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867; New York, 1951), 3; Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States* (1953; New York, 1968), 118–19, 134, 158; David Ewen, ed., *American Popular Songs: From the Revolutionary War to the Present* (New York, 1966), 204.

253.25–26 neither "principalities nor…things to come,"] Rom. 8:38–39.

253.32–33 an investigating committee was appointed by Congress] The U.S.

Senate created a special five-member committee, chaired by Virginian James Murray Mason, to investigate the extent of the conspiracy supporting John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. From late January through early March, the committee interrogated witnesses about their prior knowledge of Brown's plot. Some subpoenaed witnesses, such as Gerrit Smith, James Redpath, and John Brown, Jr., refused to appear before the committee. Two members of the Secret Six, Samuel Gridley Howe and George Luther Stearns, appeared but gave misleading or ambiguous answers to the committee's questions. The Mason committee ultimately failed to document any criminal connection between the raid and anyone not physically present at Harpers Ferry. Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators,* 245–61; Villard, *John Brown,* 533–35, 580–83.

253.35 Thaddeus Hyatt] A lawyer by training, an inventor, engineer, and entrepreneur by trade, and an abolitionist by practice, Thaddeus Hyatt (1816–1901) was born in New Jersey, the son of a schoolmaster. In the 1840s he invented a type of "illuminated sidewalk grating," which was the first of its kind used in cities. The grating was a nonskid surface that allowed light and fresh air to reach the basements of buildings, and the invention made him a fortune, allowing him to pursue and finance his activities in abolition and other reforms. Hyatt moved to Kansas in the 1850s, and the town of Hyatt in Anderson County, Kansas, is named for him. In 1856 while the president of the National Kansas Committee, Hyatt became acquainted with John Brown. This association ultimately led to Hyatt's summons to testify before a U.S. Senate committee investigating the conspiracy behind Harpers Ferry. Hyatt challenged the constitutionality of the subcommittee's power to compel the testimony of a private citizen, and spent several months in jail for his civil disobedience until the subcommittee was dissolved without having heard Hyatt's testimony. Howard Newlon, Jr., ed., *A Selection of Historic American Papers on Concrete, 1876–1926* (Detroit, 1976), 51; Edgar Langsdorf, "Thaddeus Hyatt in Washington Jail," *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* 9:227–39 (August 1940).

254.29 to labor for the election of a man] Douglass's first speech after returning from England, delivered on 1 August 1860 in Rochester, advocated that abolitionists vote for presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party. Although he knew the Republicans were not completely aligned with abolitionist sentiment, he realized their political momentum was enough to win the White House, and so endorsed Lincoln. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:366–87; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 208.

255.1 The presidential canvass of 1860 was three sided] Although Douglass mentions only three candidates, four received electoral votes on election day: Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Breckinridge, and John Bell. Douglas and Breckinridge represented divided factions of the Democratic party, Bell was the nominee for the Constitutional Union party, and Lincoln the nominee of the Republicans. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States: From the Compromise of 1850 to the End of the Roosevelt Administration,* 9 vols. (New York, 1886–1929), 2:396–433.

255.27–32 among slaveholders…your interests."] Douglass paraphrases Stephen Douglas's general belief in the principle of popular sovereignty. Many of his speeches included remarks such as this. In his speech in Chicago on 9 July 1858, while debating Abraham Lincoln in their race for the U.S. Senate, Douglas stated, "If there is any one principle dearer and more sacred than all others in free governments, it is that which asserts the exclusive right of a free people to form and adopt their own fundamental law, and to manage and regulate their own internal affairs and domestic institutions." Robert W. Johannsen, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (New York, 1965), 22.

255.32–33 he could say…in the territory,"] Abraham Lincoln frequently stated, as during the 1858 debate in Alton, Illinois, that Stephen Douglas "don't care whether it [slavery] is voted up or voted down in the Territories." Douglas believed strongly in the idea of popular sovereignty and thought territories as well as states should have the right to choose whether they would be slaveholding or not. Douglas declared that "the people of a state or territory must be allowed to decide for themselves whether it [slavery] is a good or an evil; their decision should be made without interference or intervention from the outside. The existence of slavery depended upon a variety of social, economic, and geographic factors that varied from one section to another." Lincoln pointed out Douglas's lack of a firm commitment to either side of the slavery issue throughout their seven debates, in order to emphasize his own beliefs. Robert W. Johannsen, *The Frontier, the Union, and Stephen A. Douglas* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), 192; idem, *Lincoln-Douglas Debates,* 319.

256.15–17 they would proceed…of Abraham Lincoln] Threats of southern secession stemmed back to the early nineteenth century, with South Carolina being one of the first states to consider withdrawing from the Union during the 1832 Nullification Crisis, and increased as slavery expansion became a prominent issue over the course of the Mexican-American War. Although the Compromise of 1850 alleviated some sectional conflict, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 and the rising prominence of antiextensionist Republicans began to persuade many southerners that secession was the only option to protect slavery, their primary labor source, from eradication. Such sentiments only intensified following John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 and the nomination for presidency of the so-called "Black Republican," Abraham Lincoln, in 1860. Fearing their loss of executive power and the consequential destruction of the southern economy if Lincoln was elected, southern politicians—particularly from Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina—increasingly began to warn northerners that a Republican victory would result in the dissolution of the Union. Within a matter of weeks following Lincoln's win in November 1860, these threats were put into action: South Carolina's U.S. senators resigned from Congress, and seven southern states organized conventions to consider their withdrawal from the Union. By February of the following year all five of the Gulf Coast states, along with South Carolina and Georgia, had seceded, with four others eventually to follow. Roger L. Ransom, *Conflict and Compromise: The Political Economy of Slavery, Emancipation, and the American*

Civil War (New York, 1989), 164–65; Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1950), 5–7, 13, 136; Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 604–06.

256.35 the triumphant election of Abraham Lincoln.] The 1860 election featured four presidential candidates: Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, John Bell, and John C. Breckinridge. On 6 November 1860 Lincoln won with 180 electoral votes, while Douglas received twelve, Breckinridge seventy-two, and Bell thirty-nine. In the North, Lincoln won easily, carrying every free state except New Jersey, whose electoral votes were split between him and Douglas. He also won the popular vote, gaining 1,857,610 votes, with Douglas, the next closest contender, winning 1,291,574. Rhodes, *History of the United States,* 2:456–57.

257.9 solemnly sworn to "support, defend, and maintain"] A paraphrase of the oath of office taken by the president, the wording of which is prescribed in the U.S. Constitution: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." U.S. Constitution, art. 2, sec. 1.

257.20–32 "each northern state…of the Union."] With minor exceptions, Douglass accurately quotes the statement issued by the Richmond *Enquirer.* Northern newspapers, such as the New York *Herald,* immediately republished it. Richmond *Enquirer,* 20 November 1860; New York *Herald,* 20 November 1860; Bangor *Daily Whig and Courier,* 8 December 1860.

258.17–18 most of the northern legislatures repealed their personal liberty bills] Presuming that all persons were born free, personal liberty laws passed by many northern states provided various legal means to ensure that free blacks and alleged slaves could not be placed in bondage except by due process of law. In their agitation for secession during the winter of 1860–61, southern disunionists frequently cited these laws as evidence of violations of the South's constitutional rights. Northern Democrats and other conservatives, including a few Republicans, began efforts to repeal the laws to placate the slaveholders. Other Republicans, however, such as Governor Austin Blair of Michigan and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, were vocal in their defense of laws to protect the rights of blacks accused of being fugitive slaves. Abolitionists also joined in the campaign to defend the personal liberty laws by holding public meetings, signing petitions, and testifying before legislative committees. The flurry of activity for and against the laws had negligible results. Although many resolutions were debated in Congress to request the northern states to repeal all legislation in conflict with the federal Fugitive Slave Act, the House and Senate were unable to agree on any version. In the end, only Rhode Island repealed its personal liberty law, and Massachusetts slightly modified its own version. *Lib.,* 8, 22 February 1861; *NASS,* 9 February 1861; *DM,* 3:420 (March 1861); Thomas D. Morris, *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780–1861* (Baltimore, 1974), 199–218; Normal L. Rosenberg, "Personal Liberty Laws and Sectional Crisis, 1850–1861," *CWH,* 17:25–44 (March 1971).

258.31–33 in 1835…was revived] From its inception, abolitionism faced criticism and, at times, violent protest. Churches, politicians, the press, and mobs condemned it on grounds that it threatened the stability of the Union. Boston, in particular, harbored strong antiabolition sentiments, which in 1835 erupted into violence against Garrison and his cohorts. A few weeks after a well-publicized abolitionist meeting at Faneuil Hall on 26 September 1835, Garrison's printing press was broken up and burned, while Garrison himself was attacked. Throughout the North, more attacks on abolitionists followed, but the excessive actions of their opponents ultimately converted more to the abolitionist cause. Hilary Abner Herbert, *The Abolition Crusade and Its Consequences: Four Periods of American History* (New York, 1912), 67–70, 84–90; Stewart, *Holy Warriors,* 65–73.

258.34–36 With others, I…of that city] In November 1860 James Redpath, secretary of Boston's "John Brown Anniversary Committee," issued a call for a full day of meetings that would both commemorate the first anniversary of Brown's death and address the question "How can American Slavery be Abolished?" The committee invited Douglass to be one of the featured speakers. Although the city's business elite, who had strong commercial ties with the South, denounced the holding of such an "anti-Southern" meeting so soon after Lincoln's election, no one expected public disorder when the abolitionists gathered. The first session convened at Tremont Temple shortly after 10:00 a.m. on 3 December 1860. "The attendance was then at the opening," reported the New York *Daily Tribune,* "and mostly composed of colored people, but soon the body of the hall began to fill up." Among the spectators was a hostile element of several hundred men that the New York *Daily Tribune* described as "a diversified mob, composed chiefly of North End roughs and Beacon street aristocrats" and that the *Liberator* labeled as Constitutional Union party supporters "with a sprinkling of the Custom House demon-ocracy." This "gentlemen's mob…of the 'DOLLAR STAMP,'" as Douglass called it, "well dressed, well conditioned [and] well looking," undertook to wrest control of the meeting from the smaller number of abolitionists by electing two of its own members, Richard S. Fay and James Murray Howe, as chairmen. Although the antiabolitionists attempted to silence him, Douglass spoke repeatedly. At one point, according to the New York *Daily Tribune,* he actually fought his way to the rostrum "like a trained pugilist." After three hours of heckling, skirmishing, and acrimonious debate, the Boston police cleared the hall on orders of the mayor. Douglass, Redpath, J. Sella Martin, Franklin Sanborn, and the other abolitionists, forced to cancel their afternoon meeting, reconvened that evening at Martin's Joy Street Baptist Church. *Lib.,* 23, 30 November, 14, 28 December 1860; Boston *Herald,* 3 December 1860; New York *Daily Tribune,* 4, 7 December 1860; New York *Times,* 4 December 1860; *NASS,* 8 December 1860; *DM,* 3:389–95 (January 1861).

259.9–10 Charles Francis Adams] The third son of John Quincy and Louisa Catherine Adams, Charles Francis Adams (1807–86) was born in Boston but spent much of his childhood in St. Petersburg, Russia, where his father was the U.S. ambas-

sador. After returning to the United States, Adams graduated from Harvard College in 1825 and studied law in the office of Daniel Webster. Entering state politics, he served in the Massachusetts house (1841–43) and senate (1844–45). In 1845 Adams assumed the editorship of the Boston *Whig,* and three years later, as a result of his role in launching the Free Soil party, received its nomination as Martin Van Buren's vice-presidential running mate. Adams served a term in Congress (1859–61) as a Republican before accepting an appointment from President Abraham Lincoln to become U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James. Returning from his diplomatic post in May 1868, Adams retired from public life to edit the papers of his father and grandfather. Martin Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807–1886* (Boston, 1961); *NCAB,* 8:351–53; *DAB,* 1:48–52.

259.10 Henry B. Anthony] Henry Bowen Anthony (1815–84) was born in Coventry, Rhode Island. In 1838 he became the editor of the Providence *Journal* and soon was a partner in the firm that controlled it. As editor of the *Journal,* Anthony placed it firmly on the side of the Whig party. The Whigs elected him governor in 1849. Anthony gained a seat in the U.S. Senate as a Republican in 1858, eventually serving four terms. He initially favored compromise with secessionists to keep the Union together, but supported Lincoln during the war. During Reconstruction, Bowen voted to impeach Andrew Johnson. *DAB,* 2:81; *ANB,* 2:554; *BDUSC* (online).

259.29 Iverson of Georgia] Senator Alfred Iverson of Georgia (1798–1873), a lawyer and state Democratic party leader. In an 1859 speech, Iverson asserted that all possibility of compromise between southern and northern states had passed and that if slavery was not accorded full protection in the territories, the South should secede to form a separate nation. The speech gained him notoriety but also branded him a radical, ruining his chances for reelection. After an unsuccessful bid to become a Confederate senator during the Civil War, Iverson retired from public life. Charleston *Mercury,* 22 July 1859; *DAB,* 9:517–18; *BDUSC* (online).

259.38 "History of American Conflict," Vol. II, by Horace Greeley] Douglass cites the second volume of Horace Greeley's historical account of the Civil War; however, it was the first volume that dealt with the war's causes, in particular the slavery question, while the second dealt almost exclusively with the military conduct of the war. Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860–'64,* 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1864–66).

260.18–19 I said] Douglass's original account of this speech, designed to pressure President Abraham Lincoln into adopting emancipation as a war goal, is in *DM,* 4:624–26 (April 1862).

260.34 a bubble on the wave] Douglass quotes from a Methodist hymn: "What then is he whose scorn I dread/ Whose wrath or hate makes me afraid?/ A man! An heir of death! a slave to sin!/ a bubble on the wave!" John Wesley, *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (London, 1820), 276.

260.34–35 a nine days' wonder] A phenomenon that attracts attention for a brief moment before it is forgotten may be described as "a nine days'" or "nine nights'" wonder. The expression appears in English literature as early as c. 1325 in *Harley Lyrics.* Chaucer employs this idea in *Troilus and Criseyde,* Book IV, line 588 (c. 1385); as does Shakespeare in *As You Like It,* sc. 12, lines 1315–16; *3 Henry VI,* sc. 12, line 1500, also alludes to the concept. Other literary works Douglass may have read also utilize the expression, which Douglass might have encountered in Byron's *Don Juan,* Canto 1, lines 1502–03 (1818). Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 972.

261.1–2 Even the capture…our ships] On 9 January 1861 the merchant vessel *Star of the West,* carrying supplies and 250 troops, attempted to enter the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, to reinforce the garrison at Fort Sumter. An artillery battery manned by troops for the three-week-old "independent state" of South Carolina fired on the Union ship. Though struck only once, the *Star of the West* retreated from the harbor and returned to New York City. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln,* 2 vols. (New York, 1950), 2:379–80; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 22–24.

261.5–6 loyal soldiers…Baltimore] On 19 April 1861 the first regiment to respond to Lincoln's call for volunteers, the Sixth Massachusetts, had to change trains in Baltimore while en route to Washington. When a mob of pro-Confederate sympathizers attempted to block the troops' movement, a riot erupted. Four soldiers and at least nine civilians were killed before the soldiers were able to move on to Washington. Other northern regiments heading to the capital were temporarily redirected through Annapolis, Maryland. On 27 April Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus along the Philadelphia-to-Washington line of communication. By late April, Fort McHenry was heavily garrisoned, and soon afterward Union troops under Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler restored railroad traffic through Baltimore. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union,* 4 vols. (New York, 1959–71), 1:80–87; Mark Mayo Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary,* rev. ed. (1959; New York, 1988), 42; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 62–67.

261.13–14 Fort Sumter] On 20 November 1860 Colonel Robert Anderson assumed command of the U.S. Army troops in Charleston and concentrated them at Fort Sumter in the center of the city's harbor after South Carolina's secession on 20 December. Southern forces resisted all efforts by the federal government to reinforce the Fort Sumter garrison. Lincoln's dispatch of a small flotilla to resupply the fort forced the crisis at Fort Sumter. Anderson surrendered the fort to the Confederates on 14 April 1861 after withstanding thirty-four hours of artillery bombardment from batteries lining the harbor. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary,* 15, 299–300.

261.17–18 'Peace in sixty…Secretary of State] Contemporary accounts agree that Secretary of State William Henry Seward, often spoke this phrase during the secession crisis, ridiculing the idea of a serious civil war. Alexander K. McClure, *Colonel Alexander K. McClure's Recollections of Half a Century* (Salem, Mass., 1902), 214.

261.19 no disposition to fight] During the winter of 1860–61 the North generally

adopted a Fabian policy of nonintervention in response to the South's increasingly secessionist rhetoric. Believing such threats to be merely a bluff motivated by the slaveholders' desire to intimidate Republicans, many northerners preferred to take a watchful political stance in hope that the South would eventually calm down and reconsider its call for disunion. Northern newspapers, such as the Boston *Daily Journal,* the Springfield (Mass.) *Daily Republican,* and the New York *Herald,* typically reflected their readers' cautious stance on a federal government response to secession, with a reporter from an 11 November 1860 issue of the *Herald* even going so far as to suggest that secession "has no defenders" and that "the really great minds of the South" did not truly want to leave the Union at all. New York *Herald,* 11 November 1860; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), 248–49; Stampp, *And the War Came,* 8–11, 15.

261.24 marshaling savage Indians to join them in the slaughter] During the early stages of the Civil War, the Confederacy attempted to foster alliances with several Native American tribes. In early 1861 Jefferson Davis appointed Brigadier General Albert G. Pike to serve as commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes—a confederation made up of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. Although a considerable number of Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles were reluctant to join the Confederacy, by the fall of 1861 Pike signed treaties with 2,500 Native Americans from among the five tribes, resulting in the formation of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, the First and Second Cherokee Mounted Rifles, and the First Creek. Pike also gained recruits from various "wild" tribes, including the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and Kickapoos. These alliances initially repelled many northerners, who likened such efforts to Britain's similar treaties with Native Americans during the Revolutionary War. Washington (D.C.) *Daily National Intelligencer,* 2 September 1861; Fred W. Allsopp, *The Life Story of Albert Pike* (Little Rock, Ark., 1920), 91; Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (1939; Norman, Okla., 1995), 98–99; William L. Shea and Earl J. Hess, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 24–25; Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, "Introduction," in *The American Indian in the Civil War, 1862–1865,* ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Lincoln, Neb., 1992), 1–2; *ANB,* 17:510–12.

261.34 Floyd] The son of Virginia governor John Floyd, John Buchannan Floyd (1807–63) practiced law after graduating from the College of South Carolina. The younger Floyd entered politics as a states' rights Democrat and served in the Virginia legislature before becoming governor (1849–52). In 1857 President Buchannan selected Floyd to be his secretary of war. During the secession crisis, he resigned when Buchanan refused to order the federal garrison at Charleston, South Carolina, to evacuate Fort Sumter and return to the less defensible Fort Moultrie. In February 1861 Floyd was accused of having transferred large quantities of arms and ammunition from northern to southern arsenals in anticipation of secession. He returned to

Washington, testified before a House of Representatives committee investigating the charges, and eventually was exonerated of any treasonous intentions. Floyd served as a Confederate brigadier general but was removed from all commands after his precipitate surrender of Fort Donelson, Tennessee, in February 1862. Philip Shriver Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park, Pa., 1962), 377–80, 412, 418; Smith, *Presidency of James Buchanan,* 99, 179–80, 186; *ACAB,* 2:487–88; *NCAB,* 7:7; *DAB,* 6:482–83.

261.35 Cobb] Howell Cobb (1815–68), born into a wealthy Georgia planter family, graduated from the University of Georgia and practiced law briefly. A Democrat from a largely nonslaveholding district, Cobb won election to Congress in 1842 and served there at various times until his appointment as secretary of the Treasury by Buchanan in 1857. A supporter of the Compromise of 1850 and briefly a member of the Constitutional Union party while Georgia's governor in the early 1850s, Cobb was chastened by defeat in an 1854 senatorial election and subsequently moved toward a prosouthern and ultimately secessionist stance. Douglass alludes to the widely circulated accusation that Howell Cobb, while serving as Buchanan's secretary of the Treasury, deliberately bankrupted the federal government's finances in anticipation of southern succession and civil war. Actually, Cobb's tenure in the Treasury Department corresponded with the major business panic of 1857 and the subsequent slow economic recovery. Declining tariff revenues forced the Buchanan administration to resort to deficit financing by means of short-term borrowing. In December 1860 Cobb resigned from Buchanan's cabinet and later became a Confederate general. When the Republicans assumed office in March 1861, the Treasury's debt was approximately $70 million, and the national credit was very weak. Cobb and Buchanan strongly denied any treasonable motives behind their policies, and no solid evidence has been discovered to substantiate the partisan charges against them. During the Civil War, Cobb fought in the Sixteenth Georgia Regiment, rising to the rank of major general. He resumed his law practice after the war. James Buchanan, *The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising His Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence,* comp. John Bassett Moore (1908–11; New York, 1960), 11:242–43; Ellis Parson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1907), 120–27; Horace Montgomery, *Howell Cobb's Confederate Career* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1959); Robert T. Patterson, "Government Finance on the Eve of the Civil War," *Journal of Economic History,* 12:35–44 (Winter 1952); Robert P. Brooks, "Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850," *MVHR,* 4:279–98 (December 1917); Warner and Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress,* 56–57; *DAB,* 4:241–44.

261.37–38 Abraham Lincoln…disguise] A clandestine prosecession paramilitary group known as the National Volunteers plotted to assassinate president-elect Lincoln as he traveled through Baltimore in February 1861 on his way to his inauguration. The efforts of both Allan Pinkerton and his detective agency and the New York City police force revealed the conspiracy beforehand. As a result, Lincoln traveled through Baltimore safely, several hours ahead of schedule. Contemporary news media por-

trayed Lincoln's cautious actions as cowardly, and one New York *Times* reporter, Joseph Howard, Jr., embellished the account, writing that Lincoln had disguised himself by wearing a plaid cap and long cloak. In truth, Lincoln wore a soft wool hat and short coat; nevertheless, the exaggerated story took root and was accepted as a part of history. New York *Times,* 25 February 1861; Edward Steers, Jr., *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Lexington, Ky., 2001), 17–21.

261.38–262.1 his proclamation…the Union,'] In a proclamation to the nation on 15 April 1861, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteer troops from the Union militia to recover assets seized by rebel forces. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* 130 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880–1901), ser. 3, 1:67–68 (1899). (hereafter cited as *OR*)

262.9 'Erring sisters depart in peace.'] Horace Greeley published an editorial in his New York *Daily Tribune* on 9 November 1860, stating: "if the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." On another occasion, in a letter dated 3 March 1861, General Winfield Scott wrote to Greeley, "Say to the seceded states, 'Wayward sisters, depart in peace.'" Luke 2:29 provides the source for the latter half of the phrase. New York *Daily Tribune,* 9 November 1860; Winfield Scott, *The Private Letters of Lieut.-General Scott, and Ex-President Buchanan's Reply* (New York, 1862), 24.

262.14–17 "terminate however…masters still"] Douglass paraphrases a letter sent by Secretary of State William H. Seward to the newly appointed U.S. minister to France, William Lewis Dayton: "The Territories will remain in all respects the same, whether the revolution shall succeed or shall fail. The condition of slavery in the several States will remain just the same whether it succeed or fail." At the beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln's administration, and the Republican party in general, believed that the preservation of the Union should be the immediate goal. Although Seward had previously argued for emancipation, he was aware that pursuing it actively would further divide the country, southern unionists, northern Democrats, and conservatives alike. Slaveholders loyal to the Union still lived in Border States such as Maryland and Kentucky, and the Lincoln administration's stated goal was preserving the Union. U.S. Department of State, *Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirty-seventh Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1861), 198; Bancroft, *William H. Seward,* 2:317–20; Van Deusen, *William H. Seward,* 292–93.

262.17 General McClellan] George Brinton McClellan (1826–85) was born in Philadelphia and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1846. He had fought in the Mexican-American War, served on a commission that toured Europe and the Crimea studying European military systems, and been an officer of the Illinois Central Railroad before being placed in command of the Department of the Ohio in May 1861. He commanded the Army of the Potomac from July 1861 until November 1862, when an unsuccessful attempt to march on Richmond and his reluctance to pursue Lee's army across the Potomac after the Battle of Antietam led to his

replacement by Ambrose E. Burnside. Nominated as the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1864, McClellan later was appointed chief engineer of the New York City Department of Docks (1870–72). He served as governor of New Jersey from 1878 to 1881. H[amilton] J. Eckenrode and Bryan Conrad, *George B. McClellan: The Man Who Saved the Union* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1941); Warren W. Hassler, Jr., *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union* (Baton Rouge, La., 1957); *ACAB,* 4:79–84; *DAB,* 11:581–85.

262.18 General Butler] Benjamin Franklin Butler (1818–93) was one of the most famous "political generals" of the Civil War. A native of New Hampshire and a graduate of Colby College in Waterville, Maine, Butler established prosperous law practices in both Lowell and Boston, Massachusetts. An active Democratic politician, Butler attended his party's 1860 national convention, where he supported Jefferson Davis for the presidential nomination. Later that year he unsuccessfully ran for governor of Massachusetts on a Democratic ticket pledged to John Breckinridge for president. As a brigadier general of the Massachusetts militia, Butler won national prominence for leading the troops that pacified pro-Confederate Baltimore and thereby reopened Washington's communications with the North. While commander of Union forces at Fortress Monroe in Virginia in the summer of 1861, he began the policy of sheltering runaway slaves within his lines as "contrabands of war." Lincoln removed Butler from command of Fortress Monroe in October 1861 and sent him to recruit soldiers in New England. While military governor of New Orleans in 1862, Butler alienated the conquered population and embarrassed Washington with his "Order No. 28," which threatened that southern women demonstrating contempt for Union troops would be treated as prostitutes. An incompetent field commander, Butler was finally relieved in January 1865 after Lincoln's reelection made his political support for the administration no longer crucial. Following the war he served six terms as a Republican congressman and was a leader in the impeachment effort against Andrew Johnson. Returning to the Democratic party, Butler was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1882 and two years later ran as the presidential candidate of the Greenback-Peoples' party. Richard S. West, Jr., *Lincoln's Scapegoat General: A Life of Benjamin F. Butler, 1818–1893* (Boston, 1965); Robert Werlich, *"Beast Butler": Biography of Union Major General Benjamin Franklin Butler* (Washington, D.C., 1962); *ACAB,* 1:477–78; *NCAB,* 1:121–24.

262.18–20 if any attempt…an iron hand"] Douglass paraphrases General George B. McClellan's proclamation to the people of western Virginia in May 1861: "Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly—not only will we abstain from all such interference but we will on the contrary with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part." Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (New York, 1988), 79; Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995), 177.

262.21 General John C. Frémont] On 30 August 1861, John Charles Frémont, commanding general of the Western Department, issued a proclamation from his headquarters in St. Louis that instituted martial law in Missouri, threatened to execute those found guilty of bearing arms against the federal government, and declared free the slaves of all persons in Missouri who were aiding the Confederacy. In a letter of 11 September 1861, President Lincoln ordered Frémont to amend the portion of his proclamation concerning slaves so that it would conform to the Confiscation Act of 6 August 1861. That act deprived the owners of slaves being used to aid the rebellion of their claim to the labor of such slaves, but did not alter the legal status of the bondsmen themselves. Lincoln to [John C.] Frémont, 2, 11 September 1861, in Lincoln, *Collected Works,* ed. Basler, 4:506–07, 517–18; *OR,* ser. 1, 3:466–67; Louis S. Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy toward Southern Blacks, 1861–1865* (Westport, Conn., 1973), 16.

262.26–27 when even Mr. Lincoln…cause of the war,"] Lincoln made this charge frequently, as late as his Second Inaugural Address in March 1865. Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 8:332–33.

263.27–28 Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, Big Bethel] Douglass alludes to three Union military defeats suffered in the first year of the Civil War. On 21 October 1861 a Union army brigade was badly defeated at Ball's Bluff while making a reconnaissance of the Potomac River crossing near Poolesville, Virginia. In a skirmish at Big Bethel, Virginia, on 10 June 1861, Union troops advancing from Fortress Monroe were repulsed from a Confederate outpost in the first land battle of the war. On 21 July 1861 the first large-scale Union campaign in the East was routed after a day of heavy fighting at Bull Run near Manassas Junction, Virginia. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary,* 40–41, 63, 99–101, 800–01; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 84, 98–99, 129–30.

263.28 Fredericksburg] The Battle of Fredricksburg, Virginia, took place on 11–13 December 1862. Fighting began when Captain Henry L. Abbot's Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by Ambrose Burnside, attempted to cross the Rappahannock River into the city of Fredericksburg and came under Confederate fire. Considered one of the most one-sided battles of the Civil War, the Union army directed a number of frontal assaults at Confederate forces entrenched within the city at Marye's Heights. Despite repeated attempts, Burnside's forces were unable to take the hill and capture the city. The federal defeat effectively stopped the Union's winter 1862 campaign to capture Richmond. Although Robert E. Lee's smaller Confederate Army of Northern Virginia gained a victory, it was costly: the Confederate casualties were calculated at a total of 5,309, with 595 dead. The Union troops had a total of 12,653 casualties and 1,284 dead. George C. Rable, *Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), 1, 2, 81, 288, 430.

263.28 Peninsula] Under direct order from the Lincoln administration to launch an offensive with the Army of the Potomac, General George B. McClellan in March 1862 commenced a campaign to dislodge the Confederates from the Potomac batteries near Manassas, Virginia. The Confederates, however, had already secretly withdrawn from the batteries. McClellan then embarked on a campaign, lasting from 4 April to 1 July 1862, to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond by advancing up the peninsula created by the James and York Rivers. Arriving at Fortress Monroe with some 112,000 troops, McClellan advanced eighteen miles before being stopped by the Confederates outside Yorktown. On 4 May the Confederates retreated to Richmond. Although McClellan took up a position outside Richmond and his forces significantly outnumbered the rebel army, he refused to launch an attack, preferring instead to wait for reinforcements, which allowed the combined Confederate forces of Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. Jackson to attack McClellan's entire Peninsula force on 26 June. The Seven Days battles (25 June–1 July), of which that was part, resulted in the federal forces' being driven back twenty miles to the James River at Harrison's Landing. During McClellan's entire Peninsula campaign his troops suffered approximately 20,000 to 25,000 casualties. Joseph Mills Hanson, *Bull Run* Remembers…*: The History, Traditions, and Landmarks of the Manassas (Bull Run) Campaigns before Washington, 1861–1862,* 2d ed. (Manassas, Va., 1957), 81; Rowena Reed, *Combined Operations in the Civil War* (Annapolis, Md., 1978), 119–22; William Starr Myers, *A Study in Personality: General George Brinton McClellan* (New York, 1934), 294–302; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 180, 192–93, 196, 202, 206–07, 218–20, 225–27, 230–38.

263.32 Fortress Monroe] Fortress Monroe is located in southeastern Virginia on a small peninsula called Old Point Comfort. It was built in 1819 on top of seventeenth-century fortifications. During the Civil War the military post was held by the Union. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 1375.

263.32–33 "contrabands,"] In May 1861 Union general Benjamin F. Butler first applied the term "contraband" to slaves who escaped behind his lines at Fortress Monroe, near Hampton Roads, Virginia. Refusing to return the slaves to owners who pressed their claims under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Law, Butler noted that Confederate forces in the area used slaves to build defense works. Slave property was therefore contraband, he reasoned, and subject to confiscation. In the First Confiscation Act of 6 August 1861, Congress gave legal force to Butler's decision by authorizing the seizure of all property, including slaves, used to aid the rebellion. West, *Lincoln's Scapegoat General,* 81–86; Gerteis, *Contraband to Freedman,* 12–17.

263.35 Hon. A. G. Riddle of Ohio] Albert Gallatin Riddle (1816–1902) as Ohio representative to the Thirty-seventh Congress was the first to argue before that body in favor of arming slaves. He also had played a leading role in passing the legislation to end slavery in the District of Columbia. Riddle's family moved from Massachusetts to Geauga County in Ohio's Western Reserve district when he was a baby. After an erratic education, he read for the law and became a lawyer in 1840. As a Whig he held elective office as prosecuting attorney of Geauga County (1840–46) and state representative (1848–50). In 1850 he moved to Cleveland, where he won election as prosecuting attorney (1852–58). In 1859 Riddle won national attention for his legal

defense of the runaway slave rescuers in the Oberlin-Wellington case. Republicans elected him to Congress the following year, but his published criticism of the behavior of congressional spectators at the First Battle of Bull Run created so much resentment that he declined to run for reelection. After serving as U.S. consul at Matanzas, Cuba (1864–65), Riddle settled in Washington, D.C., to practice law. He also taught law at Howard University and was law officer of the District of Columbia from 1877 to 1889. In his later years, he gained a reputation as an accomplished writer of novels and biographies. Albert G. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times: Reminiscences of Men and Events in Washington, 1860–1865* (New York, 1895); William Coyle, ed., *Ohio Authors and Their Books, 1796–1950* (Cleveland, 1962), 529–30; *ACAB,* 5:248; *NCAB,* 2:371; *DAB,* 15:591; *BDUSC* (online).

263.36 Hon. Simon Cameron] Pennsylvanian Simon Cameron (1799–1889) began his career as a political editor and businessman. Elected for a term in the U.S. Senate in 1845 and again in 1857, Cameron built a powerful machine in Pennsylvania that led to his consideration for the presidential nomination in 1860. His influence within the Republican party led to his appointment as secretary of war in 1861. Cameron saw this as an opportunity to reward friends and punish enemies, and his inept administration of the War Department caused great scandal. In an effort to boost his popularity, Cameron advocated the emancipation and arming of slaves. Although Douglass and other African American leaders found this idea compelling, moderate and conservative Republicans disapproved; thus, Lincoln removed him from the War Department and appointed him to a diplomatic post in Russia. Cameron returned to the U.S. Senate in 1867 and served for ten years before retiring to a farm in rural Pennsylvania. Erwin Bradley, *Simon Cameron: Lincoln's Secretary of War* (Philadelphia, 1966); *NCAB,* 1:5009; *DAB,* 3:437–39.

263.37 General David Hunter] Born in Washington, D.C., West Point graduate David Hunter (1802–86) spent most of his life in the military. Commissioned a colonel in the cavalry in May 1861, Hunter suffered a serious injury the following month during the First Battle of Bull Run, the first major action of the Civil War. After his recuperation he successfully commanded the Department of the West (November 1861), the Department of Kansas (1861–62), the Department of the South (1862–63), and the Department of West Virginia (1864). While commanding the Department of the South, Hunter won praise from abolitionists by issuing a proclamation freeing the slaves within his purview. Lincoln, who feared possible repercussions in the Border States, annulled Hunter's orders, stating that the general had exceeded his authority. Hunter did succeed in creating the first official black regiment, the First South Carolina, an action that was ultimately supported by Congress. In 1865 he served as president of the commission that tried the conspirators involved in the assassination of President Lincoln. For his meritorious conduct during the war Hunter was promoted to major general and retired from active duty in 1866. He spent the remainder of his life in Washington, D.C. *ACAB,* 3:321; *DAB,* 2:400–01.

263.38 General Phelps] John W. Phelps (1813–85) began his career in the military after graduating from West Point in 1836. He saw action as an officer during the Seminole War and the Mexican-American War. As an avid abolitionist from Vermont, Phelps declined a brevet promotion during the latter conflict, as he considered the war with Mexico a move by the South to add slave territory to the United States. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Phelps was named commander of the First Vermont Regiment and a few months later rose to brigadier general in command of the First Brigade, Department of the Gulf. Phelps helped capture New Orleans under General Benjamin Butler. His plan to recruit black soldiers during occupation of the city raised a commotion among the citizenry and caused Confederate authorities to brand him an outlaw. To keep peace in the occupied city, Union authorities overruled Phelps's order. After he resigned in protest in August 1862, he returned to private life in Vermont. In 1880 Phelps ran as the presidential candidate for the American party (formerly the Anti-Mason party), standing on his reputation as a conservative speaker, writer, and politician. Stewart Sifakis, *Who Was Who in the Civil War* (New York, 1988), 503. See also Howard C. Westwood, "Benjamin Butler's Enlistment of Black Troops in New Orleans in 1862," *Louisiana History,* 26:5–22 (Winter 1985); William F. Messner, "General John Wolcott Phelps and Conservative Reform in Nineteenth Century America," *Vermont History,* 53:17–35 (Winter 1985); Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary,* 650.

264.39–265.1 Governor Andrew of Massachusetts] John Albion Andrew (1818–67), governor of Massachusetts, was born in Windham, Maine, and educated at Bowdoin College. After his graduation in 1837, he settled in Boston and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar. Although he was one of the founders of the Free Soil party, Andrew did not hold public office until 1858, when he was elected to the Massachusetts General Court as a Republican. In 1860 he not only headed his state's delegation to the Republican national convention but was also elected governor, a position he held until January 1866. Throughout the Civil War he was an outspoken advocate of emancipation and a leader in persuading the Lincoln administration to enlist blacks in the Union army. After the Confederate surrender, Andrew recommended a conciliatory Reconstruction policy toward southern whites. On 19 November 1859 Andrew was chosen to chair and speak at the meeting of John Brown's sympathizers in Tremont Temple. *Lib.,* 25 November 1859; Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew: Governor of Massachusetts, 1861–1865,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1904); *ACAB,* 1:72–73; *NCAB,* 1:118; *DAB,* 2:279–81.

265.2 the 54th and 55th] Among the first black regiments to serve in the Civil War, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was initiated by Governor John A. Andrew, who on 26 January 1863 received authorization from Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to raise black troops for the unit. Although initial efforts to recruit volunteers proved disappointing, the Fifty-fourth eventually numbered approximately 1,000 black men from every state in the Union as well as from Canada. Douglass, hired by veteran abolitionist George L. Stearns to help with the recruitment process, was credited for raising approximately a tenth of the unit's volunteers,

including his own sons Charles and Lewis. By May the number of black volunteers was so high that the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts was formed to take in the surplus recruits. It was the valiant efforts of the Fifty-fourth, however, that finally had a profound effect on U.S. consciousness. On the night of 18–19 July 1863, the unit, under the command of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, sustained 247 casualties while spearheading an unsuccessful attack on Fort Wagner, South Carolina. The complimentary official reports of the Fifty-fourth's performance in this battle, backed by the courageous efforts of other black regiments in the war, helped to erase much of the widespread doubt about the wisdom of black enlistment. Albert G. Browne, *Sketch of the Official Life of John A. Andrew* (New York, 1868), 4, 108; Luis F. Emilio, *A Brave Black Regiment: The History of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863–1865,* 2d ed. (1894; New York, 1995), 24; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (New York, 1953), 8–9; idem, *Frederick Douglass,* 204–06; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 109, 152–56; *ACAB,* 5:31.

266.10 For the moment…on the subject] In the summer of 1863 the War Department began authorizing governors from northern states to recruit black troops, a move that spurred further attempts by abolitionist circles to enlist African Americans in New York. These attempts were made consistently difficult by Horatio Seymour, a Democrat who was elected New York governor in fall 1862 in large part because of his opposition to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. A delegation sponsored by the Association for Promoting Colored Volunteering met with Lincoln to seek national authorization for black enlistment, but he told the delegates that the government would intervene only if Governor Seymour explicitly refused their request. Soon after this meeting, the association wrote to Seymour for authorization on 9 July 1863. The governor, believing that the raising of black troops was unwise and beyond his authority, delayed replying for several weeks and then declined the association's request. To promote efforts at enlisting African Americans in the state, the New York City Union League Club appointed a committee chaired by Colonel George Bliss. When Bliss requested authorization from Seymour, the governor again refused, referring the committee to seek authority from the national government instead. The committee did just this, and on 5 December 1863 Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton authorized Bliss to raise the Twentieth Regiment of United States Colored Troops, which was soon followed by two more black regiments from New York. George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America: From 1619 to 1880,* 2 vols. (New York, 1883), 2:291–92; Alessandra Lorini, *Rituals of Race: American Public Culture and the Search for Racial Democracy* (Charlottesville, Va., 1999), 5; McPherson, *Struggle for Equality,* 207–08; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 188–89.

266.19–20 She has but…to recruit] Initial efforts to recruit Massachusetts blacks into the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry proved disappointing because of the small number of black residents in that state. In 1860 the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had a total population of 1,231,066, with blacks comprising less than one percent (9,602) of these residents. In response to the low turnout, Governor John A. Andrew turned to a committee of private citizens, headed by veteran abolitionist George L. Stearns, to undertake an enlistment campaign for the Fifty-fourth throughout the North and in occupied portions of the Confederacy. As part of his strategy to engage prominent blacks as recruiting agents, Stearns traveled to Rochester, New York, in late February 1863 to persuade Douglass to aid in encouraging enlistments into the Fifty-fourth. Douglass immediately agreed, published a call to arms in his *Monthly,* and toured upstate New York to enlist recruits. By mid-April Douglass had enrolled a company of more than 100 men, including his own sons Charles and Lewis. Gerrit Smith contributed $700 to pay the expenses for raising these men; Douglass bragged to him that "no other company has been raised for less than twice that sum." By May 1863, as a result of the recruiting agents' work and of newspaper advertisements for enlistments, more than 1,000 blacks from every state in the Union as well as from Canada were enrolled in the regiment. Recruiting efforts continued, permitting Massachusetts to raise a total of three black regiments by the end of the war. Douglass to Gerrit Smith, 6 March 1863, Gerrit Smith Papers, NSyU; Douglass to Gerrit Smith, 14 April 1863, Norcross Papers, MHiS; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population…1790–1915,* 44; Emilio, *Brave Black Regiment,* 8–14, 24; Pearson, *Life of John A. Andrew,* 81–84; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:585–86n; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 204–06; idem, *Negro in the Civil War,* 8–9; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 107–10.

266.38 Denmark Vesey] Denmark Vesey (c. 1767–1822), leader of the famous conspiracy of slaves and free blacks in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, was born Telemaque, probably on the West Indian island of St. Thomas. In 1781 he was among 390 slaves purchased by the slave trader Captain Joseph Vesey at the St. Thomas port city of Charlotte Amalie for resale in the French colony Saint Domingue. Because Telemaque suffered from ill health, Vesey repurchased him in 1782. He worked as a cabin boy for Vesey, and then relocated with his master to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1783. Upon winning the East Bay Lottery in 1799, the slave then known as Denmark purchased his freedom, adopted the surname Vesey, and established himself as a carpenter. Vesey began to organize a slave revolt in December 1821, in secret meetings and through individual encounters, instructing co-leaders carefully on recruitung for the plot. As many as 9,000 blacks from Charleston and its vicinity may have been enlisted. Vesey's plans envisioned the takeover of the city arsenals and guardhouses, the assassination of the governor, and a general massacre of all whites and those blacks not participating in the revolt. He named Saint Domingue as the ultimate refuge for the rebels. A house slave who had incautiously been apprised of the plot revealed the conspiracy to white authorities. Vesey first tried to change the date of the uprising and then went into hiding. Soon found and arrested, he conducted his own legal defense, arguing that he, a free man, could have no reason to rebel. Found guilty, Vesey and five co-conspirators were hanged on 2 July 1822. Subsequently twenty-two slaves were hanged, and many more were sold into slavery outside the United States. Douglas R. Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of*

Denmark Vesey, rev. ed. (Lanham, Md., 2004); John Lofton, *Insurrection in South Carolina: The Turbulent World of Denmark Vesey* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1964), 37, 73, 131–34, 140–42, 156–57, 206–10; *ACAB,* 6:283–84; *DAB,* 19:258–59; *DANB,* 618–19.

267.1 Copeland] John Anthony Copeland, Jr. (1836–59) was one of John Brown's followers at Harpers Ferry. Born to free parents in Raleigh, North Carolina, Copeland grew up in Ohio and attended Oberlin College until his arrest for attempting to help a fugitive slave in the famous Oberlin-Wellington rescue case in 1858. In September 1859 his uncle Lewis Leary, another raider, recruited Copeland to join Brown's assault on Harpers Ferry. Together with white raider John Kagi, Copeland was to capture and hold the rifle factory. Kagi was killed; Copeland was captured alive and jailed along with Brown and five other raiders. His courage and bearing while in jail earned him the respect of the prosecuting attorney but did not prevent his execution on 16 December 1859. Edward J. Renehan, Jr., *The Secret Six: The True Tale of the Men Who Conspired with John Brown* (New York, 1995), 200–201, 203, 212; *DANB,* 130.

267.8 Readville] Readville was the location for an important training camp for black volunteers in the Union army. It was constructed in early 1863 just outside of Boston, Massachusetts. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was placed in command of the camp, with Norwood Hallowell as his second. Frederick Douglass strongly urged black men to enlist in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, of which two of his own sons became members. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was the first to muster at Readville near the end of March. By May the recruits were flooding in, and an additional regiment, the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, was organized. Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 106–10.

267.32–33 my two sons, Charles and Lewis] Lewis H. Douglass served as sergeant major of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment and embarked with the unit to South Carolina in May 1863. His brother, Charles Remond Douglass, a private in that regiment, was ill at the time of his unit's departure and as late as November 1863 remained at the Readville, Massachusetts, training camp. He eventually saw duty with another black regiment, the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, rising to the rank of first sergeant. C[harles] R. Douglass to Douglass, 20 December 1863, General Correspondence File, reel 1, frames 824–25, FD Papers, DLC; Douglass to "My Dear Friend," 21 November 1863, FD Collection, CtY; *Lib.,* 5 June 1863; *DM,* 5:859–60 (August 1863); Massachusetts Adjutant General's Office, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War,* 7 vols. (Norwood, Mass., 1931–33), 4:686, 6:528.

267.36 Its assault on Fort Wagner] The black Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment led an assault on Fort Wagner on Morris Island, South Carolina, beginning on the night of 18 July 1863 and lasting through the next morning. The regiment, led by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, sustained 247 casualties while spearheading the unsuccessful attack. Official reports of the battle portrayed the black regiment's performance as courageous and disciplined, dispelling widespread doubt about the efficacy of black soldiers in combat. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 13–17; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 152–156; *EAAH,* 2:11–12.

267.38 Col. Shaw] Businessman and soldier Robert Gould Shaw (1837–63) was born in Boston and educated at Harvard College. Living in New York City when the Civil War began, he enlisted in the Seventh New York Regiment; in 1862 he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Second Massachusetts Regiment, later rising to the rank of captain. When Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts sought white officers for the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, the North's first black regiment, he offered the command to Shaw, who after first declining became its colonel in May 1863. After acquitting itself well at James Island, South Carolina, a few days earlier, the regiment led an assault on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, during the night of 18–19 July 1863. Among the 247 casualties of that battle was Shaw himself, who died while rallying his men at the fort's parapet. He was buried in a common grave with others from the regiment. Stephen T. Riley, "A Monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 75:27–38 (1963); *ACAB,* 5:31; *NCAB,* 8:142–43.

268.14 Pennsylvania proposed to raise ten regiments] Local civic leaders formed the Philadelphia Supervisory Committee for Colored Enlistments in early 1863. The committee, chaired by Philadelphia Union League member Thomas Webster, grew rapidly in 1863 from an initial twenty-five members to seventy-five and included many prominent merchants, bankers, and professional men. Having obtained permission from the U.S. Department of War to raise black regiments in Pennsylvania, the committee turned to the actual recruitment of black soldiers, raising funds for the expenses of recruitment agents and for travel and subsistence allowances granted to the volunteers. The committee trained recruits at Camp William Penn in Chelton Hills, near Philadelphia, where it eventually raised a total of eleven regiments and an independent company. In response to a lack of qualified officers to command the black regiments, the committee also established the Free Military School for Applicants for the Command of Colored Troops on 26 December 1863. *Lib.,* 31 July 1863; George Parsons Lathrop, *History of the Union League of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1884), 75–81; William Blair and William Pencak, *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War* (University Park, Pa., 2001), 144–46; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 217–21; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 187–88.

268.23 Jeff. Davis] Jefferson Davis (1808–89), president of the Confederate States of America (1861–65), was born in Christian (Todd) County, Kentucky, raised on a plantation in Mississippi, and educated at Transylvania University and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. After serving at various frontier military posts, he returned to Mississippi and devoted himself to the life of a planter. A Democrat, Davis served briefly in the U.S. House of Representatives (1845–46) before resigning to participate in the Mexican-American War. He later sat in the U.S. Senate (1847–51, 1857–61) and, as secretary of war, in the cabinet of President Franklin Pierce (1853–

57). Resigning his Senate seat on 21 January 1861, when he announced Mississippi's secession, Davis was inaugurated provisional president of the Confederacy on 18 February 1861 at Montgomery, Alabama. He was formally elected president in October 1861. Though never tried for treason, he was a federal prisoner at Fortress Monroe for two years following the Civil War. After his release Davis wrote an account of his career, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* 2 vols. (New York, 1881). Clement Eaton, *Jefferson Davis* (New York, 1977); *ACAB,* 2:98–102; *DAB,* 5:123–31.

268.23–24 Jeff. Davis' threat that they would be treated as felons] On 23 December 1862 Confederate president Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation ordering that all black Union troops "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." On 1 May 1863 the Confederate Congress passed legislation to authorize this practice. Such action was the equivalent of a death sentence, because state laws would have treated the prisoners as armed insurrectionists. To discourage the Confederates from carrying out this policy, Lincoln publicly threatened to execute or to put to hard labor one captured rebel for every Union soldier murdered or enslaved while in Confederate custody. Although isolated instances of mistreatment of black prisoners occurred, Lincoln's threat of retaliation deterred Confederates from any systematic persecution. *Lib.,* 2 January 1862; New York *Daily Tribune,* 29 December 1862; *OR,* ser. 2, 6:163; Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York, 1962), 173–78; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 160–61, 168–69.

268.25–26 The following letter which I find published in my paper] *DM,* 5:849 (August 1863).

270.13 the slaughtered teamsters at Murfreesboro] Confederate forces under General Braxton Bragg launched a successful surprise attack on the Union Army of the Cumberland, commanded by William S. Rosecrans, before dawn on the morning of 31 December 1862. Within hours rebel forces had driven back Rosecrans's right wing several miles before the Union line stabilized. In the midst of the Union rout approximately twenty African American teamsters working for Rosecrans's forces were captured. They were widely reported to have been tied to nearby trees and shot by Confederates. New York *Times,* 5 January 1863; Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America,* 2:353–54, 598; Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River* (Urbana, Ill., 1990), 101–08.

270.14 Milliken's Bend] On 7 June 1863 newly recruited black Louisiana regiments, including the Ninth Louisiana and the First Mississippi, helped repulse a Confederate attack on their camp at Milliken's Bend along the western banks of the Mississippi River. The Confederates initially broke through the Union fortifications northwest of Vicksburg and forced federal troops back to the river bank. The black soldiers defended themselves against veteran Confederate units, led by General Henry McCulloch, in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Salvos from the Union gunboats *Lexington* and *Choctaw* finally forced the Confederates to retreat. Richard Lowe, "Battle on the Levee: The Fight at Milliken's Bend," in *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era,* ed. John David Smith (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), 107–35; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 142–56; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 363.

270.14 Vicksburg] Douglass refers to the pivotal campaign of Vicksburg, Mississippi (22 May–4 July 1863). General Ulysses S. Grant, in concert with the Union navy, commanded a six-week siege of the key Confederate Mississippi River city of Vicksburg. Defended by Confederate General John C. Pemberton, the city and over 30,000 troops surrendered only when food and supplies were exhausted with no prospect of relief. The victory successfully split the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy. On 29 June 1863 three black regiments, the Forty-sixth, Forty-ninth, and Fifty-first United States Colored Troops, participated in an indecisive skirmish at Mound Plantation in Louisiana. John David Smith, "Let Us All Be Grateful That We Have Colored Troops That Will Fight," in *Black Soldiers in Blue,* ed. Smith, 46; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 373–79.

271.23 Samuel Pomeroy] Samuel Clarke Pomeroy (1816–91) was born in Southampton, Massachusetts, and educated at Amherst College. He became active in the Free Soil party and emigrated to Kansas in 1854 to fight the establishment of slavery there. Kansas Republicans elected him to two terms in the U.S. Senate (1861–73), where he was best known as an advocate of subsidies to western development. Unsubstantiated charges of bribing state legislators caused his defeat for reelection. Pomeroy then settled in Washington, D.C., where he and Douglass remained friends. Douglass to Samuel C. Pomeroy, 12 November 1874, Samuel C. Pomeroy to Douglass, 14 June 1883, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 761–62, reel 3, frames 731–32, FD Papers, DLC; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas,* 241, 457, 521, 570; *ACAB,* 5:60; *NCAB,* 12:69–70; *DAB,* 15:54–55.

271.24 Charles A. Dana] Born in modest circumstances, Charles A. Dana (1819–97) spent his early adulthood as a teacher and farmer at the Transcendentalist community Brook Farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he met Frederick Douglass. In 1849 Dana became managing editor of Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune.* After a falling out with Greeley during the Civil War, Dana left to work for the War Department. As an assistant secretary of war, he coordinated communication between General Grant and politicians in Washington, and he developed a close relationship with President Lincoln. In 1867 Dana became the owner and editor of the New York *Sun,* a position that he held for three decades. Throughout the late nineteenth century the *Sun* served as one of the largest morning daily newspapers, featuring a controversial editorial line that supported the Democratic, the Greenback-Labor, and eventually the Republican party under Dana's leadership. Janet E. Steele, *The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1993); *DAB,* 5:49–52; *ANB,* 6:55–58.

271.26 I shall never…this great man] In the company of Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas, Douglass had an interview with Lincoln at the White House on 10 August 1863. Douglass's account of this meeting appears in Allen Thorndike Rice,

ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York, 1886), as well as in *Life and Times.* Douglass to George L. Stearns, 12 August 1863, Abraham Barker Scrap Book, PHi; Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 79; Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro,* 168.

272.20 the "bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth,"] A paraphrase of *As You Like It,* sc. 10, lines 1075–76.

273.18 Secretary Stanton] Edwin M. Stanton (1814–69), a Democrat, was a prominent lawyer from Ohio. In 1862 President Lincoln appointed Stanton secretary of war to replace the discredited Simon Cameron. While in office, Stanton restored the War Department's credibility and switched his allegiance to the Republican party. He remained in office after Lincoln's assassination, but differences with President Andrew Johnson regarding Reconstruction led to a falling out with the latter's administration. Johnson tried to dismiss Stanton from office, but Congress reinstated him and impeached Johnson for violating the Tenure of Office Act. Stanton resigned in 1868, when Congress failed to remove Johnson from office. President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Stanton to the Supreme Court in 1869, but Stanton died before assuming the bench. Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York, 1962); *DAB,* 17:517–521; *ANB,* 20:558–562.

273.20 "Brook Farm,"] Brook Farm was a utopian community in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, founded in the winter of 1840 by George and Marianne Ripley. Located on a former dairy farm, the community sought to promote the Transcendentalist values, and the Ripleys saw it as a chance for intellectual and manual labor interests to coexist. In April 1841 fifteen others joined the Ripleys, including Nathaniel Hawthorne, Minot Pratt, George P. Bradford, and Warren Burton. The community organized a school, led primarily by Mrs. Ripley, issued stock, which was purchased by the community's members, and erected a phalanstery, on the model of French utopian advocate Charles Fourier, which burned on 3 March 1846. After the phalanstery's destruction, the community shrank, and on 13 April 1849 the property was sold at auction. Swift, *Brook Farm,* 1–26.

273.39 assistant adjutant] Assistant adjutants general in the Civil War served as aides to adjutants general, who themselves served as aides to generals. According to a congressional act passed on 3 August 1861 to improve military organization during the war, the department of an adjutant general would consist of nineteen assistant adjutants generals partitioned into four distinct ranks: one having the rank of colonel, two having the rank of lieutenant-colonel, four having the rank of major, and twelve having the rank of captain. Douglass does not mention which rank he would have held as General Lorenzo Thomas's assistant. Louis Le Grand, *The Military Hand-Book, and Soldier's Manual of Information* (New York, 1862), 85; Raphael P. Thian, ed., *Legislative History of the General Staff of the Army of the United States (Its Organizations, Duties, Pay, and Allowances) from 1775 to 1901* (Washington, D.C., 1901), 75.

273.39 General Thomas] Born in New Castle, Delaware, Lorenzo Thomas (1804–75) graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1823 and fought in both the Seminole and Mexican-American Wars. He served as General Winfield Scott's chief of staff until promoted to the position of adjutant general of the army in 1861 with the rank of brigadier general. In March 1863 Thomas was ordered to the Mississippi Valley to organize black regiments, where he was supposed to have met with Douglass. In February 1868 Thomas permitted President Andrew Johnson to appoint him secretary of war *ad interim* in the place of Edwin Stanton, precipitating the impeachment crisis. Michael Les Benedict, *A Compromise of Principle: Congressional Republicans and Reconstruction, 1868–1869* (New York, 1974), 297; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988), 8, 335; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 216; *ACAB,* 6:84; *DAB,* 18:441–42.

274.3 For some reason, however, my commission never came] After being promised the commission of adjutant assistant to General Lorenzo Thomas by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, Douglass immediately ceased publishing *Douglass' Monthly,* proclaiming in its final issue on 16 August 1863, "I am going South to assist Adjutant General Thomas, in the organization of colored troops, who shall win for the millions in bondage the inestimable blessings of liberty and country." Although Douglass technically never received his commission, Charles W. Foster, a recruiter for the War Department, repeatedly urged Douglass to join Thomas in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Because of strict policies and general racial prejudice, only about one hundred African Americans were commissioned by the War Department during the Civil War, but Douglass was never one of them. C. W. Foster to Douglass, 13, 21 August 1863, reel 1, frames 834–35, 842–43L, FD Papers, DLC; *DM,* 5:n.p. (August 1863); Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 214; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 208.

274.17 Frederick] Frederick Douglass, Jr. (1842–92), was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, the second son of Frederick and Anna Murray Douglass. Throughout his adult life Frederick, Jr., struggled to achieve success within the same industries as his famous father. For years he tried unsuccessfully to obtain membership in the typographical union; he did, however, work with several newspapers, including the *New National Era*. He was also a frequent contributor to other newspapers, such as the Detroit *Plaindealer,* the New York *Times,* and Baltimore's *National Leader,* where he worked at the time of his death. He was the only of Douglass's sons not to enlist in the Union army. Henry O. Waggoner, a close friend of his father's, took Frederick, Jr., and his brother Lewis to Denver in 1866, to help them establish their careers. Ultimately their attempts failed, and the two returned east. During an outbreak of influenza in 1890, his wife, Virginia, died. His own son, Frederick Douglass III, as well as several other of the couple's children died at an early age. Frederick, Jr., succumbed to a prolonged and painful illness in July 1892. New York *Times,* 24 September 1876; Washington (D.C.) *Bee,* 30 July 1892; Detroit *Plaindealer,* 12 August 1892; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 97, 145, 248–49, 258, 272, 342, 365.

274.24 The first of January, 1863] It was on this date that the Emancipation

Proclamation went into effect, which by executive order freed most black slaves in the states in secession. The proclamation was the political and social outgrowth of the reality of the Civil War. Initially, President Abraham Lincoln could not emancipate slaves without losing conservative Democratic support in the North and Border States, and later he hesitated to do so because the Union's lack of military success coupled with an act of emancipation would make the Union look weak. The platform for emancipation began when General Benjamin Butler defined captured slaves as contraband, prompting congressional Republicans to pass the First and Second Confiscation Acts. Using his war powers as president, following a military victory at Antietam on 17 September 1862, Lincoln announced the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that all slaves held in rebel states on 1 January 1863 would be free. On said date, Lincoln signed the permanent Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln did not believe that his war powers extended to Border States not in open rebellion or to portions of rebel states then under Union control. Therefore slaves in many counties in Tennessee, Virginia, and Louisiana, as well as in the Border States, were unaffected by the proclamation; this situation made the crafting of a constitutional amendment outlawing slavery vital. Despite its somewhat limited application to states in open rebellion, historians note that the conservative application of Lincoln's war powers in this matter successfully avoided the legal problems of emancipation created by the Confiscation Acts, began to shift the Union's focus of the war from legal battle against rebellion to moral battle against slavery, and started a gradual change within the country regarding race relations. John Hope Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation* (Garden City, N.Y., 1963), 50–56, 61; Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 5:433–36; David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, and Military History,* 3 vols. (Denver, 2000), 2:650–52.

274.32–34 refused to allow…Army of the Potomac] On 14 January 1862 the secretary of war's office issued a permit to the Hutchinson Family, allowing the singers to perform in the camps of the Army of the Potomac, then in its winter quarters near Alexandria, Virginia. On 17 January the Hutchinsons performed their first concert, attended largely by the First Regiment of New Jersey Volunteers. When hisses from the audience greeted their musical rendition of a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier, an officer rose and threatened to evict anyone who disrupted the performance. Jumping to his feet, a camp surgeon, outraged that "those who have been identified with abolitionism—and its rabid followers" should "stir up those troubles here," dared the officer to evict him and sent for pistols to defend himself. Although an army chaplain managed to restore order, W. B. Franklin, the division commander, later ordered the Hutchinsons to give him a copy of the Whittier poem. "I pronounce that [poem] incendiary," Franklin advised the chaplain. "If these people are allowed to go on, they will demoralize the army." Franklin thereupon revoked the singers' pass and informed McClellan of his decision. McClellan would allow the concerts to continue only if no abolitionist melodies were included in the program. The Hutchinsons gave no more concerts and left the camp. Myers, *Study in Personality,* 236–39; Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons,* 1:381–91.

275.23–277.4 I was in Boston...the dawn of day] Meeting under the auspices of the Union Progressive Association, "an immense assembly" of black and white abolitionists crowded Boston's Tremont Temple on 1 January 1863 to await the formal issuance of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The occasion, as Douglass recollected, was one of "both hope and fear," for many in the audience suspected that Lincoln might ultimately balk at issuing the document. William Cooper Neil presided over the day-long vigil, which began at 10:30 a.m. Douglass, who spoke in both the afternoon and the evening, joined such notables as James Freeman Clarke, William Wells Brown, and Anna E. Dickinson on the podium. The afternoon session opened at 2:30 p.m. with a prayer by the Reverend Leonard A. Grimes and a brief speech by Dr. J. B. Smith. Douglass then delivered the remarks reprinted here, and the session closed with an address by Clarke. When the meeting reconvened at 7:30, a number of messengers positioned themselves between the telegraph office and Tremont Temple to relay the official news of the signing of the proclamation as expeditiously as possible. Several speakers, including Douglass, addressed the gathering, but as the evening wore on with still no word, "a visible shadow seemed falling on the expecting throng," recalled Douglass, "which the confident utterances of the speakers sought in vain to dispel." Finally, as "suspense was becoming agony," Judge Thomas Russell burst into the hall with the news. When Charles W. Slack, a white abolitionist, read the proclamation, an ecstatic audience responded with applause and shouts, "tossing up their hats, rapping on the floor with canes, and singing 'Blow ye the trumpet, blow.'" The crowd vacated Tremont Temple at midnight as previously agreed, but they accepted Grimes's invitation to continue the celebration at his Twelfth Baptist Church, where Douglass spoke for a third time. *Lib.,* 2 January 1863; *DM,* 4:796–97 (February 1863); Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 294–95; John Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negroes* (Boston, 1914), 69–71; McPherson, *Struggle for Equality,* 120–21; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 199–201; idem, *Negro in the Civil War,* 171–74.

276.8 Lincoln] Born in Lexington, Kentucky, Mary Todd Lincoln (1818–82) married the future president of the United States in 1842. During the Civil War, gossip circulated regarding her extravagance and thoughtlessness, and antiadministration newspapers reported on her alleged willingness to accept gifts and then ask for favors of her husband for the donors. In 1861 Mrs. Lincoln naively befriended Henry Wickoff, the New York *Herald*'s secret reporter of the Lincolns' family life. When the *Herald* published part of Lincoln's first annual message to Congress before its delivery, a congressional investigation found Wickoff guilty of procuring the text; Mrs. Lincoln's reputation thenceforth included an aura of political indiscretion. Charges of treason soon overshadowed all others, however. With six siblings and nine stepbrothers and stepsisters, Mrs. Lincoln was, like many natives of the Border States, the close relative of men fighting in the Confederate army and a comforter of their wives. She

also was an advocate to her husband for securing their personal needs, although the president refused substantive favors in the absence of Union loyalty. Besides general rumors of transmitting information to the enemy, Mrs. Lincoln was specifically accused of using her half sister, Martha Todd White, to send information to the Confederates. Both the Lincolns, in fact, had refused Mrs. White's requests for exemption from the requirements on transporting goods across Union lines, and both refused to see her at the Executive Mansion. White House secretary Noah Brooks firmly defended Mrs. Lincoln's loyalty. When the Committee on the Conduct of the War proposed an investigation of the rumors, President Lincoln allegedly appeared before it without announcement and gravely stated his certainty that no such relations with the enemy existed. During and after the war, Douglass unswervingly defended Mrs. Lincoln's reputation. Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* (Boston, 1953); Ishbel Ross, *The President's Wife: Mary Todd Lincoln* (New York, 1973); *NAW,* 2:404–06.

276.12–13 Hon. Thomas Russell] Thomas B. Russell (1825–87), judge, diplomat, and abolitionist, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and educated at Harvard College and Harvard Law School. Practicing law in Boston, he was elected judge of the city's municipal court in 1853. Six years later he became first justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts. Changing from a judicial to a political career after the Civil War, Russell was appointed collector of the port of Boston in 1867 and U.S. minister to Venezuela in 1874. In 1879 he was elected to the Massachusetts General Court. From 1879 until his death he also served as chairman of the state board of railroad commissioners. Russell and his wife were personal friends of John Brown, who several times visited their Boston home, remaining hidden there for a week in 1857 to avoid arrest by a U.S. marshal. While imprisoned in Virginia in 1859, Brown, not wanting to be represented by "an ultra Abolitionist," requested Russell to be one of his counsels. Although Russell did not serve in that capacity, he and his wife—who had sent $50 to Brown earlier that year—visited Brown in his cell on the day he was sentenced to hang. Villard, *John Brown,* 271, 188, 493, 498, 512, 545; Oates, *To Purge This Land,* 202, 272, 343; Scott, *Secret Six,* 241, 303; *NCAB,* 13:446.

276.13 Anna E. Dickenson] Philadelphia-born and Quaker-educated Anna Elizabeth Dickenson (1842–1932) began her career as a working woman, employed first as a copyist, then as a schoolteacher, and finally in the U.S. Mint in Philadelphia. At the age of eighteen she first appeared on lecture platforms as a feminist and antislavery crusader. After she lost her job at the mint in December 1861 for accusing General George B. McClellan of treason, she became a full-time lecturer. Throughout the Civil War, Dickenson delivered Republican campaign speeches in New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, and on 16 January 1864 she spoke before a distinguished audience of statesmen and military officials, including President Lincoln, in the hall of the House of Representatives. At the end of the war she joined the lyceum lecture circuit, speaking on behalf of Radical Republican Reconstruction measures and women's rights, and against Mormonism, large corporations, and craft unions. In the early 1870s Dickenson's popularity as an orator waned, and her attempts at comebacks, first as a playwright and actress in the late 1870s and early 1880s and then as a political orator during the 1888 election, proved unsuccessful. She spent the last forty years of her life in obscurity. Giraud Chester, *Embattled Maiden: The Life of Anna Dickenson* (New York, 1951); *NCAB,* 3:109; *DAB,* 21:244–45; *NAW,* 1:475–76.

276.14 Grimes] A free black born in Leesburg, Virginia, Leonard A. Grimes (1815–73), pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, spent his early years in Washington, D.C., where he worked for a butcher and a druggist. After traveling through the South in the employ of a slaveholder, Grimes returned to Washington and began his active participation in the movement to assist fugitive slaves. While working as a hackman, he was charged in the escape of a family of eight slaves and after conviction served two years in a Richmond prison. Upon his release, around 1845, he moved first to New Bedford, Massachusetts, and then to Boston, where from 1848 until his death he ministered to the Twelfth Baptist Church. Grimes frequently hosted abolitionist meetings at his church and in 1851 unsuccessfully plotted to rescue the incarcerated fugitive Thomas Sims. In 1854 he organized the attempt by Boston merchants and brokers to buy the imprisoned Anthony Burns before he was returned to slavery. The effort failed, but the following year Grimes traveled to Baltimore and ransomed Burns from his new owner. Grimes was an unsuccessful candidate for the post of chaplain to the Massachusetts legislature in 1864. Boston *Commonwealth,* 12 February 1864; Brown, *The Rising Son,* 534–35; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 82, 146, 206, 209; Pease and Pease, *Fugitive Slave Law,* 39–41; idem, *They Who Would Be Free,* 229; Daniels, *Freedom's Birthplace,* 64, 452.

276.14 J. Sella Martin] John Sella Martin (1832–76), minister, abolitionist, and poet, was born a slave in Charlotte, North Carolina, and served masters in several southern states. In December 1855 he escaped from his master in New Orleans on a steamboat heading north. Self-educated while in slavery, Martin studied for the Baptist ministry in Detroit and later served churches in Buffalo, New York, London, England, and elsewhere, most notably Joy Street Baptist Church in Boston, Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City, and the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C. An effective antislavery crusader at home and abroad, open to various strategies, including emigration, he also worked with the English Freedmen's Aid Society and the American Missionary Association to raise funds to assist ex-slaves. After the Civil War, Martin was active in the Colored National Labor Union, which he represented at the World's Labor Congress in Paris in 1870 and edited the Washington *New Era* from January to June 1870, when the newspaper was reorganized and Douglass became principal owner and editor. Moving to Louisiana, he served as both a postmaster and district school superintendent. *FDP,* 20 April 1860; Washington (D.C.) *New Era,* 14 April 1870; William Wells Brown, *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (New York, 1863), 242–45; Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis, eds., *The Black Worker: A Documentary History*

from Colonial Times to the Present, 8 vols. (Philadelphia, 1978–84), 2:42, 59, 71; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 249, 271–72, 287–90; Blassingame, *Slave Testimony,* 702–35; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 1:504–05; *DANB,* 427–28.

276.14 William Wells Brown] William Wells Brown (c. 1816–84) was born a slave in Lexington, Kentucky, but spent much of his youth near St. Louis, Missouri. He fled slavery in 1834, taking the name Wells Brown from a Quaker man who aided his escape. Brown was employed as a lecturer for the Western New York and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery societies between 1843 and 1849, and was active in universal reform movements advocating temperance, women's rights, and prison reform. Brown studied medicine informally, but chose to remain active in reforms instead of committing to professional medical practice. He published a number of historical books concerning blacks and slavery, beginning in 1847 with his autobiography, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave.* His first history, *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements,* appeared in 1863 and ran through ten editions in three years. His best-known literary production was a novel, *Clotel,* written while touring Great Britain in the early 1850s. R. J. M. Blackett, *Beating against the Barriers: The Lives of Six Nineteenth-Century Afro-Americans* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), 45, 48, 95–96, 101–02; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 35, 42, 50–51; *DAB,* 3:161.

276.21–22 Remembering those in bonds as bound with them] Heb. 13:3.

276.33 My old friend Rue, a colored preacher] Reverend George Alexander Rue (?–1866) served as a minister and missionary for ten years in the African Methodist Episcopal church. He led congregations in Providence, R.I., Boston, Philadelphia, and finally New Bern, North Carolina, where he died of "yellow jaundice." Rue served as chaplain of the Thirty-second U.S. Colored Troops regiment, and he was a delegate for various conventions in Boston, Raleigh, and Philadelphia. *ChR,* 1 March 1862, 21 March 1863, 9 September 1865, 2 February 1867; William E. Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865–1900* (Baton Rouge, La., 1993), 59, 66, 124; Richard Reid, "USCT Veterans in Post-Civil War North Carolina," in *Black Soldiers in Blue,* ed. Smith, 405.

276.35–36 "Sound the loud…people are free."] Douglass quotes the opening lines of the popular hymn "Sound the Loud Timbrel" by Charles Avison (1709–1770). M. Kingdon-Ward, "Charles Avison," *The Musical Times,* 92:398–401 (September 1951).

277.2 Twelfth Baptist church] The Twelfth Baptist Church was built in 1840 and was located on Beacon Hill in Boston, Massachusetts. Twelfth Baptist was the result of a split with the African Meeting House over numerous issues. Although it began with only forty-six members, they were dedicated to the antislavery cause and opened their doors to both free blacks and fugitive slaves. The first regular pastor of Twelfth Baptist was Reverend Leonard A. Grimes of New Bedford, Massachusetts, who began his ministry in 1848. Born free, Grimes had been a part of the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C. Under his leadership, the Twelfth Baptist Church grew steadily. The church was enlarged or relocated several times over the years; its final site was on Warren Street in the Roxbury neighborhood of Boston. Robert C. Hayden, *Faith, Culture and Leadership: A History of the Black Church in Boston* (Boston, 1983), 28–30.

277.10–11 "liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof,"] Douglass quotes Lev. 25:10. This passage is also inscribed on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Joseph S. Longshore and Benjamin L. Knowles, *The Centennial Liberty Bell* (Philadelphia, 1876), 1–4, 12–14; Victor Rosewater, *The Liberty Bell: Its History and Significance* (New York, 1926), 6–16, 144–45.

277.25–27 I approved…other side] "Paddy," a derogatory derivative of the names Patrick and Pádraig, is a term that refers to an Irish man or man of Irish descent. The term was commonly used during Frederick Douglass's era; it first emerged around the time of the St. Patrick's Day Encampment of 1780 and continued to be used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., "The Professor at the Breakfast-Table," *Atlantic Monthly,* 3:500 (April 1859); Moncure D. Conway, "The Saint Patrick Myth," *NAR,* 137:363 (July–December 1883); Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 1021.

278.10 copperhead] During the Civil War, Republican politicians frequently charged that Democratic opposition to many Union war policies was evidence of treasonous sympathy for the Confederate cause. Republicans styled their political opponents "Copperheads" after a venomous snake that lies in ambush and strikes without warning. Recent scholarship generally dismisses the accusations of northern Democratic disloyalty as a product of overheated wartime partisan spirit. Joel H. Silbey, *A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860–1868* (New York, 1977), 166–69, 243; Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 1:392.

278.18–19 this cowardly and bloody uprising in July, 1863] In March 1863, when it had become clear that recruitment could not keep pace with Union army requirements, Congress passed a conscription act. Legal attempts by Democratic politicians such as New York Governor Horatio Seymour to block enforcement of the draft failed, and the drawing of names began in New York City on 11 July 1863. Two days later a mob composed mainly of foreign-born laborers sacked the city's draft headquarters, looted, and burned homes and businesses. A major target of the mob was the city's black population. Rioters lynched at least a dozen blacks, burned a black orphanage, and plundered and terrorized black neighborhoods. Local authorities proved unable to quell the violence, and federal troops fresh from the Gettysburg battlefield had to be rushed to New York City. Order was not restored until 16 July. Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1990); James McCague, *The Second Rebellion: The Story of the New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (New York, 1968), 116–23; Eugene Converse Murdock, *Patriotism Limited, 1862–1865: The Civil War Draft and the Bounty System* ([Kent, Ohio], 1967), 63–80.

278.33 Thomas Webster] A leading Philadelphia black businessman, Thomas

Webster (1818–94) helped organize and chaired the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Regiments in the summer of 1863. Located at 1210 Chestnut Street, this Philadelphia organization raised funds to recruit black troops and help supply them while training at Camp William Penn in that city. Webster also created the Free Military School for Applicants for the Command of Colored Troops, which trained nearly 500 officers for the newly organized black Union army regiments. M[oses] Auge, *Lives of the Eminent Dead* (Norristown, Pa., 1879), 622–23; Ira Berlin et al., eds., *Freedom, a Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867: Selected from the Holdings of the National Archives of the United States,* Series Two: *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1982), 408; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 187.

278.33 Col. Wagner] Born in Glessen, Germany, Louis Wagner (1838–1914) and his family came to America in 1849 and settled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In 1859 he went into business as a lithographer after serving an apprenticeship. Wagner was commissioned first lieutenant of Company D, Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, shortly after the beginning of the Civil War. He was soon promoted to captain, but was severely wounded and taken prisoner at the Second Battle of Bull Run in Virginia. Wagner was paroled a short time later on account of his disabled condition. He eventually returned to his regiment as lieutenant-colonel and commanded it through the famous Mud March at Chancellorsville. His disability was too great for him to continue, however, and Wagner was put in charge of the black troops at Camp William Penn in Philadelphia. He was effective in organizing and training thousands of black troops, and he was mustered out of service as brevetted brigadier general at the war's end. Following his retirement from military life, Wagner continued to serve the best interests of the Grand Army of the Republic until his death. He was a charter member and first commander of Post No. 6, G.A.R., of Germantown, Pennsylvania. Robert B. Beath, *History of the Grand Army of the Republic* (New York, 1889), 216–17; *Journal of the Forty-eighth National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic* (Washington, D.C., 1915), 349.

278.34 Camp William Penn] Camp William Penn, the first training facility for northern black soldiers in the Civil War, was located approximately eight miles north of Philadelphia in Cheltenham Township, Montgomery County. Established in the summer of 1863 by the self-funded Philadelphia Supervisory Committee for Colored Enlistments, the camp began receiving its first recruits—hailing from Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—on 23 June of that year. Under the command of German native Colonel Louis Wagner, these initial volunteers formed the camp's first two units: the Third and Sixth Regiments of United States Colored Troops. The facility ultimately trained nearly 11,000 soldiers and was honored with visitations by such prominent abolitionists as Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Lucretia Mott, whose residence in Roadside sat directly beside the camp. *Proceedings of the 48th Annual Encampment, Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic, Indiana, June 11th and 12th, 1914* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1914), 32; James M. Paradis, *Strike the Blow for Freedom: The 6th United States Colored Infantry in the Civil War* (Shippensburg, Pa., 1998), 13; Donald Scott, Sr., *Camp William Penn* (Charleston, S.C., 2008), 7–8; Blair and Pencak, *Pennsylvania's Civil War,* 145–46; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 220, 248; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 187.

278.38 Chambers street station of the Hudson River Railroad] The Hudson River Railroad opened in 1849. Extending approximately 143 miles, it ran between New York City and Albany. The principal station in New York City was at Chambers and Hudson Streets. An interesting feature of this railroad was that engineers constructed its lines along the banks of the river, with inland tracks laid only where the river came to a point. *Hudson River, and the Hudson River Railroad, with a Complete Map, and Wood Cut Views of the Principal Objects of Interest upon the Line* (Boston, 1851), 10–12.

279.6 Isaiah Rynders] Isaiah Rynders (1804–85), New York City gang leader and Tammany Hall boss of the sixth ward, was a powerful figure throughout the late antebellum era. Of German and Irish background, Rynders was born in Waterford, New York, and attended school until about age twelve, when he shipped out as a deckhand on a riverboat running between Troy and New York City. He later either owned or commanded a small Hudson River sloop, retaining the title "Captain" for the rest of his career. Abandoning maritime pursuits around 1830, Rynders spent several years in the South, where he gained a lasting, and possibly exaggerated, reputation as a duelist, gambler, and horse-racing enthusiast. In the late 1830s he returned to New York City and established himself in the slum area known as Five Points. Active in Democratic politics from the time of his arrival, Rynders opened a public house on Park Row that became a gathering place for local Tammany leaders as well as headquarters for the infamous Empire Club, a band of street toughs first recruited by Rynders to disrupt Whig political rallies during the election of 1844. Over the next dozen years Rynders's services to the Democratic party brought him a series of local federal offices. When not intimidating political opponents, Rynders and his followers participated in a number of rowdy civil disturbances, including the bloody Astor Place Opera House riots of May 1849. A staunch defender of slavery, Rynders became the nemesis of New York abolitionists during the 1840s and 1850s, periodically disrupting their meetings with tactics he had perfected in the political arena. As early as 1857, however, he began to lose his grip on the Five Points gangs. Although he was a Copperhead during the Civil War, he had to appeal for police protection during the 1863 draft riots. Rynders remained active in New York Democratic politics after the war, holding a variety of minor city and county offices throughout the 1860s and 1870s. *PaF,* 17 May 1849; New York *Times,* 14 January 1885; New York *Tribune,* 14 January 1885; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:237n; Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld* (New York, 1928), 43–45; McCague, *Second Rebellion,* 118.

279.6 Broadway Tabernacle] New York City's Broadway Tabernacle was located on Broadway between Worth Street and Catherine Lane. It was built in 1836 to pro-

mote New England Congregationalism by providing a New York pulpit for evangelist Charles G. Finney. The Broadway Tabernacle often served as the meeting hall for the town, and numerous antislavery meetings and other important events were held there. Nathan Silver, *Lost New York* (New York, 1967), 46.

279.11 Franklin Pierce] Strongly displeased with Abraham Lincoln's administration of the Civil War, former President Franklin Pierce delivered a widely reported public address on 4 July 1863 in Concord, New Hampshire. Pierce blamed the Republicans for provoking southerners into secession and harshly criticized Lincoln's violations of many civil liberties during the war. Pierce also claimed that military effort would never force the South back into the Union. While applauded by the peace wing of the Democratic party, Republicans like Douglass attacked Pierce for offering encouragement to the enemy at the very time when New York City was enduring the bloody draft riot. Garry Boulard, *The Expatriation of Franklin Pierce: The Story of a President and the Civil War* (New York, 2006), 109–15.

279.11 Horatio Seymour] Douglass blames Horatio Seymour for exacerbating the draft riots that occurred in New York City during a particularly hot July in 1863. In 1850 New York Democrats, who supported vigorous enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, had unsuccessfully run Seymour, a conservative assemblyman, for governor. A dozen years later the Democrats succeeded in electing Seymour as New York's governor, in part as a result of popular opposition to Lincoln's announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation. In March 1863, when it had become clear that recruitment could not keep pace with Union army requirements, Congress passed a conscription act. Legal attempts by Seymour and other Democratic politicians to block enforcement of the draft failed, and the drawing of names began in New York City on 11 July 1863. Seymour was vacationing at his summer retreat Long Branch, and the city's police force and troops guarding the port were undermanned. Most of the state's militia was supporting the Union army battling General Lee in Pennsylvania. Seymour unsuccessfully called on the Lincoln administration to suspend conscription and traveled to the city to supervise efforts to restore order. To quell the riots, he made a public speech to an angry crowd, addressing them as "My Friends." Seymour's efforts failed, and units from the Army of the Potomac ultimately had to be recalled to restore order. Republicans later accused Seymour of first encouraging and then siding with the draft rioters and managed to defeat him in his bid for reelection as governor in 1864. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:286–87nn; Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots,* 45, 54–55, 59; McCague, *Second Rebellion,* 116–23; Murdock, *Patriotism Limited,* 63–80.

279.28 Gen. U. S. Grant] Ulysses Simpson Grant (1822–85), eighteenth president of the United States (1869–77) and general-in-chief of all Union armies in the final year of the Civil War, personally directed the Union forces in Virginia from 1864 to 1865. William S. McFeely, *Grant: A Biography* (New York, 1981); *ACAB,* 2:709–25; *DAB,* 7:492–501.

279.39 West Point] The United States Military Academy at West Point is located in central New York on the Hudson River. During the American Revolution, the Corps of Engineers constructed massive fortifications on the site, commanding the river. It opened in 1802 under President Thomas Jefferson, although he had previously opposed the creation of a military academy. West Point became a military academy for all military branches in 1812 and made faculty members exempt from other duty requirements. It became America's first engineering school in 1830, with students following a disciplined regime of military instruction, along with a well-rounded curriculum, and character development. West Point educated most of the leading generals who fought on both sides in the Civil War. Theodore J. Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History* (Lawrence, Kans., 2002), 43, 46; Carol Summerfield and Mary Elizabeth Devine, eds., *International Dictionary of University Histories* (Chicago, 1998), 403–05.

280.3–4 Wilderness to Richmond] In May 1864, the newly appointed general-in-chief of the U.S. Armies Ulysses S. Grant launched a coordinated offensive against Robert E. Lee's Confederate forces in Virginia. Grant engaged Lee in a series of bloody battles, including the Wilderness (5–7 May), Spotsylvania Court House (8–12 May), and Cold Harbor (3 June), before beginning a siege of the Confederate capital of Richmond and its nearby sister city of Petersburg. This campaign cost the Union tens of thousands of casualties but made possible its eventual victory. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 724–43; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 473.

280.4 "if it took all summer,"] Douglass quotes a letter from Ulysses S. Grant to Major General Henry W. Halleck, Lincoln's chief of staff, dated 11 May 1864. Ulysses S. Grant, *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant,* ed. John Y. Simon, 30 vols. (Carbondale, Ill., 1967–), 10:422.

280.7–8 I need not say I went most gladly] Douglass may be recalling his second White House meeting with Lincoln on 19 August 1864, when the president summoned him to discuss the possible fate of blacks still enslaved in the Confederacy. Lincoln feared that his Emancipation Proclamation would be rendered ineffective by a premature end to the war and wondered aloud to Douglass if the national government might not sanction an unofficial Underground Railroad by encouraging slaves to escape and then assisting them to freedom behind Union lines. Douglass would have been the most likely candidate to serve as general agent for such an endeavor. Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro,* 215–216.

280.28–29 futile conferences at Niagara Falls] An unauthorized group of northerners and southerners met at Niagara Falls, New York, in July 1864 to discuss ending the war. Organized by New York *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, the so-called peace conference brought Peace Democrats into contact with Confederate agents in Canada, including Clement Claiborne Clay, a former U.S. senator from Alabama, James P. Holcombe of Virginia, and Jacob Thompson of Mississippi. Greeley claimed the Confederates were anxious for peace and willing to negotiate, but when Lincoln called their bluff by providing Greeley with a letter authorizing an end to the war if the Union was restored and slavery ended, the talks collapsed. Van Deusen, *Horace*

Greeley, 305–07; Frank H. Severance, "The Peace Conference at Niagara Falls in 1864: An Episode of the Civil War," *Buffalo Historical Society Publications,* 13:79–80 (1914); Ludwell H. Johnson, "Lincoln's Solution to the Problem of Peace Terms, 1864–1865," *JSH,* 34:577–78 (November 1968).

281.12 "Governor Buckingham of Connecticut,"] Governor of Connecticut from 1858 to 1866, William Alfred Buckingham (1804–75) grew up on a farm in Lebanon, Connecticut. He did not attend college and worked in a wide variety of occupations in his youth. In 1830 Buckingham became a carpet manufacturer in Norwich and later served four terms as the town's mayor (1849, 1850, 1856, and 1857). A Whig turned Republican, Buckingham supported the Union effort in the Civil War by energetically raising regiments in his state. He declined renomination as governor in 1866 but accepted a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1869. Samuel G. Buckingham, *The Life of William A. Buckingham: The War Governor of Connecticut* (Springfield, Mass., 1894); Robert Sobel and John Raimo, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789–1978,* 6 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1978), 1:177; *ACAB,* 1:438–39; *NCAB,* 10:339–40; *DAB,* 3:228–29.

281.29 John A. Gray] John A. Gray (c. 1834–?), caterer, lived in Washington, D.C., where he serviced some of the District's most notable families, including Douglass's. President Grant appointed both Gray and Douglass to the District's first Legislative Council in 1871. While a member of the council, Gray proposed a plan to protect small property owners from the Board of Public Works, which had introduced new assessments for improvements to their property. Gray later became the proprietor of the Hamilton House at 14th and E Streets. 1900 U.S. Census, Washington, District of Columbia, 2B; Milwaukee *Sentinel,* 18 April 1871; Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States,* 7 vols. (New York, 1951–90), 2:636; James H. Whyte, *The Uncivil War: Washington during the Reconstruction, 1865–1878* (New York, 1958), 29, 106, 144, 161, 166, 251, 258, 283.

281.30 Secretary Dole] William Palmer Dole (1811–89) was born in Danville, Vermont. In 1818 the family moved to the Terre Haute area in Indiana. Dole was a member of the Whig party and was elected to both houses of the Indiana legislature. After Abraham Lincoln assumed the presidency in 1861, he gave Dole the post of commissioner of Indian affairs in acknowledgment of his assistance in swinging the states of Pennsylvania and Indiana to Lincoln. As commissioner, Dole worked to extend the policy of assimilation through advocating education for the Indians and to make legally binding treaties with all Indian tribes who had not yet done so. Dole's tenure came to an end following the Sand Creek Massacre in November 1864. Congress called for all army officers, Indian agents, and politicians involved to be removed. While Lincoln hesitated to enforce that order, his successor President Andrew Johnson removed Dole from office in July 1865. Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean,* 1 October 1889; Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, eds., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977* (Lincoln, Neb., 1979), 89–96.

281.31 Soldiers' Home] Created in 1851 as a shelter for invalid and disabled

solders, the Soldiers' Home in Washington, D.C., expanded its size and functions during the Civil War, becoming the headquarters for the Special Relief Services in the capital. In addition to providing food, lodging, shelter, and medical care for soldiers, it assumed administrative responsibilities on behalf of its residents. Whenever possible, President Lincoln went there to visit with the soldiers. Charles J. Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission; Being the General Report of Its Work during the War of the Rebellion* (Philadelphia, 1866), 291–95; Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington, 1860–1865* (New York, 1941), 14, 214; Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, *A History of the National Capital: From Its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act,* 2 vols. (New York, 1914–16), 2:337.

282.15–16 the letter of Phelps in the Department of the Gulf] On 16 June 1862 Union General John W. Phelps, moved by the dire conditions of contrabands surrounding his station in Carrollton, Louisiana, wrote a letter to Captain R. S. Davis of the Department of the Gulf, detailing the general dissatisfaction of blacks and suggesting that the government might enlist fifty black regiments, which would "naturally operate in favor of freedom and against those influences which at present most endanger our liberties." General Benjamin Butler, Phelps's commanding officer, forwarded the letter to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. After receiving no reply from Stanton, Phelps wrote another letter to Captain Davis on 30 July 1862, requesting "arms, accoutrements, clothing, camp and garrison equipage" for three black regiments that he was attempting to raise from the ex-slaves in Carrollton. In his letter Phelps also suggested that graduates from West Point be utilized to raise further black regiments in South Carolina. Davis replied the following day, proposing that Phelps use the contrabands for labor purposes. Not wishing to become a "mere slave-driver," Phelps offered to resign his position. Butler ordered Phelps to remain in Carrollton, reiterating that he had no authority to raise black troops. On 21 August, however, the government accepted Phelps's resignation, and he returned to his farm in Brattleboro, Vermont. Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx: A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775–1812, 1861–65* (Hartford, Conn., 1890), 183–94; Mary R. Cabot, *Annals of Brattleboro, 1681–1895,* 2 vols. (Brattleboro, Vt., 1922), 2:802–04; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 115–16.

282.18–19 battles of Port Hudson, Vicksburg, Morris Island] The newly recruited black Union army soldiers fought creditably in their earliest combat engagements in 1863. The all-black First and Third Louisiana regiments, raised in New Orleans, charged Confederate entrenchments surrounding Port Hudson, Louisiana, multiple times on 27 May 1863 and sustained serious casualties. On 29 June 1863, three black Union army regiments participated in bloody skirmishing at Mound Plantation during the Vicksburg campaign. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment had distinguished itself in the attack on Fort Wagner on Morris Island, near Charleston, on 18–19 July 1863. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 8–9, 12–21, 214–20; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 373–79.

282.22–23 the summer…Democratic party] Viewed by many northerners as a

document intimating permanent disunion, the Democratic platform of 1864, written largely by Peace Democrats, declared "that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war,…justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view of an ultimate convention of the States,…to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." The party's standard-bearer, General George B. McClellan, supported by the War Democrats, rejected the notion of the war as a "failure" but supported negotiations and promised that "when any one state is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights." Nevins, *War for the Union,* 4:98–103; Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 1:34; Myers, *Study in Personality,* 456–57.

283.1–2 "swap horses while crossing a stream."] This aphorism is from Abraham Lincoln's "Reply to Delegation From the National Union League," on 9 June 1864. Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 7:383–84.

283.10 William the Silent] William of Nassau (1533–84), ruler of the small principality of Orange in France and a major landholder in the Netherlands, was educated at the Hapsburg imperial court in Brussels. Upon his accession to rule in 1577, Emperor Philip II made William one of five members of the Dutch council of state. While serving as a ceremonial hostage to the French court during treaty negotiations in 1559, William learned of a conspiracy between the French king and the emperor to cooperate in exterminating Protestantism. His ability to conceal his vehement disapproval of this conspiracy until his release earned him the sobriquet "the Silent." His marriage in 1561 to a Lutheran princess, Anne of Saxony, alienated the Catholic Hapsburgs, and William thenceforth openly opposed Philip's plans to use military force to impose religious orthodoxy and centralized administration over the Netherlands. In November 1576, the rampage of Spanish troops in the south precipitated a union of southern and northern provinces, which assigned sovereign leadership for their defense to William. When Calvinist radicals asserted themselves, the southern Catholic provinces left the union, and William, a Calvinist since 1573, became leader of a smaller but more closely welded country. After Philip declared him an outlaw in 1580, offering a reward for his capture, dead or alive, William issued a personal defense of his opposition to the emperor on the grounds that Philip's rule in the Netherlands had invalidated itself. William was shot in his home in 1584 by a paid supporter of Philip: his last words were "God have pity upon this poor people." John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic: A History,* 5 vols. (New York, 1900), 5:354; C[icily] V[eronica] Wedgwood, *William the Silent: William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, 1533–1584* (1956; London, 2001); Harold J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era, 1500–1650,* 2d ed. (New York, 1973), 438, 440–41; Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 50–51, 148.

283.18 his remarkable inaugural address] Douglass attended Abraham Lincoln's second inauguration in Washington, D.C., on 4 March 1865. Following the address, Douglass went to the White House to attend the reception in the East Room. Guards attempted to bar his entry because he was black, but Lincoln intervened and Douglass joined the receiving line. When Douglass shook hands with the president, Lincoln remarked that he had seen him in the audience at the inaugural ceremonies and asked his opinion of the address. Douglass replied, "Mr. Lincoln, that was a sacred effort." This was the third and final time that Douglass and Lincoln met. Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 233; Leech, *Reveille in Washington,* 370; Christopher N. Breiseth, "Lincoln and Frederick Douglass: Another Debate," *JISHS,* 68:9–26 (February 1975).

283.20 Sprague] Kate Chase (1840–99) was the daughter of the eminent Ohio Republican politician Salmon P. Chase, who served in the U.S. Senate, as governor of Ohio, secretary of the Treasury, and chief justice of the United States. After her education, Kate Chase was always very socially and politically active; she served as her father's hostess and first lady while he was governor of Ohio. She married Republican William Sprague, Rhode Island governor and U.S. senator, on 12 November 1863. Kate Chase Sprague demonstrated ambitious support of her father's political aspirations, especially his bid for president in the early 1860s but was frequently at odds with her husband, who was often drunk, adulterous, and, on occasion, violent. She had four children with William Sprague: a son, William, or "Willie," who committed suicide at age twenty-five in 1890; and three daughters, Ethel, Portia, and Katherine Chase. Kate Chase Sprague was often estranged from her husband, and their stormy relationship led her to file for divorce on 20 December 1880, after which she requested a legal change back to her maiden name. She died of Bright's disease at the age of fifty-nine. Peg A. Lamphier, *Kate Chase and William Sprague: Politics and Gender in a Civil War Marriage* (Lincoln, Neb., 2003); Alice Hunt Sokoloff, *Kate Chase for Defense* (New York, 1971); Blue, *Salmon P. Chase,* 26, 75, 208–10, 288, 308, 310, 313.

284.1–3 To those who…full of misery] As Douglass claims, Confederate military prospects dimmed after the middle of 1864. Union army forces led by General William Tecumseh Sherman captured the Confederate stronghold of Atlanta, Georgia, on 2 September 1864. Rather than pursuing the defeated Confederate army commanded by John B. Hood, Sherman abandoned Atlanta on 15 November and led his troops on a practically unopposed expedition through Georgia, which culminated in the capture of Savannah on the Atlantic coast on 21 December. Sherman was leading his forces into North Carolina at the time of Lincoln's second inauguration. After a string of bloody battles during the early summer of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant brought his Army of the Potomac to the doorstep of the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. Grant then besieged Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia around Richmond and Petersburg until the following April. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom,* 721–41, 774–75, 809–11, 825–28, 844–45.

284.18 President Garfield] James Abram Garfield (1831–81) lost his father at an early age and worked at numerous odd jobs to finance an education that culminated with graduation from Williams College in 1856. Three years later, while principal of Hiram Institute in Ohio, he won election to the state senate as a Republican. During

the Civil War, Garfield received a series of rapid promotions but resigned from the Union army in December 1863 after holding the rank of major general to begin serving the first of eight terms in Congress. Initially aligned with Radical Republicans on Reconstruction issues, his views became more moderate after passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. At the 1880 Republican convention, Garfield was serving as John Sherman's floor manager when the deadlocked gathering turned to him as their presidential nominee on the thirty-sixth ballot. After the defeat of Winfield Scott Hancock in the election, Garfield's administration suffered heated disputes over patronage with supporters of ex-president Grant, led by U.S. Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York. Charles Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker, shot Garfield on 2 July 1881; the president died eleven weeks later. Margaret Leech and Harry J. Brown, *The Garfield Orbit* (New York, 1978); Allan Peskin, *Garfield: A Biography* (Kent, Ohio, 1978); *ACAB,* 2:599–605; *DAB,* 7:145–51.

284.19 President Rutherford B. Hayes] Rutherford Birchard Hayes (1822–93), nineteenth president of the United States, had previously served as governor of his home state of Ohio (1867–71) and as a Republican congressman (1865–67). Although Hayes had supported the Radical Reconstruction program while in Congress, events during Grant's administration had convinced him that the remaining southern Republican state governments, led by carpetbaggers and blacks, could no longer sustain themselves even with federal military intervention. As president, Hayes attempted to reinvigorate the southern Republican party through a program of sectional reconciliation aimed at attracting former Whigs and Douglas Democrats into the party. He believed that the goodwill of southern whites was better protection for the political and civil rights of blacks than federal military force. Soon after his inauguration, Hayes ordered U.S. troops in Charleston and New Orleans away from the statehouses and back to their garrisons, causing the Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana to collapse in the face of the armed force of their Democratic opponents. Hayes also appointed numerous southern Democrats to federal office, including former Confederate general David M. Key, who became his postmaster general. Despite Hayes's hope, few new southern white voters joined the Republican party, and it shrank into a powerless minority in most of the region for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Kenneth E. Davison, *The Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Keith Dan Polakoff, *The Politics of Inertia: The Election of 1876 and the End of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, La., 1973), 246–51, 317–21; Vincent P. DeSantis, *Republicans Face the Southern Question: The New Departure Years, 1877–1897* (1959; New York, 1969), 66–132; William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869–1879* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979), 335–52.

284.26–30 "Neither party…fundamental and astounding."] Douglass quotes Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address on 4 March 1865. Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 8:332–33.

284.31–285.7 "offense which…all nations."] A paraphrase of Lincoln's inaugural address on 4 March 1865. "If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 8:333.

285.16 Andrew Johnson] Andrew Johnson (1808–75) assumed the presidency on 15 April 1865, following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, the self-educated Johnson served in the Tennessee legislature (1834–37, 1839–43) prior to being elected a Democratic congressman (1843–53), governor (1853–57), and U.S. senator (1857–62). In 1862 Lincoln appointed Johnson, a Unionist, military governor of Tennessee, and two years later Johnson was elected as Lincoln's vice president. Radical Republicans opposed Johnson's Reconstruction policies and in 1867, after the president had attempted to oust Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act, succeeded in impeaching him. At the Senate trial in 1868 conviction failed by one vote. After his presidential term Johnson returned to Tennessee, which elected him to the U.S. Senate in 1874. Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson: Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1928); James E. Sefton, *Andrew Johnson and the Uses of Constitutional Power* (Boston, 1980).

285.21 Thomas J. Dorsey] Thomas J. Dorsey

286.11–12 brakemen] Historically, the brakeman walked atop cars of the train while it was in motion, manually engaging the brake wheels of each car, checking couplings between cars, and signaling the train operators during switching operations.

286.15 "they all with one accord began to make excuse."] Luke 14:18.

286.20 a man among men] *Paradise Lost,* Book III, lines 283–86. John Milton, *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose,* ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), 265.

287.31 the fall of Richmond] Besieged since June 1864 by Union forces under General Ulysses S. Grant, the Confederate army, commanded by General Robert E. Lee, evacuated its fortifications around Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia, during the night of 2–3 April 1865. Union troops occupied Richmond, the Confederate capi-

tal, on the morning of 3 April as Lee's army and Confederate officials retreated toward Danville, Virginia. Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital* (Austin, Tex., 1971), 176–98; Long and Long, *Civil War Day by Day,* 663–67.

287.36 Faneuil Hall] "The doors of Faneuil Hall…never opened on a more glorious occasion than this afternoon," exulted the Boston *Transcript* in its report of the public meeting held on 4 April 1865 "to rejoice over" the entry, one day earlier, of federal troops into the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. Arranged by the city administration, the meeting attracted "immense" numbers of celebrants who used the occasion, in the words of the *Liberator,* to "give expression to the emotions of joy and gratitude that thrill every patriotic heart, at the auspicious omens for peace and freedom." When Frederick W. Lincoln, Jr., opened the ceremonies at 3:00 p.m., he assured the assembled that "this meeting was not intended for a formal, but a popular gathering, and not especially for hearing long speeches." At intervals the Germania Band and a local glee club performed appropriately stirring music, and one "noticeable feature" of the program was the singing of a spiritual by "two colored men," John S. Brown and the Reverend George A. Rue. Colonel Patrick R. Guiney of the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment delivered the first address, followed by Senator Henry Wilson; Senator Robert C. Winthrop, whom Douglass had once served as a waiter in New Bedford; Judge Thomas Russell; and Captain W. H. McCartney. Douglass, who had been traveling in Massachusetts when the "great news" arrived, was the next to speak. His "felicitous" remarks created much excitement and "merriment." The Reverend Edward N. Kirk was the last to address the assembly. After the reading of a letter from Governor John A. Andrew, Mayor Lincoln joined the speakers and the audience in singing "Old Hundred." The meeting, which was then declared "dissolved," remained to Douglass in "every way a remarkable expression of popular feeling, created by a great and important event." Boston *Transcript,* 5 April 1865; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 310–311.

288.3 "sea of upturned faces."] Douglass quotes the first sentence of Daniel Webster's Faneuil Hall speech of 30 September 1842. Webster designed this well-known piece to avert pressure from Massachusetts Whigs to resign from John Tyler's cabinet. "I know not how it is, Mr. Mayor, but there is something in the echoes of this walls, or in this sea of upturned faces which I behold before me…" *Papers of Daniel Webster,* ser. 4, 2:332.

288.3 Choate] Rufus Choate (1799–1859), descended from a Massachusetts Puritan family, was valedictorian at Dartmouth in 1819. After 1822 he combined a legal career with public service. During his tenure in the Massachusetts legislature in 1825 and 1826, Choate opposed Jacksonian Democracy. He won election to Congress as a National Republican in 1830 and soon became a leading Whig politician in Massachusetts. In 1841 Choate was chosen to fill out Daniel Webster's Senate term when Webster became secretary of state. He served until 1845, a staunch Whig who opposed the annexation of Texas and supported high tariffs. An admirer of Webster, Choate was himself known as a premier orator and an advocate of sectional compromise. At the Massachusetts state constitutional convention, Choate played a leading role in opposing the creation of an elective judiciary system. His endorsement of James Buchanan, a Democrat, in the 1856 presidential election contributed to the fissuring and final collapse of the Whig party in New England. Jean V. Matthews, *Rufus Choate: The Law and Civic Virtue* (Philadelphia, 1980); Claude M. Fuess, *Rufus Choate: The Wizard of Law* (1928; New York, 1997); *DAB,* 4:86–90; *BDUSC* (online).

288.11 the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy] Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1802–37) was killed at Alton, Illinois, on 7 November 1837 while defending his press from an anti-abolitionist mob. Son of a Presbyterian minister from Albion, Maine, and a graduate of Waterville (later Colby) College, Lovejoy moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1827 to teach school and edit a Whig newspaper. Five years later he returned east to study at Princeton Theological Seminary. Licensed to preach by the Philadelphia presbytery in 1833, Lovejoy went back to Missouri to edit the St. Louis *Observer,* a Presbyterian weekly, and to champion gradual emancipation, temperance, and anti-Catholicism. In 1836 his outspokenness on these topics angered many Missourians, and he moved to Alton, Illinois, where prominent citizens welcomed him as "a pious religious editor." By March 1837, Lovejoy had converted to "immediatism," joined the American Anti-Slavery Society, and announced his intention to organize local and state abolitionist societies. Already troubled by a recent decline in the local economy, many of Alton's leading men were alarmed at the prospect of their town's becoming a center of an organized antislavery movement. Agitated by fears of miscegenation, many prominent citizens organized mob violence to silence Lovejoy and his press, the Alton *Observer,* which was twice dismantled and thrown into the river. When Lovejoy and his supporters replaced the press for a third time, they resolved to protect it by armed force. Lovejoy was mortally wounded by rifle fire when he and another man rushed out of the stone warehouse in which the press was being safeguarded to shoot a rioter attempting to set fire to the roof. Abolitionists enshrined Lovejoy as a martyr. On 7 December 1837, Boston lawyer Wendell Phillips delivered an impassioned defense of Lovejoy's actions at a packed public meeting in Faneuil Hall. That speech marked Phillips's unqualified embrace of the abolitionist cause. John Gill, *Tide without Turning: Elijah P. Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press* (Boston, [1958]); Merton L. Dillon, *Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor* (Urbana, Ill., 1961); Stewart, *Wendell Phillips,* 58–63; Richards, *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing,"* 100–11; Mabee, *Black Freedom,* 38–50; Perry, *Radical Abolitionism,* 75; *DAB,* 11:434–36.

288.20–21 Hon. Robert C. Winthrop] Whig politician Robert Charles Winthrop (1809–94) was born in Boston to one of the state's oldest and most prominent families. After graduating from Harvard, he studied law in Daniel Webster's office and joined the state bar. Winthrop served six terms in the state legislature (1834–40), the last three as speaker. Except for a six-month period in 1842, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1840 to 1850 and was speaker from 1847 to 1849.

Appointed in 1850 to fill the U.S. Senate seat vacated by Webster, Winthrop attracted the ire of many constituents for supporting the Fugitive Slave Law and was defeated for reelection the next year by Charles Sumner. After supporting the Tennessean John Bell for president in 1860, Winthrop backed Democrat George McClellan four years later. Following the Civil War, he devoted the remainder of his life to literary and philanthropic pursuits. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston, 1897); *DAB,* 20:416–17; *BDUSC* (online).

289.3 "solid men of Boston,"] Douglass quotes Daniel Webster's 1852 speech given at Faneuil Hall in Boston. Webster alludes to Captain Charles Morris's poem, "Billy Pitt and the Farmer," in *An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces, In Prose and Verse, Not in Any Other Collection: With Several Pieces Never Before Published,* ed. John Almond, 4 vols. (London, 1785–93), 2:250; Daniel Webster, *Address Delivered by the Honorable Daniel Webster in Faneuil Hall, May 22, 1852, at the Request of the City Council of Boston* (Boston, 1852), 25.

289.4–5 "gates, like those of Heaven, stood open night and day,"] A paraphrase of Isa. 60:11.

289.26 John H. Clifford] John Henry Clifford (1809–76) was a lawyer in New Bedford, Massachusetts. In *My Bondage and My Freedom,* Douglass mentions working as Clifford's hired servant during his first winter of freedom. Although Douglass disagreed with Clifford's political conservatism, the two remained friendly throughout their lives. Clifford served in the Massachusetts legislature and as the state attorney general. He retired from politics and law in 1867 to become the president of the Boston & Providence Railroad. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:232–33, 397n; Grover, *Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 146, 175; *NCAB,* 1:657; *DAB,* 4:215–16.

290.2–3 the assassination of Abraham Lincoln] Abraham Lincoln died at 7:22 a.m. on 15 April 1865. On the previous evening he had attended a performance of *Our American Cousin* at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C. At approximately 10 p.m., Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth entered the president's unguarded box and shot Lincoln in the head from behind with a Derringer pistol. Fatally wounded, Lincoln was carried out of the theater and across the street to the house of William Peterson, where he was placed upon a bed in a rear room. The president never regained consciousness and died surrounded by surgeons, cabinet members, congressmen, and other federal officials. Louis J. Weichmann, *A True History of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and of the Conspiracy of 1865* (New York, 1975), 147–58; Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography* (New York, 1952), 520–21; Francis Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth: Fact and Fiction of Lincoln's Assassination* (Boston, 1929), 112–17; Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* (New York, 1982), 11–13.

291.2 His picture, now before me in my study, by Marshall] New York painter and engraver William Edgar Marshall (1837–1906) created his study of Abraham Lincoln in 1865 from photographs of the former president. When the Boston printing firm of Ticknor and Fields published a line engraving of the oval portrait in 1866, it received significant critical acclaim. It appeared in the offices and homes of many prominent Americans and is considered one of the first commercially successful mass-produced prints. Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (New York, 1984), 212–15.

291.11 I was in Rochester] Douglass delivered these impromptu remarks on 15 April 1865 in the Rochester City Hall during a public memorial service for President Abraham Lincoln, who had died that morning from wounds inflicted by the assassin John Wilkes Booth. Mayor Daniel David Tompkins Moore, who called the meeting for 3:00 p.m., presided and was the first speaker. As the bells of the city tolled, City Hall became "crowded with citizens long before the hour named. A good many ladies were among the audience. Hundreds were unable to obtain admission." The Reverend Ezekiel Gilman Robinson, president of Rochester Theological Seminary, Judge John C. Chumasero, and the Reverend R. Bethell Claxton, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, each remarked on the meaning of Lincoln's death. Douglass, seated in the rear of the hall, had not been invited to participate in the program. His presence was noted, however, and a friend recalled, "his name burst upon the air from every side, and filled the house." According to the wishes of the assembly, Douglass went to the platform and offered his own meditations on the events of the day. "I have heard Webster and Clay in their best moments," Douglass's friend continued, "Channing and Beecher in their highest inspirations; I never heard truer eloquence! I never saw profounder impression. When he finished, the meeting was done." Douglass himself acknowledged that, although he had made many speeches in Rochester "which had more or less touched the hearts of my hearers,…never till this day was I brought into such close accord with them." The meeting concluded with the unanimous adoption of resolutions of grief and prayer by the Reverend Mr. Robinson. F. DeW. Ward, *Churches of Rochester: Ecclesiastical History of Rochester, N.Y.* (Rochester, 1871), 83–84; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 311; Hanmer-Croughton, "Anti-Slavery Days in Rochester," 151–52.

291.17 Doctor Robinson] Born on his family's farm near Attleboro, Massachusetts, Ezekiel Gilman Robinson (1815–94) graduated from Brown University in 1838 and from Newton Theological Institute in 1842. Although he considered himself temperamentally unsuited to pastoral duties, Robinson served as minister to Baptist churches in Norfolk, Virginia (1842–45), Cambridge, Massachusetts (1845–46), and Cincinnati, Ohio (1848–53). He held a more congenial post as professor of biblical interpretation at Western Baptist Theological Institute in Covington, Kentucky, from 1846 until 1848, when the school broke up over the slavery question. Beginning in 1852, Robinson held a professorship at Rochester Theological Seminary and became the school's president in 1860. His success as a fund-raiser for the seminary led to his appointment as president of Brown University. During his seventeen years in that office, he more than doubled Brown's endowment while simultaneously stiffening the university's academic and disciplinary policies. Robinson also edited the *Christian Review* from 1859 to 1864 and published several collections of his sermons,

addresses, and essays. Harry Lyman Koopman, comp., *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1764–1894* (Providence, 1895), 1, 13, 126; McKelvey, *Rochester,* 41, 88, 97, 197; *ACAB,* 5:285; *DAB,* 16:43–44.

291.17 Rochester University] Rochester University is a private university in Rochester, New York. It began in 1850 after a court ruling blocked a plan by the Baptist Education Society to relocate Madison College (later renamed Colgate University) to Rochester. A small group of professors and students nevertheless proceeded to found the University of Rochester in the renovated United States Hotel. Three years later, Azariah Boody, Rochester's Whig congressional representative and a successful railroad investor, donated eight acres of land east of the city to the fledgling university, which provided a permanent campus. Summerfield and Devine, *University Histories,* 599.

291.18 Brown University] Brown University is a private university located in Providence, Rhode Island. Founded by the Baptists, the school was originally chartered as Rhode Island College in 1764. The college moved from Warren, Rhode Island, to Providence in 1770 and was renamed Brown University, after a prominent local mercantile family, instrumental in raising funds for the school. Summerfield and Devine, *University Histories,* 56.

291.26 "touch of nature made us"] A paraphrase of *Troilus and Cressida,* sc. 9, line 1952.

292.6 by the organic law of the land] The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, abolishing slavery, was ratified in December 1865.

292.14–15 "Othello's occupation was gone."] *Othello,* sc. 9, line 1809.

292.17 Daniel Webster] Daniel Webster resigned his post as secretary of state under John Tyler on 8 May 1843. Webster remained in the cabinet longer than any other appointee of William Henry Harrison; however, he clashed strongly with Tyler over the president's ambition to annex Texas. Webster also became increasingly concerned about Tyler's abandonment of Whig principles and feared he would seek the Democratic nomination for president in 1844. Webster's resignation and Tyler's subsequent appointment of his friend Abel Upshur, a states' rights conservative, cleared the way for the pursuit of Texas's annexation. Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York, 1999), 137–38, 149–50, 170; Maurice G. Baxter, *One and Inseparable: Daniel Webster and the Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 365–66; Howard Jones, "Daniel Webster: The Diplomatist," in *Daniel Webster: "The Completest Man,"* ed. Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Hanover, N.H., 1990), 218–19.

292.18 John Tyler] Vice President John Tyler, who succeeded to the presidency upon the death of William Henry Harrison in May 1841, quickly alienated most Whigs by his refusal to support bills for internal improvements and the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. By September 1841, all of Harrison's cabinet except Secretary of State Daniel Webster had resigned, and in 1843 Webster left as well. Tyler then made Democratic Senator John C. Calhoun his secretary of state and followed policies in line with the latter's theories on states' rights. Tyler, elected as a Whig but ideologically inclined to the Democrats, thus seemed unsettled in terms of his party. Oliver Perry Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South* (New York, 1939), 237–89.

292.38 John B. Gough] John Bartholomew Gough (1817–86) was born into a Methodist household in Sandgate, England, but at the age of twelve left England for the United States with a family to whom he had been apprenticed. After living for two years on a farm in Oneida County, New York, Gough moved to New York City, where he worked as a bookbinder. In the depression of 1833 he lost his job and experienced an extended period of penury and familial hardship, during which he began to drink very heavily. Gough drifted throughout New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, working occasionally as an actor or bookbinder while continuing his alcoholic bouts. When his wife and young child died simultaneously in 1841 during one of his ten-day drinking sprees in Worcester, Massachusetts, he sank into a suicidal depression. The following year a Quaker convinced him to attend a temperance meeting at which he signed the total-abstinence pledge and began a new career. Slipping into drinking briefly only once after signing the pledge, Gough became a famous temperance lecturer in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. His fine voice and skill at imitation drew thousands to hear him, and he estimated shortly before his death that over nine million people had heard his more than 9,600 lectures. John B. Gough, *Autobiography and Personal Recollections of John B. Gough* (Springfield, Mass., 1869); Ernest Hurst Cherrington, ed., *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem,* 6 vols. (Westerville, Ohio, 1924–30), 3:1125–27; *NCAB,* 3:336; *DAB,* 7:445–46.

293.4–5 the sale of "My Bondage and My Freedom,"] Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom,* released in August 1855, tells the story of Douglass's life as a slave, his escape, his first fourteen years as an abolitionist, his manumission, and his life as a freeman that included ventures in the printing business. The autobiography sold 5,000 copies in the first two days of its release, at $1.25 per copy, and sold 1,000 in Syracuse, New York, alone. The book went into second and third printings in 1856 and 1857, and by the time of the release of the German edition in 1860 some 20,000 copies had been sold. Despite the limited initial circulation, the book met rave reviews and rivaled his first autobiographical *Narrative*. Douglass's autobiography is one of only a handful of similar works, such as Sojourner Truth's and Harriet Beecher Stowe's, recognized for their insightful narration and unique perspectives. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:xxx–xxxi.

293.7 Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster] The Fosters settled on a farm outside Worchester, Massachusetts, where they lived until Stephen's death in 1881. Both Fosters continued their support of women's rights, especially female suffrage, and for several years the taxes on the farm went unpaid as a form of social protest against taxation without representation. *ACAB,* 2:514–15; *NCAB,* 2:323–24.

293.16 "Self-made Men,"] Douglass refers to his lecture "The Trials and Triumphs of Self-Made Men: An Address Delivered in Halifax, England, on 4

January 1860." Douglass discoursed on "Self-Made Men" on many occasions over the thirty-five-year period of his speaking career. The first versions of the speech date from a tour of Illinois and Wisconsin in February 1859. The earliest surviving published text of the lecture features a section comparing American and British views on upward mobility, which Douglass most likely added to capture the interest of his listeners at Mechanics' Hall in Halifax, England. On that occasion, a large crowd heard the Reverend H. O. Crofts introduce Douglass with a brief biographical sketch suggesting Douglass's own qualifications as a "self-made man." Whatever reservations Douglass may have had regarding the delivery of a speech dealing with neither slavery nor reform to a foreign audience must have faded with the enthusiastic reception accorded the two-hour address. According to the Leeds *Mercury,* the crowd listened "throughout with marked attention" to an oration that was "fresh and original both in…manner and…subject." At its close, the meeting voted its thanks to Douglass. Janesville (Wisc.) *Gazette,* 11 February 1859; Halifax *Courier,* 7 January 1860; another text in Halifax *Guardian,* 7 January 1860; Leeds *Mercury,* 7 January 1860; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:289–300.

293.17 one upon Ethnology] Douglass's lecture was delivered on 12 July 1854 at the Commencement Ceremony at Western Reserve College in Hudson, Ohio. Addressed to the prestigious Philozetian and Phi Delta literary societies of the college, the speech was the first time that a black person had been a keynote speaker at the graduation exercises of a major American university. Unsure about what to say on such an occasion, Douglass agreed to speak only after receiving advice from Dr. M. B. Anderson, an ethnologist and the president of the University of Rochester, and Dr. Henry Wayland, a member of that university's faculty. In his speech, Douglass argued against a widely held ethnological belief that the African race was incapable of knowledge and reason and thus more suited to manual work like other beasts of burden. Especially popular in the South, these so-called ethnologists used the theory of Anglo-Saxon intellectual superiority over Africans to defend slavery and clear their consciences. Although news of Douglass's lecture prior to its delivery was greeted with a mix of incredulity, praise, and disapproval, the speech proved to be a success for Douglass, drawing nearly 3,000 attendants and garnering him commendation from the public press. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:497–525.

293.19 Doctor M. B. Anderson] Martin Brewer Anderson (1815–90) was born in Brunswick, Maine, and graduated from Waterville (later Colby) College in 1840. He remained there for another decade teaching rhetoric and modern history. From 1850 to 1853 he edited the New York *Recorder,* a weekly Baptist newspaper. Anderson served as president of the University of Rochester from its founding in 1853 until his retirement in 1889. In addition to his work as an educator, he published numerous articles on a variety of topics, including ethnology, history, and religion. Martin B. Anderson, *Papers and Addresses of Martin B. Anderson,* ed. William C. Morey, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1895); William Cathcart, ed., *The Baptist Encyclopedia: A Dictionary of the Doctrines, Ordinances, Usages, Confessions of Faith, Sufferings, Labors, and Successes, and of the General History of the Baptist Denomination in All Lands* (Philadelphia, 1881), 33–35; *NCAB,* 12:243–44; *DAB,* 1:269–70.

293.22 Western Reserve College] Western Reserve College, later renamed Case Western Reserve University, is a private liberal arts university located in Cleveland, Ohio. Western Reserve College opened in 1826 in Tallmadge, Ohio. This area was chosen for its scenery, lack of temptation toward vice for students, and reputation for stability. Western Reserve College became well known as a center of abolitionism and admitted black students in the 1830s. Professors and students alike spoke in favor of abolition at local meetings. Years of suffering from financial problems eventually led the administration to relocate the college to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1872. This move allowed Western Reserve College to join with the Cleveland medical department and the Case School of Applied Science. C[larence] H. Cramer, *Case Western Reserve: A History of the University, 1826–1976* (Boston, 1976), 7; Summerfield and Devine, *University Histories,* 69–70.

293.26 Heman Wayland] The younger son of Francis Wayland (1796–1865), Heman Lincoln Wayland (1830–98) graduated from Brown University in 1849. He had been a tutor at the University of Rochester in 1854 when he helped Douglass to prepare a lecture on ethnology. Ordained later the same year, Wayland served as a pastor in Worcester, Massachusetts, until joining the Seventh Connecticut Infantry Regiment as a chaplain during the Civil War. He later taught at Kalamazoo College in Michigan and was president of Franklin College in Indiana before commencing two decades as editor of the *National Republican.* H. L. Wayland to Frederick Douglass, 27 January 1885, Douglass to Mr. Wayland, 29 January 1885, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 122, 131–33, FD Papers, DLC; FD Diary, reel 1, frame 3, FD Papers, DLC; Jesse Leonard Rosenberger, *Rochester: The Making of a University* (Rochester, 1927), 73, 121; William T. Stott, *Indiana Baptist History, 1798–1908* (Franklin, Ind., 1908), 352–54; *ACAB,* 6:397–98; *NCAB,* 10:494; *DAB,* 17:558–60.

293.37–38 Doctor Prichard's "Natural History of Man,"] James Cowles Prichard.

294.5 "Man and his Migrations," by R. G. Latham] Dr. Robert Gordon Latham (1812–88), a native of Lincolnshire, England, and an 1823 graduate from King's College, Cambridge, was an ethnologist whose book *Man and His Migrations* (1853) analyzed the source of languages on the African continent. Latham argued that the languages of the "negro classes" were Semitic in origin, thereby originating in the Middle East. Douglass held Latham's work in high regard because it served to falsify the claim of southern ethnologists that the much-emulated Egyptian culture was not African but Mediterranean and thus European in origin. Douglass believed that Egyptians were in fact representative of African culture, which disproved southern claims that slaves had no respectable "culture" or "tradition" of their own. Robert G. Latham, *Man and His Migrations* (London, 1852), 156–57; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:508–18; *DNB,* 11:609.

294.6 Morton the famous Archaeologist] The ethnological conclusions of Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) aligned him with the American School of Ethnology.

The American School questioned the theories of the eminent British physician and ethnologist James Cowles Prichard, and of the prominent American naturalist and educator Samuel Stanhope Smith. Prichard and Smith propounded the monogenist theory that there was a unified origin of the separate races and that the different races thus constituted one species. In contradistinction, the American School posited a polygenist theory, claiming that each race had a separate origin and was therefore a distinct species. Morton's work, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America* (Philadelphia, 1839), argued that different races were created to adapt to their original environments and that external causes did not affect physical characteristics. Fredrickson, *Black Image in the White Mind,* 74–76; Stanton, *Leopard's Spots,* 3–12, 30, 40; *ACAB,* 4:432–33; *NCAB,* 10:265–66; *DAB,* 13:265–66.

294.6 Nott] Josiah Clark Nott (1804–73) was a southern surgeon and ethnologist. Nott and Egyptologist George R. Gliddon coauthored a work titled *Types of Mankind,* which broadened the polygenist theories of the American School of Ethnology to include the theory that the Negro race was inherently inferior. *Types* sold out immediately and went through at least nine editions by the end of the nineteenth century. Fredrickson, *Black Image in the White Mind,* 74–75, 82, 187, 233; Stanton, *Leopard's Spots,* 163; *DAB,* 13:582–83.

294.7 Gliddon] The ethnological conclusions of George Robert Gliddon (1809–57) aligned him with the American School of Ethnology. The American School questioned the theories of the eminent British physician and ethnologist James Cowles Prichard, and of the prominent American naturalist and educator Samuel Stanhope Smith. Prichard and Smith propounded the monogenist theory that there was a unified origin of the separate races and that the different races thus constituted one species. The ethnologists of the American school posited a polygenist theory, claiming that each race had a separate origin and was therefore a distinct species. Gliddon and southern ethnologist Josiah Clark Nott coauthored a work titled *Types of Mankind,* which broadened the polygenist theories of the American School of Ethnology to include the theory that the Negro race was innately inferior. *Types* sold out immediately and went through at least nine editions by the end of the nineteenth century. Fredrickson, *Black Image in the White Mind,* 74–75, 82, 187, 233; Stanton, *Leopard's Spots,* 3–12, 30, 40; *ACAB,* 2:665.

294.8 then prevalent Calhoun doctrine of the rightfulness of slavery] Distinguishing himself from proslavery politicians who defended the institution as a necessary evil, John C. Calhoun maintained that the institution of slavery was actually a benevolent system for both the white and black races. In a speech delivered in the U.S. Senate on 6 February 1837, Calhoun argued that slavery, as it existed in the South, "is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good." He not only declared that slavery improved the physical, moral, and intellectual capacities of Central African blacks, but also claimed that it neutralized class conflict between lower-class and upper-class whites, whose socioeconomic status could be perceived as relatively equal in comparison to that of enslaved blacks. Believing that the attempts of abolitionists to do away with the institution would inevitably lead to the collapse of labor markets in both the South and the North, Calhoun asserted that a "free" nation like the United States ultimately depended on slavery in order to preserve the rights and progress of its dominant race. John C. Calhoun, *The Papers of John C. Calhoun,* ed. Clyde N. Wilson, 28 vols. (Columbia, S.C., 1959–2003), 13:391–98; David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York, 2006), 177; James H. Read, *Majority Rule versus Consensus: The Political Thought of John C. Calhoun* (Lawrence, Kans., 2009), 118–22, 138–40.

294.14 "scholar bee in my bonnet,"] Douglass is unsure of the source of this phrase, which appears in De Quincey's "Coleridge and Opium-Eating," in *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey,* ed. David Masson, 14 vols. (1889–90; New York, 1968), 5:195.

294.22–23 My lecture on "The Races of Men"] Douglass lectured on the topic of ethnology in his 12 July 1854 address to the literary societies of Western Reserve College. The lecture was later published in pamphlet form, as was a popular adaptation, variously titled "The Races of Man" or "The Brotherhood of Man," which he gave in Chicago on 4 February 1859 and on other occasions. Speech File, reel 14, frames 193–205, reel 19, frames 325–33, 334–51, 546–79, FD Papers, DLC; Chicago *Daily Press and Tribune,* 5 February 1859.

294.28 his famous lecture on the "Lost Arts"] First delivered during the lyceum lecture series in the winter of 1838–39, "The Lost Arts" was Wendell Phillips's most popular address, and he delivered it often. Although Phillips never committed the lecture to writing, a friend finally had it transcribed "for posterity." The lecture begins with an objection to the conceited character of America, noting that ancient cultures often considered inferior to the contemporary American, had perfected many forms of art, including metallurgy, engineering, literary narrative, poetry, and painting. Phillips cited examples of Latin American, African, and Asian cultures whose artistic and mechanical skills surpassed those now available in America or elsewhere. The lecture concluded by stating that democracy was the key to an enduring national legacy, a crucial component missing in the bygone empires about which he spoke. Wendell Phillips, *The Lost Arts* (Boston, 1884); Stewart, *Wendell Phillips,* 181–84.

296.7–8 American Anti-Slavery Society...disbanded] Garrison believed that with emancipation accomplished the American Anti-Slavery Society had fulfilled its mission. In May 1865 Garrison resigned as the society's president, and on 29 December 1865 he published the final issue of the Boston *Liberator,* which, though not the American Anti-Slavery Society's official organ was still its most influential mouthpiece. Douglass, Wendell Phillips, and others believed that the struggle for equality necessitated further action by organizations and newspapers, while Garrison moved on to focus almost exclusively on women's rights. *Lib.,* 29 December 1865; Mayer, *All on Fire,* 597–614.

296.9–11 Many of…this course] After the Civil War, William Lloyd Garrison argued for the dissolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, believing the society's aims of emancipation accomplished. Wendell Phillips, Douglass, and others, however, argued that the fight for equal rights had only just begun and that the society's mission encompassed such work. Oliver Johnson, among others, argued that new organizations were required to fight for civil rights. The American Anti-Slavery Society therefore did not disband, but Garrison resigned as president during the May 1865 national convention, and Wendell Phillips was elected in his place. The society's new goal was enfranchisement of African Americans, which was achieved with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on 30 March 1870. James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 13, 35–40, 98–102, 392; idem, *Struggle for Equality,* 301–07, 428.

296.15–17 the cause…ephemeral character] Among the most prominent societies for civil rights that sprung up following the Civil War were the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the National Freedmen's Relief Association, and the Christian Commission, the last of which began as an aid for soldiers but increasingly focused on helping the black race during Reconstruction. Although these societies comprised many former abolitionists, almost half of their membership consisted of individuals who had never been involved in the antislavery cause. Funds for American freedmen were also raised following the war from overseas, especially from England, France, and Ireland. In spite of these new organizations, many former abolitionists, such as Douglass and Wendell Phillips, lamented the March 1870 disbanding of the American Anti-Slavery Society, believing that its dissolution signified an end to the serious crusade for blacks' rights—including the enfranchisement of African Americans—in favor of a less effective, merely charitable emphasis on educating freedmen. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York, 1935), 77–78; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 67, 448; McPherson, *Struggle for Equality,* 397; *EAAH,* 2:268.

296.35–37 The demand…wholly inadmissible] In 1865 only five states accorded blacks equal voting rights, approximately a mere 7 percent of the northern African American population. Although many abolitionists, such as Douglass and Wendell Phillips, believed that providing blacks the right to vote was a necessary step following the abolition of slavery, white Americans generally viewed black suffrage as impractical during the initial period of Reconstruction. In his annual message on 8 December 1863, Abraham Lincoln failed to advocate providing blacks the vote once slavery was abolished. The government's indifference to blacks' voting rights was further compounded in the actions of the nation's subsequent president, Andrew Johnson, who vetoed the Civil Rights Bill (1866), the Freedmen's Bureau Bill (1866), the First Reconstruction Bill (1867), the Tenure of Office Bill (1867), and bills sponsored by Charles Sumner that authorized the admission of new states into the Union only if they permitted black suffrage (1866). Eric L. McKitrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960), 108–09; Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 7:48–53; Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* 331–39; McPherson, *Struggle for Equality,* 239; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 67.

298.5 to leave the lamb in the hold of the lion] Douglass alludes to Isa. 11:6: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them." The first twelve chapters of Isaiah address the rise of the Assyrian state and Israel's and Syria's defiance of it; although scholars do not agree on the precise dates of the events. The initial chapters sketch a picture of nearly total destruction of Israel, and Isaiah concludes with a sense of hope for its people. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 3:480–82.

298.11 "Republics are ungrateful"] A paraphrase of Machiavelli: "Whoever reads of the things done by republics will find in all of them some species of ingratitude toward their citizens." Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy,* trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago, 1996), 28.

298.21–25 I used to...enough to vote."] Douglass spoke a variation of this line in a speech in Boston on 26 January 1865, *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:50, 59–66.

299.1–2 Unlike the movement…not long delayed] Political debate about black suffrage began in earnest in 1864. In 1866 the Joint Committee on Reconstruction recommended James G. Blaine's proposal on the issue, though neither this proposal nor that of Charles Sumner passed Senate debate. Three years later the Fifteenth Amendment passed Congress in its final form. On 30 March 1870, five years after the Thirteenth Amendment officially abolished slavery, it was announced that the Fifteenth Amendment had been ratified by the required number of states and was now a part of the U.S. Constitution. John M. Mathews, *Legislative and Judicial History of the Fifteenth Amendment* (1909; New York, 1971), 11–14, 75; William Gillette, *The Right to Vote: Politics and the Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment* (Baltimore, 1965), 21–27, 71.

299.7 Doctor Godwyn] Morgan Godwyn (fl. 1685), Anglican clergyman, urged the Church of England to sponsor missionary work among the slaves in *The Negro's and the Indian's Advocate, Suing for Their Admission into the Church*. Douglass may have had this work in mind when discussing the baptism of black slaves. However, Godwyn does not list the charge that it was sinful to baptize blacks among the objections raised by opponents of such evangelization measures. He does mention the belief that free blacks and black slaves were not fully human and therefore had no souls or could not benefit from religious instruction. Godwyn argued that neither the African slaves' "Complexion nor Bondage, Descent nor Country" precluded Christian instruction and that "Negroes (both Slaves and others) have naturally an equal Right with other Men, to the Exercise and Privilege of Religion; of which 'tis most unjust in any part to deprive them." Godwyn, who spent some time in Virginia and Barbados, denounced the commercial spirit of slave traders and planters, even though he upheld

the legality of slavery. Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate, Suing for Their Admission into the Church…* (London, 1680), preface, 9, 38; Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament,* 2 vols. (1808; London, 2005), 1:46; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 204–06, 339–40; Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (1942; Bowie, Md., 1998), 257–59.

299.21–22 interview with…February, 1866] On the morning of 7 February 1866, President Andrew Johnson received a delegation appointed by the National Convention of Colored Men, an organization of black men from thirteen states that was then meeting in Washington. Douglass, his son Lewis, and George T. Downing were among the thirteen men (including one white man) escorted into the president's office at the Executive Mansion. Downing opened the interview, followed by Douglass, who stated the purpose of the visit. Although the president was courteous, the delegates disliked the fact that he "indicated…a repressed anger." Johnson ungracefully sidestepped the concerns of the group, most of which centered on the Thirteenth Amendment and its enforcement in the southern states. After the meeting was over, the delegates met briefly with Radical Republicans opposed to Johnson's policies. Later that day Douglass composed a written reply to the president, signed by all the delegates, which appeared in the next day's edition of the Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle.* James O. Clephane, a stenographic reporter, recorded the interview for the *Evening Star* and made slight "corrections" in the version published in the paper. Clephane's text was widely reprinted throughout the nation. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 7 February 1866. Other texts in Washington (D.C.) *Daily Morning Chronicle,* 8 February 1866; Washington (D.C.) *National Intelligencer,* 8 February 1866; New York *Times,* 8 February 1866; Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* 12 February 1866; Springfield *Illinois State Register,* 13 February 1866; *ChR,* 17 February 1866; Boston *Commonwealth,* 17 February 1866; Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America during the Period of Reconstruction,* 3d ed. (Washington, D.C., 1880), 52–55; Phillip S. Foner, ed., *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass,* 5 vols. (New York, 1950–75), 4:182–91; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 226–28.

299.22 George T. Downing] George T. Downing (1819–1903) was the eldest son of Thomas Downing, a well-known black restaurateur in New York City. After an education at the city's segregated Mulberry Street School and at Hamilton College, he worked in his father's business until 1855, when he opened a hotel in Newport, Rhode Island. Downing was active in the Underground Railroad and led a successful effort to integrate Rhode Island public schools. He supported Douglass in the public controversy with Henry H. Garnet over the merits of the latter's African Civilization Society. In 1859 Downing presided over a convention of New England blacks that gave a qualified endorsement to the Republican party. During the Civil War, Downing moved to Washington, D.C., and became manager of the House of Representatives' restaurant. In February 1866 Downing was the chairman of a committee of blacks, including Douglass, who attended an interview with President Andrew Johnson during which the chief executive urged his audience to abandon their advocacy of black suffrage. *Lib.,* 20 July 1855; New York *Weekly Anglo-African,* 19 September 1859, 21 April 1860; *NASS,* 24 February 1866; Cleveland *Gazette,* 12 September 1885; New York *Times,* 22 July 1903; Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 1003–06; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 145, 150, 190, 218–19; McPherson, *Struggle for Equality,* 343–46; Guichard Parris, "George T. Downing," *NHB,* 5:42 (November 1941); Freeman, "The Free Negro in New York City," 46, 49–56; *DANB,* 187–88.

299.23 Wm. E. Matthews] Born in Baltimore, William E. Matthews (1845–94) was a free black. Before attaining a law degree from Howard University in 1873, Matthews was a principal speaker for the Gailbraith Lyceum, a realtor, and the first black to be appointed to a clerkship in the U.S. Post Office (1870). In 1881 he opened a real estate and broker's office in Washington, D.C. Matthews managed Douglass's finances before the latter went to Europe in 1886. In several letters to Matthews, Douglass alluded to tensions and differences between them, but always considered the bond of their common cause decisive. Their political collaboration was longstanding; both men had been members of the delegation of blacks who interviewed President Andrew Johnson on 7 February 1866. Douglass to William E. Matthews, 20 September 1882, 1 July 1889, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frames 635–36, reel 5, frames 415–16, FD Papers, DLC; Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 246–51.

299.23 John Jones] John Jones (1816–79), often referred to by contemporaries and the press as the "most prominent colored citizen of Chicago," was the freeborn son of a free mulatto mother and a German named Bromfield. A native of Greene County, North Carolina, Jones was later apprenticed to a Tennessee tailor. Jones worked until he could save $100, then moved in 1841 to Alton, Illinois, and married Mary Richardson, whom he had met in Tennessee. In 1845 the couple moved to Chicago, where Jones taught himself to read and write and where he established a tailor shop that catered primarily to whites. A successful businessman, Jones owned property worth an estimated $85,000 before Chicago's Great Fire of 1871. He lectured throughout Illinois, stressing economic success and social integration as fundamental goals for black advancement. He was vice president of the 1853 Colored National Convention held in Rochester, New York, and participated in the Illinois Colored Convention of 1856. Jones's speaking took on added fervor in 1853, when he fought laws discouraging black migration to Illinois, and again in 1864, when he led the successful fight for the repeal of Black Laws. Jones's home was a way station for the Underground Railroad and a meeting place and guest house for fellow abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass and John Brown. *Lib.,* 18 May 1860; Chicago *Tribune,* 12 March 1875, 22 May 1879; Allen H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago, 1967), 6, 55, 77, 107, 111; Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (1935; Chicago, 1967), 81–82, 111; Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *They Seek a City* ([Garden City], N.Y., 1945), 28–36; *DANB,* 366–67.

299.23 John F. Cook] John Francis Cook, Jr. (1833–1910), was born in Washington, D.C. His father, John F. Cook, was a prominent African American clergyman and educator. Cook initially attended Union Seminary, which was his father's school, and later studied at Oberlin College. In 1855 his father died, and Cook and his brother George took over direction of Union Seminary. In 1867 Cook began his governmental career by securing a clerkship with the District of Columbia tax collector. The following year he was elected to the Washington Board of Aldermen. Cook also served as a justice of the peace (1869–76) and collector of taxes for the District of Columbia (1874–88). Cook continued to serve on numerous social welfare, education, and cultural boards after his retirement. By 1895 he was considered to be one of the wealthiest African American men in the United States, with an estimated net worth of $200,000. John W. Cromwell, *The Negro in American History: Men and Women Eminent in the Evolution of the American of African Descent* (Washington, D.C., 1914), 67–70; *DANB,* 126–27; *ANB,* 5:382–83.

299.23–24 Joseph E. Oats] A former slave of onetime Florida governor David Shelby Walker, Joseph E. Walker not only was a skilled carpenter but had learned to read and write before the Civil War. A meeting of Tallahassee freedmen selected Oats to represent them at the National Negro Convention in Washington, D.C., in February 1866, after which he participated in the interview with President Andrew Johnson. A Republican, Oats later served as a delegate to the 1868 Florida state constitutional convention. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1888), 38–39, 435; Peter D. Klingman, "Rascal or Representative? Joe Oats of Tallahassee and the 'Election' of 1866," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* 51:52–57 (July 1972).

299.24 A. W. Ross] Little has been found about Virginia-born A. W. Ross (c. 1812–?). He lived in Mississippi and, at least for a time, worked as a carpenter. His wife's name was Charrity. 1870 U.S. Census, Mississippi, Warren County, 246B, 425; Washington (D.C.) *Daily National Intelligencer,* 8 February 1866.

299.24 William Whipper] William Whipper (1804–76) first became known for his "free labor and temperance" grocery in Philadelphia. During the 1830s Whipper attended the annual National Negro Conventions regularly, and in 1835 he helped found the American Moral Reform Society and served as the editor of its journal, the *National Reformer.* That same year, Whipper moved to Pennsylvania's interior, where he became involved in the lumber business and in the Underground Railroad. Initially Whipper rejected the idea of racially based reform movements, but late in life he came to accept African American organizations as necessary for the attainment of racial equality. Because he desired the "moral elevation" of African Americans within American society, he often agreed with Douglass's approach to political and social reform. During the 1850s Whipper supported the emigrationist movement, but the outbreak of the Civil War prevented him from moving himself and his family to Canada. Instead, he returned to Philadelphia after the war and worked as a cashier for the Freedman's Bank, which failed in 1873. Richard P. McCormick, "William Whipper: Moral Reformer," *Pennsylvania History,* 43:23–48 (January 1976); Jack Salzman, David L. Smith, and Cornel West, eds., *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History,* 5 vols. (New York, 1996), 5:2817–18; *DANB,* 643.

299.24 John M. Brown] John Mifflin Brown (1817–93) was born and raised in Delaware but was educated at the Wesleyan Academy in Massachusetts and at Oberlin College. As a leading figure in the African Methodist Episcopal Conference in the 1840s, Brown helped found the Union Seminary (later Wilberforce University) in Tawawa Springs, Ohio. In 1853 Brown moved to New Orleans to work at the Morris Brown Mission, and after five years he accepted an appointment at Bethel Church in Baltimore. After serving in various missionary and editorial positions within the A.M.E. church, Brown was ordained bishop and assigned to the South Carolina district. Brown's strong support of higher education for African Americans led to the formation of schools in Columbia, South Carolina, and Waco, Texas. In his sermons and writing, Brown stressed the egalitarian nature of the gospels, especially in regard to race and gender. As an early advocate of the ordination of women, he broke with the majority of his fellow officials in the A.M.E. church but continued to serve as bishop until his death in 1893. Salzman, Smith, and West, *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture,* 1:452; *DAB,* 2:138–39; *DANB,* 68–69.

299.24 Alexander Dunlop] James City County, Virginia, blacksmith and Baptist minister Alexander Dunlop was an active member of the First Baptist Church of Williamsburg and a prominent representative of the region's free black community. Following the Civil War, as a spokesman for Virginia's black community, Dunlop testified before the congressional Joint Committee on Reconstruction. In January 1866 he was among the black leaders from thirteen states who met in Washington, D.C., to push for suffrage rights for blacks in the South. Representatives of the group, including Douglass and Dunlop, met with President Andrew Johnson in February 1866. Staunton *Vindicator,* 16 February 1866; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees,* 118; Richard Lowe, "Local Black Leaders during Reconstruction in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 103:181–206 (April 1995).

300.31 'putting new wine into old bottles'] A paraphrase of Mark 2:22.

301.24–25 Senator Charles Sumner] Charles Sumner spoke on 5–6 February and again on 7 March 1866 in the U.S. Senate in support of legislation providing full suffrage to all emancipated black males as justified by the federal government's power to guarantee republican forms of government in all the states. Sumner also denounced a proposed constitutional amendment to allow states to limit suffrage on the basis of race. Sumner's position was loudly applauded at the time by not only Douglass and other black leaders but also veteran white abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Gerrit Smith. *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works. With Introd. by George Frisbie Hoar,* 20 vols. (1900; New York, 1969), 10:115–269; Benedict, *Compromise of Principle,* 151–52; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 253.

301.28–32 A committee…their representation] Sumner had initiated his black

suffrage drive in opposition to a movement in early 1866 by moderate Republicans to pass a new constitutional amendment, threatening the southern states with reduced representation in Congress for their failure to enfranchise emancipated black males. The amendment effort was led by Maine Senator William Pitt Fessenden, who answered Sumner's criticism in debates well covered by the national press. Sumner argued that the proposed amendment recognized the states' right to discriminate in setting voting qualifications. Fessenden answered that the amendment would punish such discrimination, but conceded that states did in fact have control of who could vote. On 9 March 1866, Sumner and four other Radical Republicans joined the Democrats and pro-Andrew Johnson conservative Republicans to block the two-thirds vote required for passage of the amendment. Benedict, *Compromise of Principle,* 151–55, 169; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 253.

301.37–38 addressed…following memorial] In protest against a pending constitutional amendment that would exclude U.S. citizens from representation and taxation on account of race or color, on 15 February 1866 Charles Sumner presented a memorial signed by Douglass, George T. Downing, Lewis H. Douglass, and eight other black citizens. As he laid down the memorial before the Senate, Sumner gave the following declaration: "I do not know that I have at any time presented a memorial which was entitled to more respectful consideration than this, from the character of its immediate signers and from the vast multitudes they represent. I hope I shall not depart from the proper province of presenting it if I express my entire adhesion to all that it says, and if I take this occasion to entreat the Senate, if they will not hearken to arguments against the pending proposition, that they will at least hearken to the voice of these memorialists, representing the colored race of our country." *Index to the Miscellaneous Documents of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session Thirty-ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1867); William H. Barnes, *History of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States* (New York, 1868), 392–93; Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction* (New York, 1914), 44.

302.12–13 colored men being…of the States] Following the Revolutionary War, blacks were not technically excluded from voting in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, or North Carolina. However, property qualifications generally limited black voters to a wealthy few and thus kept the large majority of blacks from being a significant political factor in the country's earliest elections. As the number of African Americans grew into the early nineteenth century and property restrictions for voting ceased, most states, driven by fear that blacks would eventually become equal in status with whites, barred them from the ballot altogether. By 1835 all southern states had completely disenfranchised free blacks; five years later, only Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine granted equal voting rights, accounting for merely 7 percent of the free black population. Robin D. G. Kelley and Earl Lewis, eds., *To Make Our World Anew: A History of African Americans* (New York, 2000), 205; Donald R. Wright, *African Americans in the Early Republic* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1993), 132–33; Benjamin Quarles, "The Revolutionary War as a Black Declaration of Independence," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution,* ed. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville, Va., 1983), 300; Litwack, *North of Slavery,* 74–75; *EAAH,* 3:304.

302.14–16 there is not…right of suffrage] The U.S. Constitution prescribes indirect elections for the president and vice president. Only "Electors" are mentioned as voters for these positions; the only qualifications are that an "Elector" may not be in the employ of the federal government and not have been convicted of treason. The election of U.S. representatives and senators is also mentioned, but only to declare that individual states hold the right to prescribe regulations regarding the means of election. U.S. Constitution, art. 1, sec. 4; idem, art. 2, sec. 1.

302.26 Senator Wm. Pitt Fessenden] William Pitt Fessenden (1806–69) was a New Hampshire-born and Bowdoin-educated lawyer, politician, and financier. Settling in Portland, Maine, Fessenden practiced law and then won election on the Whig ticket to the Maine legislature before serving a single term in Congress (1840–42). Once again serving in the state legislature (1845–46, 1854–55), he gained a national reputation as an antislavery Whig and at the 1852 party convention opposed the nomination of Daniel Webster. In 1854 an antislavery coalition elected Fessenden to the U.S. Senate, where he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. As chair of the Senate Finance Committee, Fessenden played a prominent role in funding the Union war effort. He served briefly as secretary of the Treasury in 1864 and 1865. Reelected to the Senate in 1865, he was a strong advocate of a hard currency policy. Although Fessenden agreed with the Radical Republicans that Reconstruction should be supervised by Congress, he assumed moderate positions on many Reconstruction issues, especially confiscation of rebel property. He encouraged support of the Fourteenth Amendment, but took a more conservative position on the 1867 Reconstruction Act. He did not believe it appropriate for Congress to impose harsh terms, including forcing black enfranchisement, on the southern states. Despite differences with President Johnson, he cast one of the crucial votes that prevented the Radicals from removing the president from office. Charles A. Jellison, *Fessenden of Maine: Civil War Senator* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1962); Robert Cook, "'The Grave of All My Comforts': William Pitt Fessenden as Secretary of the Treasury," *CWH,* 41:208–26 (September 1995); *NCAB,* 2:90–91; *DAB,* 6:348–50.

302.26–27 Senator Henry Wilson] Massachusetts's other Republican senator, Henry Wilson, differed with Charles Sumner on the apportionment amendment and spoke to support its passage. Benedict, *Compromise of Principle,* 152.

302.33 Wade] Benjamin Franklin Wade (1800–78), antislavery lawyer, judge, and legislator, was born in Feeding Hills, Massachusetts, moved to Ohio as a young man, and eventually entered into a law partnership with Joshua Giddings. In 1837 Wade was elected as a Whig to the Ohio senate, where his opposition to stricter fugitive slave laws possibly cost him reelection. He served again in the state legislature

from 1841 to 1843, and in 1847 was appointed presiding judge of the Third Ohio Judicial Circuit. Four years later, Whigs and Free Soilers united to elect him to the U.S. Senate. In the 1850s he converted to Republicanism and was an outspoken opponent of any move to expand the limits of slavery. An advocate of aggressive military measures during the Civil War, Wade served as chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War and, with Congressman Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, sponsored an alternative to Lincoln's Reconstruction policy, the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864, which the president vetoed. After the war he continued to advocate congressional Reconstruction and was one of the leading critics of Andrew Johnson's conciliatory policies toward the South. As president pro tempore of the Senate at the time of Johnson's impeachment trial in 1868, Wade stood to gain the presidency upon Johnson's conviction. Johnson survived impeachment, but Wade, whose radicalism applied to woman suffrage and labor legislation as well as to Reconstruction issues, had alienated many politicians and voters. He never again held public office. In 1866 Wade had been one of only four Republican senators to join Charles Sumner in successfully blocking the apportionment amendment. Albert G. Riddle, *The Life of Benjamin F. Wade* (Cleveland, 1886); Hans L. Trefousse, *Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio* (New York, 1963); *DAB,* 19:303–05.

302.33 Yates] Richard Yates (1818–73) was born in Warsaw, Kentucky, emigrated with his family to Springfield, Illinois, and was graduated from Illinois College in Jacksonville in 1835. A lawyer, he served five times in the state house of representatives during the 1840s before being elected to Congress as a Whig in 1850. In the House Yates championed land grants to both railroads and farmers in the western territories and opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Defeated in his bid for a third term, Yates returned to his legal career until elected Republican governor of Illinois in 1860. For the next four years he struggled to have his state meet its wartime enlistment quotas. In 1863 Yates prorogued the Democratic-controlled state legislature after it endorsed a compromise peace settlement with the Confederates and managed the state's war efforts on his own authority for over a year. After the war Yates served in the U.S. Senate from 1865 to 1871, where he supported Radical Reconstruction of the South and the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Yates had been among the earliest and most outspoken supporters of black suffrage and had stood with Sumner in the fight with moderate Republicans over the unsuccessful apportionment amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Richard Yates and Catherine Yates Pickering, *Richard Yates: Civil War Governor,* ed. John H. Krenkel (Danville, Ill., 1966); Benedict, *Compromise of Principle,* 111; Jack Northrup, "A Western Whig in Washington," *JISHS,* 64:419–41 (Winter 1971); Linda Hartman, "The Issue of Freedom in Illinois under Gov. Richard Yates, 1861–1865," *JISHS,* 57:293–97 (Autumn 1964); Sobel and Raimo, *Directory of Governors,* 1:374; *ACAB,* 6:638–39; *NCAB,* 11:48; *DAB,* 20:599–601; *BDUSC* (online).

302.33 Howe] Timothy Otis Howe (1816–83) began his political and legal career in New England, but relocated to Green Bay, Wisconsin, in 1845. As a member of the Whig party, he served on the state supreme court. Howe's antislavery ideas caused him to join the Republican party during the 1850s, and he was elected to the U.S. Senate as a member of that party in 1861. He remained in the Senate for eighteen years, during which time he turned down an appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court and another as minister to Great Britain. In the aftermath of the Civil War, he was at first reluctant to cease support of Andrew Johnson but publicly announced his conversion to black suffrage in a Wisconsin Republican convention in fall 1865. He thereafter sided with Radicals like Sumner and sought to limit the power of President Andrew Johnson. His last post, to which he was appointed by President Chester A. Arthur in 1881, was that of postmaster general of the United States. Although he initiated an ambitious plan of reform, his term was cut short by his death in 1883. Richard Current, *The History of Wisconsin,* 2 vols. (Madison, Wisc., 1976), 2:271–73; Benedict, *Compromise of Principle,* 113, 157; *NCAB,* 4:252; *DAB,* 5:297–98.

302.35 Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks] Among the many political offices held by Indiana Democrat Thomas Andrew Hendricks (1819–85) were those of U.S. representative (1851–55), commissioner of the General Land Office (1855–59), U.S. senator (1863–69), governor of Indiana (1873–76), and vice president under Grover Cleveland (1885). As a senator, Hendricks took a leading role in the debate over congressional passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, advancing a host of constitutional and racist arguments against the measure. *DAB,* 8:534–35; *BDUSC* (online).

303.3 Revels] Of African and Native American descent, Hiram Rhodes Revels (1822–1901) worked as a barber in North Carolina until attending college and becoming the minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore in 1845. During the Civil War, Revels worked as a recruiter for African American soldiers, for whom he also served as chaplain. Although he was the first African American to take a seat in the U.S. Senate (1870–71), he opposed Radical Republicanism and later supported the Democratic party's campaign to end Republican rule in Mississippi in 1875. From 1871 to 1874 and 1876 to 1883 he served as president of Alcorn University. He also edited the *Southwestern Christian Advocate.* He continued in the ministry for the remainder of his life, which included leading a congregation for a time in Richmond, Indiana. Billy Libby, "Senator Hiram Revels of Mississippi Takes His Seat, January–February 1870," *Journal of Mississippi History,* 37:381–94 (November 1975); Julius E. Thompson, "Hiram Rhodes Revels, 1827–1901, a Reappraisal," *JNH,* 79:297–303 (Summer 1994); *NCAB,* 2:405–6; *DAB,* 8:513.

303.3 Bruce] Blanche Kelso Bruce (1841–98) was born a slave near Farmville, Virginia. In early adulthood, Bruce escaped to the free state of Kansas, and there established and taught in the first elementary school for blacks. In February 1869 Bruce, convinced that there were more and better opportunities in the South, moved to Mississippi, where he was made supervisor of elections in Tallahatchie County. In 1870 Bruce moved to Jackson, where he was elected sergeant-at-arms of the state senate. Later, having moved to Bolivar County, he was elected sheriff and tax assessor. In 1874 the state legislature elected Bruce to the U.S. Senate, making him the

second black to represent Mississippi in that office. During his single Senate term, Bruce championed pensions for black war veterans, protection of Indian lands, and federal intervention to safeguard voting rights. The Senate chose him to head a committee to conclude the business of the bankrupt Freedman's Bank, which succeeded in refunding 62 percent of the depositors' money. Remaining a power in the Mississippi Republican party, Bruce received federal appointments as register of the Treasury (1881–85, 1897–98) and recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia (1889–93). Douglass and Bruce frequently appeared together at political events in Washington, D.C., and consulted on political strategy. Maurine Christopher, *Black Americans in Congress* (New York, 1976), 15–24; *DANB,* 74–76.

303.16 "National Loyalists' Convention,"] In an attempt to rally broad public support for the Johnson administration's policies of southern "restoration" and states' rights, supporters of the president held a "National Union" convention in Philadelphia in August 1866. Radical and moderate Republican opponents of those policies responded by calling their own convention in Philadelphia the following month. Although it was officially a "Southern Loyalists' Convention," prominent northern Republicans attended as honorary delegates to demonstrate that anti-Johnson sentiment was national in scope. Douglass was among those selected by a Republican mass meeting to represent Rochester, New York, at the Loyalists' gathering. He attended the convention on 3–7 September despite newspaper threats of mobbing and private efforts by such individuals as Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana to prevail upon him to stay away "in order to save the Republican party from detriment." The fears of northern white Republicans, combined with the barely concealed racism of many of their border-state colleagues, led the convention virtually to ignore Douglass and the few other black delegates during its official proceedings. On the morning of 4 September, however, Douglass attended a private meeting of the New York delegation to the convention held at the Union League House and chaired by General Hiram Walbridge. Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan and Governor Richard Yates of Illinois each addressed the gathering. According to the New York *Herald,* "As soon as it was learned that Fred Douglass was in the room the audience of delegates grew clamorous to hear him, and…amid deafening applause and cheering the dusky orator stepped on the rostrum." After Douglass's speech Theodore Tilton and a number of other speakers offered brief remarks. A report on Douglass's address pronounced it "*the* speech *par excellence* thus far." Indianapolis *Daily Journal,* 12 July 1866; New York *Tribune,* 31 August, 3, 4, 5 September 1866; New York *Herald,* 3, 5 September 1866; Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* 1, 5 September 1866; Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* 4, 5 September 1866; New York *Times,* 5 September 1866; New York *Independent,* 13 September 1866; Chicago *Open Court,* 28 April 1867; other texts in Philadelphia *Inquirer,* 5 September 1866; Rochester *Daily Democrat,* 10 September 1866; *The Southern Loyalists' Convention, Tribune Tracts No. 2* (n.p., n.d.), 4; Patrick W. Riddleberger, *1866: The Critical Year Revisted* (Carbondale, Ill., 1979), 205–16; Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (1930; New York, 1958), 184–87.

303.33–34 a city…colored residents] Douglass's estimate is approximately correct. Rochester's population in 1860 was 47,794, including 410 "non-whites." In 1870 the population had grown to 62,386, while the African American population had grown to only 427. Boris H. Mikolji, "Race, Nationality, and Politics in an Urban Community" (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1971), 133.

303.36–37 a shock to the country of no inconsiderable violence] Douglass's presence at the Southern Loyalists' Convention, held in Philadelphia in September 1866, polarized the media, conventiongoers, and the population at large. While on his way to the convention, the train he was riding derailed, and a mob attempted to board the train and attack Douglass. Many newspapers acknowledged Douglass's popularity and lamented that northern representatives were not officially taking part in the convention, whereas others questioned Douglass's right to attend it at all. New York *Daily Tribune,* 3 September 1866; New York *Herald,* 3 September 1866; Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* 4 September 1866; New York *Times,* 5 September 1866.

304.5 Harrisburg] Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

304.8 Oliver P. Morton] Oliver Hazard Perry Throck Morton (1823–77) was born in Wayne County, Indiana. Removed from school at the age of fifteen and apprenticed to his brother, a hatter, Morton practiced that trade for four years. He then studied at Miami University in Ohio and began the practice of law in Centreville, Indiana, in 1847. Morton rose quickly in prominence in his new profession, largely owing to his successful representation of railroad special interests. Though initially a Democrat, Morton left that party in response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor of Indiana in 1854. Elected lieutenant governor in 1860, he succeeded to the governorship when Henry S. Lane was chosen U.S. senator by the Indiana legislature. He served in that office from 1861 to 1867 and during the Civil War engaged in bitter political conflicts with Democrats in the state legislature. From 1867 until his death, Morton was a U.S. senator. He soon broke with Andrew Johnson and became a leader of Republican radicals and later an advocate of inflationary "soft money" policies. William Dudley Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton,* 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1899); E. Orville Johnson, "Oliver P. Morton: A Study of His Career as a Public Speaker and of His Speaking on Slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction Issues" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1957); *ACAB,* 4:431–32; *DAB,* 13:262–64; *BDUSC* (online).

304.13 Jonah of the Republican ship] Douglass compares himself to Jonah 1:7. Fleeing God's will, Jonah boards a ship to Tarshish, but God intervenes with a powerful storm. The pagan sailors on board discover that Jonah has brought the storm. Their efforts to return to shore are thwarted, however, and they must cast Jonah into the sea as he has requested, and at once the storm ceases. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 3:936–37.

304.34 several districts in the State of Indiana so evenly balanced] In Indiana's 1864 congressional elections, four districts—the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 10th—were

decided by fewer than 1,000 votes. In 1866 the 8th district was also closely contested. That year Republicans maintained their control of the state, carrying eight of eleven districts. Only two districts changed party hands; the 4th went to the Republicans, while the Democrats won the 7th. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections,* 2:896, 899.

305.22 when the Loyalist…streets of Philadelphia] The Southern Loyalists' Convention in Philadelphia began on 4 September 1866 with southern delegates marching from the National Union Club to Independence Hall. Northern delegates then joined the procession, and both delegations marched to the Union League House. New York *Times,* 2 September 1866.

305.29 Independence Hall] Independence Hall was constructed in 1732 as the assembly house for Pennsylvania in downtown Philadelphia. A brick tower and steeple were added to the Georgian style structure in 1750 and 1753. The Second Continental Congress met at Independence Hall in 1775, and the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence was held at Independence Square, culminating in the ringing of the Liberty Bell, which would be heralded as an icon of American independence. In the winter of 1776–77, Philadelphia was occupied by British soldiers, and many of the building's furnishings were burned as firewood. Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall: In American Memory* (Philadelphia, 2002), 5–6; "Independence Hall," *Historic Traveler,* 4:32 (March 1998).

306.10 *Theodore Tilton*] Theodore Tilton (1835–1907), journalist, poet, and public lecturer, was born in New York City, where he attended the Free Academy (later renamed City University of New York). As a reporter for the New York *Observer* he made the acquaintance of the Reverends Henry Ward Beecher and George B. Cheever, who were instrumental in his becoming, in 1856, the managing editor of the New York *Independent,* a popular religious journal. In the early 1860s Tilton tried to recruit Douglass as a regular contributor to the *Independent,* and the two became friends. Tilton succeeded Beecher as editor of the *Independent* in 1862 and continued in that position until 1871. After the Civil War he also became a popular speaker on the topics of Radical Reconstruction and women's rights. His public career never recovered, however, from the notoriety he attracted in 1874 as a result of an unsuccessful lawsuit charging Beecher with committing adultery with his wife. Subsequent journalistic efforts failed, and in 1883 Tilton left the United States for Europe. He eventually settled in Paris, where he wrote essays and poetry to support himself. When Douglass visited Paris in 1886, Tilton served as his guide. On Douglass's death, Tilton published *Sonnets to the Memory of Frederick Douglass* (Paris, 1895). Douglass to Theodore Tilton, 22 November 1860, 2 December 1869, 2 September 1867, FD Papers, NRU; Douglass to Theodore Tilton, 2 September 1867, FD Papers, NHi; Theodore Tilton to Douglass, 30 April, 22 October 1862, 20 April 1869, 5 September 1882, General Correspondence File, reel 1, frames 718–19, 745–47, reel 2, frames 464–66, and reel 3, frames 627–31, FD Papers, DLC; Chicago *Open Court,* 28 April 1887; New York *Times,* 26 May 1907; New York *Independent,* 10 December 1908; Robert Shaplen, *Free Love and Heavenly Sinners: The Story of the Great Henry Ward Beecher Scandal* (New York, 1954); *ACAB,* 6:120; *DAB,* 2:129–35.

306.29–30 a city remarkable…the abolition movement] Philadelphia had a reputation as a city unfriendly toward abolition. In particular, the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, the newly inaugurated abolitionist headquarters, on 16 May 1838 was a powerful reminder that abolition would not become a focus of local politics. Little had changed in 1856, when local Democratic party leaders adopted resolutions linking the Republican party to abolitionists who wanted to overthrow the Union. Although abolitionists had long been involved in Philadelphia politics, the white population's general antipathy to blacks, and its mistrust of "agitators," provided fuel for a slow-burning flame of aggression toward abolitionists. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), 132–34; William Dusinberre, *Civil War Issues in Philadelphia, 1856–1865* (Philadelphia, 1965), 28–30, 33, 84–91.

306.32 Pennsylvania Hall] Pennsylvania Hall was located on the southwest corner of Delaware Sixth and Haines Streets, in Philadelphia. In May 1838 the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women met in the recently completed structure. Throughout their stay, the female delegates were heckled by an antiabolition mob that grew increasingly violent. On 16 May the mob lobbed stones at the windows of Pennsylvania Hall, assaulted blacks, stole books, and then set the building on fire. The mob prevented the fire companies from putting out the blaze, and by the morning of 17 May, Pennsylvania Hall was in ruins. *History of Pennsylvania Hall, which was Destroyed by a Mob, on the 17th of May, 1838* (Philadelphia, 1838), 3, 147–50.

307.4 Amanda Sears] Although the incident was reported otherwise in some newspaper accounts, Douglass apparently encountered Arianna Amanda Auld Sears (1826–78), granddaughter of Aaron Anthony and daughter of Thomas Auld, during the opening-day procession of delegates to the Southern Loyalists' Convention on 4 September 1866. Born in Hillsborough, Maryland, "Miss Amanda" lived with her parents at the elder Anthony's home at the same time that Douglass resided there as a young slave. Amanda's mother died not long after the Auld family returned to Hillsborough. Amanda married John L. Sears and moved with him to Philadelphia, where she and Douglass renewed acquaintance after one of his speaking appearances. She later moved with her husband to Baltimore but visited Philadelphia in September 1866 with her two children specifically to watch Douglass in the procession. Douglass remained in correspondence with her and visited her shortly before her death. John L. Sears to Douglass, 10 January 1878, and Thomas E. Sears to Douglass, 1 February 1878, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frames 215–16, 225, FD Papers, DLC; New York *Herald,* 6 September 1866; Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* 6 September 1866; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 1:39, 2:102, 108; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 232; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 30, 106–07, 168–70.

307.19–20 I delivered a lecture in National Hall, Philadelphia] The exact date of Douglass's initial reunion with Amanda Sears is uncertain but apparently took place

between 1859 and 1863. His only confirmed appearance at National Hall in 1859 is that of 18 October, after which he hurriedly left the city in the wake of news about John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia. After his return from England he spoke at National Hall on 14 January 1862 and on 6 July 1863. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:137.

307.26 Wm. Needles] The Needles family was prominent among the Quaker community in Talbot County, Maryland. One man named William Needles married Sarah Yarnall in Talbot County on 24 May 1810. He had three sons, including one named William, who probably wrote this letter to Douglass. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore,* 163, 171, 213, 231, 261.

309.31–32 she was ready to die] Shortly after a visit from Douglass, Arianna Amanda Auld Sears died at her residence on Fayette Street, Baltimore, near the end of January 1878. John L. Sears to Douglass, 10 January 1878, Thomas E. Sears to Douglass, 1 February 1878, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frame 225, FD Papers, DLC; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:135n.

310.13–14 J. D. Long] Reverend John Dixon Long (1817–94) was born in New Town, Worcester County, Maryland. Although his father, John W. Long, was a slaveholder, his devout mother taught him antislavery lessons from an early age. He was received into the Methodist Episcopal church in 1834, took his first ministerial post in 1839, and moved to Philadelphia. By 1848 Long's health had failed, and thereafter he only occasionally worked for the church. In 1857 Long published *Pictures of Slavery in Church and State,* in which he told many personal stories relating to slavery in his home state of Maryland. Along with many other abolitionists, Douglass considered Long's book an influential and important text in the battle against slavery. Long was put on "trial" in the Philadelphia Methodist Episcopal Conference by Reverend Thomas Quigley, who accused Long of defaming the church. The conference dismissed the charges, and Long's book set a new precedent for open discussion about the church's position on slavery. John Dixon Long, *Pictures of Slavery in Church and State* (Philadelphia, 1857), 7–10; J. Mayland M'Carter, *Border Methodism and Border Slavery; Being a Statement and Review of the Action of the Philadelphia Annual Conference Concerning Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1858), 38–52; Hannah Adair Bonner, "Abolitionist on Trial: Rev. John Dixon Long and the 1858 Philadelphia Conference," *Annals of Eastern Pennsylvania,* 5:3–24 (November 2008).

310.24–25 A Kentucky gentleman was made President] Appointed U.S. attorney general by Lincoln in December 1864, James Speed (1812–87) held that cabinet post until July 1866, when he submitted his resignation to Andrew Johnson. Born near Louisville, Kentucky, Speed graduated from St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1828 and then studied law at Transylvania University. He established a legal practice in Louisville and taught law at the University of Louisville. After a term in the state legislature, Speed ran unsuccessfully as a pro-emancipation candidate for the state constitutional convention of 1849. After Lincoln's election, Speed publicly battled against secession and was elected to the state senate in 1861 as a Unionist. His support for black suffrage and the Fourteenth Amendment caused Speed's break with

Johnson. The presiding officer of the Southern Loyalists' Convention, Speed bitterly assailed Johnson's Reconstruction policies in his welcoming address on the morning of 4 September 1866. Returning to legal and teaching careers in Kentucky, Speed remained active in that state's Republican party leadership but never again held public office. Albert Castel, *The Presidency of Andrew Johnson* (Lawrence, Kans., 1979), 26–28, 67, 80–81; Riddleberger, *1866: The Critical Year,* 206, 214–15; Robert Sobel, *Biographical Directory of the United States Executive Branch, 1774–1989* (Westport, Conn., 1990), 337; *ACAB,* 5:625; *NCAB,* 2:89, *DAB,* 17:440.

310.28–29 The Maryland delegates] The Maryland delegation was one of the largest at the Southern Loyalists' Convention, composed of sixty men, including Governor John A. J. Creswell, John L. Thomas, D. R. Goodloe, Francis Thomas, Wesley Stack, and Elias Davis. The white Marylanders and other representatives initially worked with Douglass and others to promote African American suffrage, but ultimately abandoned the cause, fearing the political consequences of such action. Washington (D.C.) *Daily National Intelligencer,* 7, 8 September 1866.

310.29 John L. Thomas] Born in Baltimore, John Lewis Thomas, Jr. (1835–93), studied law and was admitted to the Maryland bar in 1856. He held several minor offices before being elected as an "Unconditional Unionist" to represent Maryland in Congress from 1865 to 1867. He served as port collector of Baltimore from 1869 to 1873 and again from 1877 to 1882. Thomas encouraged Douglass to visit the Auld homestead and assisted him in doing so. *BDUSC* (online).

310.30 Those from Virginia] Sixty-one delegates comprised the Virginia contingent to the Southern Loyalists' Convention, including their chair, Burnham Wardwell, John Minor Botts, and J. W. Hunnicutt. Douglass's characterization of the Virginia delegation may not have been entirely fair, however, as newspaper accounts report that they nominated and elected a supporter of universal suffrage, George Rye of Woodstock, Virginia, to chair their delegation's initial organization committee. Furthermore, when the convention was preparing to vote on the issue of African American suffrage, Botts rose and stated that fewer than 300 Virginians would vote for it, although he himself was in favor of universal suffrage. New York *Herald,* 3, 8 September 1866; New York *Tribune,* 4 September 1866; Washington (D.C.) *Daily National Intelligencer,* 8 September 1866.

310.30–31 John Miner Botts] A leading figure at the Southern Loyalists' Convention, John Minor Botts (1802–69) presided on the final day, presenting twenty resolutions that condemned Andrew Johnson and endorsed the Fourteenth Amendment. Born in Dumfries, Virginia, Botts was raised and privately educated in Richmond and later combined the careers of lawyer, politician, and gentleman farmer. He served as a Whig legislator in Virginia (1833–39) and as a U.S. representative (1839–43, 1847–49). Botts was a loyal follower of Henry Clay and an unswerving Unionist on sectional questions. He opposed Virginia's secession in 1861 and was briefly jailed by the Confederates for disloyalty. After the war he helped organize the Union Republican party of Virginia, becoming a prominent leader of its conservative wing.

His political influence ebbed rapidly following his endorsement of black enfranchisement in 1867. John Minor Botts, *The Great Rebellion: Its Secret History, Rise, Progress, and Disastrous Failure: The Political Life of the Author Vindicated* (New York, 1866); *Southern Loyalists' Convention,* 24, 35, 46, 57–60; Henry Thomas Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847–61* (Richmond, Va., 1934), 44, 48; Jack P. Maddex, Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867–1879: A Study in Reconstruction Politics* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1970), 17–18, 20–22, 41–42, 51–52; *ACAB,* 1:325–26; *DAB,* 2:472–73; *BDUSC* (online).

311.20–21 became a part…U. S. Grant] Only a minority of northern states had enfranchised their black residents before or during the Civil War. The series of Military Reconstruction acts passed in 1867–68 had required the defeated Confederate states to give all men the right to vote as a condition for readmission to the Union. Ulysses S. Grant had been narrowly elected president in 1868, and the black vote in those southern states already readmitted had proved crucial to his victory margin. Even before Grant's inauguration, the Republican party moved quickly to shape and pass the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which declared: "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." Although advocates for female suffrage protested the exclusion of their gender and a few longtime supporters of black rights, such as U.S. Senator Charles Sumner, presciently warned that the measure lacked adequate safeguards against state efforts to undermine its intentions, the amendment passed both houses of Congress in February 1869 and received the required number of state ratifications by February 1870. Black males thereby gained the right to vote nationwide and became an important Republican voting bloc for the remainder of Reconstruction. Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction,* 16–20, 23–24; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 273–75, 422, 445–49.

311.30–31 The adoption of…into the Constitution] After their adoption, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were reinterpreted or skirted by laws or judicial opinions sympathetic to Democratic party leaders' desire to reduce the civil rights of African Americans. Initially designed to guarantee blacks citizenship rights, the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) was reinterpreted by an 1883 ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court. In what became known as the *Civil Rights Cases,* the court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to private forms of discrimination or the controversial issue of discrimination in public accommodation. This ruling reinforced earlier Supreme Court decisions in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) and *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1875), which held that the federal amendment provided protection only for national citizenship rights, and that no protection extended to state or individual infringement of civil or citizenship rights. Guaranteeing suffrage for African American men, the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) was enhanced by the passage of three Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871 to provide protection for black voters. The laws provided for federal supervision of elections and voter registration and aimed to curb attacks on voters by such groups as the Ku Klux Klan. The first of the Enforcement Acts, passed on 31 May 1870, prohibited voter discrimination and punished anyone who used intimidation, bribery, or violence to deter voters. Just as it weakened the Fourteenth Amendment, in a series of rulings the U.S. Supreme Court diminished the effect of the Fifteenth Amendment by failing to allow federal prosecution of those who used violence to terrorize African American voters. Foner, *Reconstruction,* 454–59, 529–31; *EAAH,* 2:6–9, 41–43, 3:13–16.

312.16 "could tear a passion…ear of groundlings,"] Slightly misquotes *Hamlet,* sc. 8, lines 1738–39.

312.33–36 An effort…enfranchised people] In February and March 1869 Douglass joined his son Lewis, George T. Downing, and several other black leaders in sending out a circular calling for contributions to a proposed new weekly newspaper for African Americans to be published in Washington, D.C. Soon blacks in Washington supported this plan with pledges of $2,500, and proposed Douglass as editor-in-chief, Presbyterian minister and experienced journalist J. Sella Martin as associate editor, and Lewis Douglass as chief compositor and print-shop manager. Douglass declined the offered position and warned that the enterprise would require much more capital. Investors pushed ahead anyway and offered the editorship to Martin. Martin accepted on the condition that Douglass serve as the newspaper's contributing editor. The *New Era* issued its first copy on 13 January 1870, and Douglass's first article appeared two weeks later. Philip S. Foner, *Frederick Douglass: A Biography* (New York, 1969), 277–79; Patrick S. Washburn, *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom* (Evanston, Ill., 2006), 35; Whyte, *Uncivil War,* 252–53; Wolseley, *Black Press,* 34–35.

312.37 J. H. Hawes] John H. Hawes (c. 1824–?) was born in the state of New York. He and his wife, Ada, had at least three children together. President Abraham Lincoln appointed Hawes to the position of principal clerk of surveys in the General Land Office. Hawes resigned when Andrew Johnson became president and began working with the Union League to organize loyal Republican elements within the southern states. In 1868 Hawes supported Grant's election by editing a campaign newspaper, the *National Radical.* As a reward for party services, Grant appointed Hawes as U.S. consul to Hakodadi, Japan. While living in Washington, D.C., Hawes played an instrumental role in securing Douglass as the editor for the *New National Era*. 1870 U.S. Census, Washington, District of Columbia, 361B; New York *Times,* 7 December 1871; Grant, *Papers,* 22:382–84.

313.2–3 I yielded…the work] As Douglass had predicted, the new newspaper soon experienced serious financial problems. Many of its original shareholders withdrew, and J. Sella Martin was forced to suspend its publication in summer 1870. In order to save the failing publication, Douglass relocated to the nation's capital and, together with his sons Lewis and Frederick, Jr., purchased a half-interest in the newspaper and became the editor of the renamed Washington *New National Era.* His editorial policy, he wrote, advocated "Free men, free soil, free speech, a free press, everywhere in the land. The ballot for all, education for all, fair wages for all." Foner,

Frederick Douglass, 279; Whyte, *Uncivil War,* 253; Wolseley, *Black Press,* 34–35; Washburn, *African American Newspaper,* 35.

313.10–11 found myself alone…of the enterprise] On 12 December 1870 Douglass purchased the remaining one-half interest in the newspaper and its printing office for $8,000. Foner, *Frederick Douglass,* 281.

313.21–22 my sons Lewis and Frederick] Douglass placed the management of the *New National Era* in the hands of his sons Lewis and Frederick, Jr. in 1873. While the paper strongly endorsed Radical Republican positions in Reconstruction political battles, its readership did not grow beyond Washington's small black elite. The two unwisely merged their paper with a second struggling newspaper, the *Colored Citizen*, published by a number of clerks from the Freedman's Bank. When the latter could not produce their promised resources, a court suit resulted, and an injunction against the Douglass brothers caused the *New National Era* to suspend publication in 1874. Although the brothers won the case and resumed publication, the *New National Era* went out of business permanently on 22 October 1874. Court records verify the senior Douglass's estimate of losing approximately $10,000 on the venture. Whyte, *Uncivil War,* 253–54; Wolseley, *Black Press,* 35; Washburn, *African American Newspaper,* 35.

313.26–27 many of…the public] Under the direction of Douglass and his sons, the *New National Era* had published articles and correspondence from such African American political and literary figures as J. Sella Martin, Richard T. Greener, George T. Downing, Martin R. Delany, and Frank J. Webb. *NNE,* 13 January 1870, 4 January 1872; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 273, 286; *EAAH,* 1:109, 1:407, 2:121.

313.32 "experience is the best teacher."] Douglass is unsure of the source of this maxim, which appears in Cicero's speech on behalf of Gaius Rabirius Postumus (106–43 BCE). N[evile] H. Watts, ed., *Cicero: The Speeches,* rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 49.

313.38 "The Freedman's Savings and Trust Company."] The U.S. Congress had authorized the establishment of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company on 3 March 1865 to meet the growing financial needs of newly emancipated blacks. The bank eventually opened thirty-seven branches in seventeen states and the District of Columbia. In *Life and Times,* Douglass reports that after moving to Washington, D.C., he had "entrusted…about twelve thousand dollars" to the Freedman's Bank. The nationwide economic panic that hit in 1873 uncovered serious financial weaknesses in the bank—weaknesses probably caused by incompetent and corrupt management. A reorganized board of trustees appointed Douglass as the bank's president in hopes of restoring public confidence in its solvency. At that time, Douglass loaned the institution a further $10,000. When the bank nevertheless failed in July 1874, Douglass shared the fate of fellow investors. He eventually received sixty-two cents on the dollar for the $2,000 he still had deposited when the bank closed. Douglass described his involvement with the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company at U.S. Senate investigation hearings on 14 and 19 February 1880. Carl R. Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud: A History of the Freedman's Savings Bank* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 183–99, 211–13.

314.7 Some of its agents had been preachers of the "Word."] The founders of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company had conceived of the institution as a way of teaching principles of thrift and industry to black citizens. At the inception of the bank, Reverend John W. Alvord was elected its corresponding secretary, but in practice he held as much power as the bank's president. An ardent abolitionist and minister, Alvord believed the bank served a "missionary" purpose and also realized the intimate connection black churches had to their communities. Alvord, therefore, frequently held meetings at black congregations to encourage new depositors to entrust their money to the bank. As the bank grew, many of the new cashiers and staff, like Alvord, used the local networks of churches to spread the word of savings. Even the bank literature distributed throughout communities reflected the officers' missionary approach. During the bank's existence, ministers served as cashiers in the Alexandria, Chattanooga, Jacksonville, Macon, New Bern, Savannah, Vicksburg, and Wilmington branches. In addition, many of the branch advisory boards were unofficially run by local churches, and church missionaries frequently volunteered at the branch banks. Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 1, 12–13, 44–78, 117.

314.11–12 they were told to "look" to the Freedman's Bank and "live."] An allusion to Num. 21:18.

314.16 the most costly and splendid buildings of the time] When the headquarters of the Freedman's Bank was moved to the District of Columbia, a new building was built, at a cost of $260,000, at 1507 Pennsylvania Avenue, on Lafayette Square across from the Treasury building. Walter L. Fleming, *The Freedman's Savings Bank: A Chapter in the Economic History of the Negro Race* (1927; Chapel Hill, N.C., 1970), 39; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 280.

314.27–29 had indeed been…to do so] Douglass only occasionally attended meetings after becoming a trustee to the Freedman's Savings and Trust in 1871. Abby L. Gilbert, "The Comptroller of the Currency and the Freedman's Savings Bank," *JNH,* 57:130 (April 1972).

314.31 Queen of Sheba] The Queen of Sheba is remembered for her visit to the court of King Solomon, narrated in 1 Kings 10 and 2 Chronicles 9. The queen was so impressed by Solomon's wealth that she paid him an excessive tribute; Solomon reciprocated, strengthening their nations' trade relations. The location of Sheba is most likely in the area of present-day Yemen and Saudi Arabia on the southwest corner of the Arabian Peninsula. She is known only as the Queen of Sheba in the Bible, but Quranic commentaries and Muslim legends identify her as Bilqis, a ruler with supernatural powers. The *Kebra Nagast,* Ethiopia's national saga, claims that Solomon and the queen bore a son together, named Menelik, who, after visiting his father in Israel, returned to Ethiopia with the Ark of the Covenant. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:1170–71.

314.32 Solomon] Solomon was the third king of Israel and the second king of

Judah around the tenth century BCE. Biblical sources agree that he was David's tenth son, but they differ over which wife bore him. Solomon succeeded David as king, and his son Rehoboam succeeded him. No extrabiblical evidence has yet been found that alludes to Solomon or his reign; therefore, only biblical sources can be used to reconstruct this period, which scholars believe began around 970–960 and ended around 930–920 BCE. The books of 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, parts of 1 Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles refer to Solomon; however, many of these accounts have been deemed apocryphal. Among his accomplishments were the consolidation of power in the kingdom, the construction of the Temple, and the strengthening of the kingdom's defenses, which withstood an attack by Egypt. During Solomon's reign Israel prospered, utilizing its strategic geographic position to launch international trade routes throughout the region and allowing the king to accumulate his immense wealth. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 6:105–13.

314.32 "the half had not been told me."] Douglass paraphrases 1 Kings 10:7.

314.38 I had entrusted to its vaults about twelve thousand dollars] Douglass's personal records of his initial investment in the Freedman's Savings and Trust have been lost. In 1880 Douglass testified to a U.S. Senate select committee that he had had $10,000 deposited in the bank in 1874. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:552–53.

315.7 its President] Congregational minister John Watson Alvord (1807–80) was an abolitionist who, after emancipation, devoted much of his labor to securing the welfare of freedmen. Born in East Hampton, Connecticut, Alvord was in 1836 a member of the first graduating class of Oberlin College. Poor health forced him to give up plans to do missionary work in Africa. Before the Civil War, he was secretary of the American Tract Society in Boston; during the war he worked with both the Christian and the Sanitary Commissions. In 1865 Alvord helped organize freedmen's schools in Savannah, Georgia, and then returned north to lobby for the creation of a bank to help black soldiers handle their enlistment bounties and military pay. In 1866, after his successful lobbying effort for the bank, he became superintendent of schools under the Freedmen's Bureau. One of the original trustees of the Freedman's Bank, he was its president from 1868 until his replacement by Douglass in March 1874. Alvord publicly defended the bank's soundness, although he protested to the trustees about some dubious transactions. He himself may have profited from compromised transactions—most suspiciously, those with the Seneca Stone Company, of which he became president after he left the Bank. Samuel Morgan Alvord, comp., *A Genealogy of the Descendants of Alexander Alvord, an Early Settler of Windsor, Conn. and Northampton, Mass.* (Webster, N.Y., 1908), 285–87; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 1–5, 12–14, 165.

315.7 its Actuary] George W. Stickney (1844–?) was the son of Clarissa, the older sister of Daniel L. Eaton (whom he succeeded as actuary for the Freedman's Bank), and Jonathan Stickney of Maine. Later investigations revealed that Stickney embezzled and misappropriated thousands of dollars from the bank's investments and deposits. Stickney initially argued against dissolution of the Freedman's Bank and

helped found a short-lived People's Savings Bank in Washington, D.C., as a local replacement. Nellie Zada Rice Molyneux, comp., *History: Genealogical and Biographical of the Eaton Families* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1911), 449; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 152, 156–57, 159–60, 193, 203–04; Whyte, *Uncivil War,* 255–56.

315.11 President of the Freedman's Bank] The trustees elected Douglass to the presidency of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company on 14 March 1874, and he intended to assume his duties on 1 April, although he was apparently at his desk on 30 March. He held this position until the bank's official demise on 2 July 1874. Douglass to Henry Highland Garnet, 19 March 1874, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frame 730, FD Papers, DLC; Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 85–86; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 183.

315.21–22 three millions of dollars] A report issued by bank examiner C. A. Meigs in late April 1874 reported the Freedman's Bank's assets at a value of $3,121,101, with liabilities valued at $3,338,896.15, resulting in a deficit of $217,886.15. Later John A. J. Creswell, one of three commissioners appointed to repay the bank's depositors, testified to a House select committee that in December 1874 the Freedman's Savings and Trust had liabilities equal $2,879,031.78 and assets equal to $2,693,095.20, producing a deficiency of just under $200,000. U.S. Congress, House, *Freedman's Bank,* House Report No. 502, 44th Cong., 1st sess., 1876, 1–2; Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 84; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 187–88, 187n.

315.24 non-paying branches] At its peak the Freedman's Savings and Trust Bank had thirty-seven branches. By the time of its closing in 1874, thirty-four remained open. As early as 1867 several branches were in crisis as expenses exceeded deposits; among these were the Alexandria, Huntsville, and Vicksburg locations. Other branches, including those in Augusta, Houston, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee, were to be carefully monitored by the bank's main office because of similar concerns. Poor accounting practices and negligible oversight of the branches make it difficult to ascertain exactly how many branches were "non-paying." Branches in smaller black communities such as Lynchburg, Chattanooga, Raleigh, Atlanta, and Montgomery clearly outspent deposits, but experts believe that as many as half the branches at the time of the bank's closing may have been "non-paying." Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 98–99; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 37–39, 174–75.

315.27–28 loan the Bank ten thousand dollars of my own money] As in the case of his initial investment, no personal records remain to validate Douglass's account of this deposit. In *Life and Times* Douglass essentially repeats his 1880 testimony to the U.S. Senate investigating committee. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:552–53.

315.39 a discrepancy on the books of forty thousand dollars] Anson Sperry testified before the House select committee that a discrepancy of $40,000 existed at the Washington branch, but he believed that whether the deficit was the result of fraud

could not be determined through the ledgers, which varied widely from branch to branch. *Freedman's Bank,* 7; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 168.

316.2–3 pay seventy-two cents on the dollar] The report issued by C. A. Meigs, a federal bank examiner, indicated that the Freedman's Bank could have repaid depositors no more than ninety-three cents on the dollar. A possible explanation for the difference between Douglass's figure and Meigs's is that the examiner compiled data in January and did not examine some branches until February or March 1874. Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 84; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 187–88, 187n.

316.18–19 thirty-four branches…in cipher] The Freedman's Bank established thirty-seven branch offices, all but two of which were in southern states. The bank moved its main offices from New York City to Washington, D.C., in March 1867. Bank managers coded telegraphic communications between the branches for security purposes, especially in the event of a run on a branch. Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 39, 191–92; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 138–42, 176–80.

316.22 several runs] There had been runs on the Freedman's Bank following the publication of the March 1873 report by the comptroller of the currency and during the widespread financial panic sparked by the failure of the firm of Jay Cooke and Company the next September. Douglass is probably referring to the response to the comptroller's report of March 1874. When released in April, it disclosed a deficit of $217,866.15, which many viewed as evidence of fraud and mismanagement. Panic among depositors ensued, and runs on the Freedman's Bank induced some branches to require sixty days' notice before funds could be withdrawn. Douglass to the Editor of the New York *Herald,* 29 April 1874, in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company,* Senate Report No. 440, 46th Cong., 2d sess., 1880, Appendix, 44–45; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 187–91; Fleming, *Freeman's Savings Bank,* 87.

316.23 heavy draft made upon its reserve fund] A draft, in financial terms, is an agreement to make a payment of a certain amount to a payee. In 1874 the Freedman's Bank deposits totaled $3,299,201. This reserve fund, money held aside for unexpected costs, was depleted through speculation, while unwise loans, or drafts, were made to unqualified persons like Jay Cooke, who managed to borrow $500,000 at 5 percent interest despite his failing business. These speculators, having acquired trustee positions in the bank, saw its precarious financial position, resigned, and left it with a $200,000 deficit. Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 73–84; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 153–60, 199.

316.36 John Sherman] The younger brother of Civil War general William Tecumseh Sherman, John Sherman (1823–1900) worked as a surveyor before commencing the practice of law at the age of twenty-one. A founder of Ohio's Republican party, he served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives from the Cleveland district (1855–61). In 1861 the Ohio legislature elected Sherman to the U.S. Senate, where he stayed until 1897, except for four years as Rutherford B. Hayes's secretary of the Treasury. A highly pragmatic politician, he usually sought the middle ground on controversial Reconstruction and economic issues. Sherman's efforts to obtain the Republican presidential nomination in 1880, 1884, and 1888 proved futile. He served as William B. McKinley's secretary of state but resigned in 1900 because of his anti-expansionist sentiments. John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1895); Sobel, *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Executive Branch,* 328; *NCAB,* 3:198–201.

316.37–38 Senator Scott of Pennsylvania] John Scott (1824–96), U.S. senator from Pennsylvania, was born in Alexandria, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania. He studied law with a local judge and started his own legal practice in 1846. Beginning in 1857, Scott frequently represented the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in court suits. Originally a Democrat, he won a term in the state house of representatives on the Union party ticket in 1862 and subsequently became a Republican. Scott served a single term in the U.S. Senate (1869–75), where he worked hard for stronger legislation against the Ku Klux Klan. After leaving Washington, Scott became general solicitor for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and declined an invitation to serve as President Ulysses S. Grant's secretary of the interior. J. Simpson Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 96; John W. Jordan, *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania,* 32 vols. (New York, 1914–67), 6:2114–16; *NCAB,* 24:187; *BDUSC* (online).

317.3 Stickney] George W. Stickney.

317.13–14 to bring…its affairs] Douglass refers to Congress's last attempt to revitalize the bank. A bill passed on 20 June 1874 was meant to reform the bank's internal structure and protect new income by treating it as "special deposits" not subject to old liabilities. The legislation also gave the trustees authority to close the bank and to appoint three commissioners to oversee its dissolution if they decided it could not be saved. The trustees at first attempted to appoint a board of commissioners composed of their relatives, but the secretary of the Treasury rejected their slate. They subsequently selected Robert Purvis, John A. J. Creswell, and Robert H. T. Leipold to oversee liquidation of the bank. *NNE,* 9 May 1874; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 14 May 1874; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 192–99; Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 101; Gilbert, "Comptroller of the Currency and Freedman's Savings Bank," 125–43.

317.28–29 sixty cents on the dollar] Federal officials repaid depositors in the Freedman's Bank over the period 1874–83. Depositors received their payments in five installments, beginning with a dividend of 20 percent of total deposits. Congressional intervention ultimately allowed for the fourth and fifth dividends, which paid off a total of 62 percent of depositor's investments. However, fewer than 30,000 of an eligible 61,131 depositors applied for their first dividend. In 1899 Congress allowed depositors who had not applied initially to do so, and dividends were paid until 1919. A final report concluded that only $1,733,475.71 out of

$2,939,925.22 due depositors was ever paid, somewhat less than 60 percent. Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 211–15.

318.1–2 "some drugs…mighty magic,"] Paraphrases *Othello,* sc. 3, lines 377–78.

318.8–9 "to restore fourfold…unjustly taken aught."] A reference to Luke 19:8: "And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold."

318.31–32 my mission to Santo Domingo] One of the most controversial diplomatic initiatives of the Grant administration was its attempt to annex the Dominican Republic. In 1869 Grant's personal representative, General Orville Babcock, had negotiated a treaty of annexation with Dominican President Buenaventura Baez. The Senate twice defeated Grant's attempt to get this treaty approved, largely because of the vociferous opposition by a faction of the president's own Republican party led by Charles Sumner. To rally public support behind his policy, Grant persuaded Congress to authorize him to send a commission to the Dominican Republic to investigate political and economic conditions there and to ascertain popular sentiment toward American annexation. The three commissioners selected by Grant were Andrew White, president of Cornell University; Samuel G. Howe, a wealthy Boston reformer; and Benjamin Wade, former U.S. senator from Ohio. Although he regarded the position as "inconsiderable and unimportant," Douglass accepted appointment as assistant secretary to the commission. The commissioners, their staff, and numerous reporters left New York City on 17 January 1871 and arrived at Sanama Bay seven days later. Douglass participated in the commission's interviews with Dominican government officials and civic leaders and also had the responsibility for contacting English-speaking blacks who had migrated from the United States to the Sanama area during the Civil War. The commission arrived back in Washington, D.C., on 26 March 1871 and soon thereafter published a report strongly favorable to annexation. Despite regrets at disagreeing with his friend Sumner, Douglass endorsed the annexation policy as being in the common interests of both nations in speeches and in editorials in the *New National Era.* Opponents of annexation remained obdurate, however, and the treaty was never approved. Douglass to Hamilton Fish, 3 April 1871, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frame 589, FD Papers, DLC; *NNE,* 19 January, 23 February, 6 April 1871; Washington (D.C.) *National Republican,* 24 February 1871; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 28 March 1871; Charles Callan Tansill, *The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798–1873: A Chapter in Caribbean Diplomacy* (1938; Gloucester, Mass., 1967), 428–40; Merline Pitre, "Frederick Douglass and the Annexation of Santo Domingo," *JNH,* 62:390–400 (October 1977).

318.32–33 my appointment…District of Columbia] Concerned that the District of Columbia be governed in a more uniform and representative manner, Congress abolished the separate governments of Washington and Georgetown and on 21 February 1871 formed one municipality to be governed in the manner of a territory. A governor, appointed by the president, held executive authority, while legislative power resided in the Legislative Assembly. This bicameral assembly consisted of a Council, composed of eleven residents of the territory appointed by the president, and a House of Delegates to which local voters annually elected twenty-two residents. Following Douglass's defeat in the contest for territorial delegate from the District of Columbia to the U.S. Congress, the Republican nominating convention had voted to recommend his appointment as district secretary. Instead, President Ulysses S. Grant chose Douglass to fill one of the eleven seats in the upper council of the newly created territorial assembly. The council elected William Stickney as president and Douglass as vice president at its organizational meeting on 15 May 1871. Douglass also served on the council's committees on printing, schools, transportation facilities, and relations with the federal government. After actively participating on the council during its first month of operations, Douglass announced to the body on 20 June 1871 that he had resigned his membership. The council unanimously passed a resolution expressing its regret at Douglass's departure and declaring "his association…most pleasant to each member thereof, as well as profitable to the people he represents." The Washington (D.C.) *Daily Morning Chronicle* reported Douglass's resignation with the observation that he had "by his simple, cordial, manly bearing, and his manifest ability and sound judgment, won the respect and affection of all." F. H. Smith to Douglass, 20 June 1871, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 596–97, FD Papers, DLC; *NNE,* 4, 18 May, 8 June 1871; Washington (D.C.) *Daily National Republican,* 29 April, 16, 29, 30 May, 1, 2, 14, 15, 17 June 1871; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 13, 17, 21 June 1871; Whyte, *Uncivil War,* 101–13; Edwin Melvin Williams, "The Territorial Period—1871–1874," in *Washington Past and Present: A History,* ed. John Clagett Proctor, 4 vols. (New York, 1930), 1:130–41.

318.33–34 my election as…of New York] Douglass was the first-ever black member of the New York State Electoral College and was appointed to deliver its vote to Washington. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 5 December 1872; Bangor *Daily Whig & Courier,* 12 December 1872; Lowell *Daily Citizen and News,* 14 December 1872; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:399; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 263–65, 267.

318.35 at Arlington, on Decoration day] The Grand Army of the Republic conducted ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery on Decoration or Memorial Day on 30 May 1871. Douglass was last of a number of locally distinguished speakers to address the large audience in attendance. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 30 May 1871; Washinton (D.C.) *Daily Morning Chronicle,* 31 May 1871, *NNE,* 1 June 1871; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:289–92.

318.36 Lincoln monument, at Lincoln Park, Washington] The idea for a memorial to Abraham Lincoln on behalf of the people he liberated began with Charlotte Scott, a freed Virginia slave, who shortly after the president's assassination gave her former mistress five dollars toward the "erecting of a monument" to the memory of her race's "best friend on earth." The money was sent to General T. C. H. Smith, who on 26 April

1865 forwarded the contribution to James E. Yeatman of the Western Sanitary Commission, urging the latter to circulate the idea among others. After Yeatman published Smith's letter, the commission received $16,242 "contributed solely by emancipated citizens of the United States." The commission eventually chose Thomas Ball, an American living in Florence, Italy, to execute a monument based on a design he had already sculpted in marble. The finished bronze statue, placed on a ten-foot granite pedestal, showed Lincoln holding the Emancipation Proclamation in his right hand while stretching his left hand over the head of a kneeling slave. Ball replaced the "ideal" and "perfectly passive" slave of the original with the image of Archer Alexander, the last Missouri slave captured under the Fugitive Slave Law, and represented him "as exerting his own strength with strained muscles in breaking the chain which had bound him." However, the standing position of Lincoln juxtaposed with a kneeling slave symbolically reinforced the racial hierarchy still prevalent in post-Civil War America. *Inaugural Ceremonies of the Freedmen's Memorial Monument to Abraham Lincoln; Washington City, April 14, 1876* (St. Louis, Mo., 1876), 6–11, 27–28; *Oration by Frederick Douglass Delivered on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Freedmen's Monument in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, in Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., April 14th, 1876; with an Appendix* (Washington, D.C., 1876), 17–20; Freeman Henry Morris Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture: A Study in Interpretation* (1916; Freeport, N.Y., 1972), 199.

319.1–3 my invitation…New York] The Abraham Lincoln Post No. 13, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, invited Douglass to give an address on Memorial Day (or Decoration Day, as soldiers' graves were decorated with flowers in honor of their service) at New York City's Union Square in May 1878. Despite windy and rainy weather, the day's celebration commenced with pageantry and a procession of veterans. At 9 a.m., the large crowd gathered around the statues of Abraham Lincoln and the Marquis de Lafayette in the square. The assembly grew quiet as Douglass approached the platform railing but "broke into enthusiastic shouts" when, at the beginning of his oration, he dramatically raised his hand toward the nearby statue of Lincoln. The New York *Times* hailed the "statesmanship and the insight into the spirits of human action" of Douglass's address, which was applauded with the waving of regimental flags from the late war. Speech File, reel 15, frames 297–303, 304–11, reel 19, frames 465–73, FD Papers, DLC; New York *Times,* 31 May 1878; Fort Scott (Kans.) *Colored Citizen,* 14 June 1878.

319.3 body of Vice-President Wilson] Douglass joined the company of men in the train that carried Vice President Wilson's body from the capital to Boston. Robert Purvis, James Wormley, and other honored citizens rode with Douglass. The company then debarked in New York City and processed toward Boston in carriages. Wilson was buried on 30 November 1875 in Old Dell Park Cemetery, Natick, Massachusetts. Douglass was among the pallbearers. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 27 November 1875; Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel,* 27, 29 November 1875; Lowell (Mass.) *Daily Citizen and News,* 30 November 1875; *BDUSC* (online).

319.5 Secretary Hamilton Fish] Hamilton Fish (1808–93) was born in New York City, graduated from Columbia College in 1827, and was admitted to the bar in 1830. Fish successfully ran for Congress in 1842 on the Whig ticket and was elected governor in 1848. He ran for the Senate in 1851 when he was not renominated for governor, and served until his term expired in 1857. Fish joined the Republican party after the demise of the Whig party. His record in the Senate was unremarkable, but he was offered a post as secretary of state under President Grant in 1867. Various foreign relations issues confronted Fish, such as difficulties with Cuba, failure of negotiations for the construction of an interoceanic canal, and the recall of the Russian minister Konstantin Catacazy in 1871. His most notable achievement in this office was arranging a settlement with Great Britain in regard to damages incurred to northern commerce during the Civil War, while the British government was neutral. Fish retired from public life at the end of Grant's presidency. *ACAB,* 2:463–64; *DAB,* 6:397–400; *ANB,* 7:948–49.

319.6–7 Marshal of the District of Columbia] Wishing to minimize criticism from African Americans due to his removal of federal protection in Reconstruction states, President Rutherford B. Hayes made numerous minor federal appointments for blacks during his time in office. As part of this federal patronage, on 17 March 1877 Hayes appointed Douglass as marshal of the District of Columbia and granted him a $20,000 bond for his faithful service. Much of the contemporary press commented on the symbolic importance of the event, highlighting the fact that one of the primary functions of the marshal's position before the end of the Civil War was catching runaway slaves under the Fugitive Slave Law. Douglass's appointment was initially met with some opposition from members in Congress, who vocalized their criticism strictly in relation to Douglass's lack of qualifications and experience rather than his race, but this opposition was countered by the favorable response that Douglass received when on 18 March he performed his first task as marshal by choosing the highly respected L. B. Williams as his deputy. In contrast to the traditional duties of the office initiated by Lincoln's appointed marshal, Ward Hill Lamon, Douglass did not serve as a master of ceremonies at formal gatherings attended by Hayes, nor did he maintain a close relation to the president's household. Douglass's predecessor, Alexander Sharp, had discharged these customary duties for Hayes before Douglass's arrival as marshal. Lowell (Mass.) *Daily Citizen,* 24 March 1877; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* 7 April 1877; Charles Robson, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1874), 504; Samuel Krislov, *The Negro in Federal Employment: The Quest for Equal Opportunity* (Minneapolis, 1967), 13–14; *ANB,* 13:86–87.

319.7 my visit to Thomas Auld] At the invitation of a black friend, Charles Caldwell, Douglass returned to St. Michaels, Talbot County, Maryland, on 17 June 1877 after a forty-one-year absence. Upon his arrival, the newly appointed U.S. marshal of the District of Columbia received word that his former owner, Captain Thomas Auld, requested a visit. Douglass, who had desired such a meeting, saw the bedridden eighty-

two-year-old man at the home of Auld's son-in-law, William H. Bruff. During this brief reunion Douglass struck a conciliatory posture with Auld. According to the Washington *Evening Star,* both men wept when they parted company that day. It had already been announced that Douglass would speak at a nearby picnic grove in the afternoon, and a large audience of blacks and whites, including many prominent local personages, attended the event. The Baltimore *Sun* thought Douglass had made "a very favorable impression" during his visit and commended him for "avoiding everything like cringing or servility on the one hand, and ostentation or an offensive thrusting of himself forward on the other." The visit was widely publicized. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 19 June 1877; *Harper's Weekly,* 7 July 1877; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 342–43; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 342–43; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 180–89.

319.11 Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia] James A. Garfield appointed Douglass recorder of deeds soon after his presidential inauguration in March 1881. Douglass served in the post until 1886, when he was replaced by James G. Matthews. Subject File, Recorder of Deeds, 1881–86, FD Papers, DLC; Justus D. Doenecke, *The Presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur* (Lawrence, Kans., 1981), 49.

319.31–32 annexation was a measure to extinguish a colored nation] A paraphrase of the views that Charles Sumner advanced in the U.S. Senate on 24–25 March 1870 and subsequently during the debate over the ratification of the treaty to annex Santo Domingo. *Congressional Globe,* 41st Cong., 3d sess., 1871, 226–31, 244–45; David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York, 1970), 442–43; Tansill, *United States and Santo Domingo,* 405–06, 432–33.

319.39–320.1 when Cuba and Central America were sought by filibustering expeditions] Douglass refers to the attempts of Venezuela native Narciso López (c. 1798–1851) and his successor, John Quitman (1790–1858) from Mississippi, to invade Cuba in 1850–51 and 1853–55, respectively, as well as the repeated efforts made by Tennessean William Walker (1824–60) to conquer Nicaragua from 1855 to 1860. Although these filibustering endeavors were a violation of the U.S. Neutrality Act of 1818, they were nonetheless supported by proslavery expansionists who viewed the campaigns as a necessary step, as Douglass himself put it in a speech on 22 May 1856, "towards the extension of Slavery over South America, the conquest of Cuba, and the final absorption of all the Caribbean." *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:117–18; Charles H. Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 42, 88, 175, 454–55; May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld,* 27–29, 32, 47–48, 180, 256; *ANB,* 18:48–49.

320.29 bitter personal estrangement] In the wake of the Grant-Sumner split over the issue of annexing Santo Domingo, Senate supporters of the president sought to strip Sumner of his powerful position as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. James W. Nye of Nevada warned in January 1871 that Sumner intended "to hand this Administration over into the hands of the enemy [the Democrats]," while Senators Roscoe Conkling and Zachariah Chandler argued that Sumner had already taken an antiadministration stance "more bitter than has proceeded from any Democratic member of this body." Secretary of State Hamilton Fish also supported removing Sumner from the committee, an action that was accomplished in March 1871, when the Senate accepted the Republican caucus's decision to reassign Sumner to the new Committee on Privileges and Elections. *Congressional Globe,* 41st Cong., 3d sess., 1871, 241–42, 246; Donald, *Sumner and the Rights of Man,* 475–97.

321.3 man-of-war] Any vessel armed with cannon may properly be called a man-of-war; however, the term more accurately describes a ship powered mainly by sail. The *Tennessee,* on the other hand, was classified as a steam frigate, or screw frigate; built in 1865 and originally named the U.S.S. *Madawaska.* The ship was renamed the U.S.S. *Tennessee* on 15 May 1869. James L. Mooney, ed., *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships,* 8 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1959–81), 7:86–87.

321.6 fore-castle] The forward part of a ship beneath the main deck, traditionally used as crew quarters.

321.7 captain's saloon] Usually an elegantly appointed compartment located between the captain's quarters and guest room.

321.12 Captain's table] During their return from Santo Domingo, the commission party, including Douglass, transferred from the U.S.S. *Tennessee* to the Potomac River mail steamer *Georgiana.* While on this final leg of the trip, Douglass was subjected to racial discrimination when the *Georgiana*'s captain denied him access to the ship's dining room. Commissioners Samuel Gridley Howe and Andrew D. White seconded Douglass's protest. When the captain remained adamant, Howe and White refused to eat in the dining room and joined Douglass in declining the offer of a meal served in a separate room. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 28 March 1871; Washington (D.C.) *National Republican,* 29 March 1871; *NNE,* 30 March 1871; *NASS,* 1 April 1871.

321.13 Wade] Benjamin F. Wade.

321.13 Howe] Samuel Gridley Howe.

321.13 White] The son of a banker from Syracuse, New York, Andrew Dickson White (1832–1918) was graduated from Yale University and went on to teach history at the University of Michigan. He returned to New York state in the 1860s and helped found Cornell University, where he served as its first president. After service on the Santo Domingo Commission, White held the posts of U.S. ambassador to Russia (1892–94) and Germany (1897–1902). Andrew Dickson White, *The Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White,* 2 vols. (New York: Century Company, 1904); Glenn C. Altschuler, *Andrew D. White: Educator, Historian, Diplomat* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978).

321.14 Hurlbert] William Henry Hurlbert (1827–95) was born in Charleston, South Carolina. He graduated from the Divinity School at Harvard in 1849 and went on to study in Berlin, Rome, and Paris. He entered the Unitarian ministry for a brief time upon his return to America. Hurlbert then attended the Harvard Law School from 1852 to 1853. In 1855 he became a writer for *Putnam's Magazine* and the *Albion,*

joining the New York *Times* staff in 1857. Staunchly opposed to slavery, Hurlbert was arrested and imprisoned while traveling in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1861. He escaped in 1862 and went on to join the staff of the Democratic party newspaper, the New York *World,* owned by Manton Marable. In 1864 he purchased the *Commercial Advertiser,* but was forced to sell it in 1867 to Thurlow Weed when he and his associates could not agree. Returning to his employment with the *World,* Hurlbert became a special correspondent in 1871 and was the newspaper's editor-in-chief from 1876 to 1883, when Joseph Pulitzer purchased it. After his retirement from the *World,* he resided in Europe for most of his remaining years. *ACAB,* 3:328; *DAB,* 9:424.

322.15 sleeping car] A railway car equipped with berths or beds, which are folded up out of the passengers' way during daylight hours.

322.27–28 The colored people…the whole population] According to the U.S. Census, in 1870 the number of blacks in the District of Columbia was 43,404, accounting for approximately 33 percent of the district's total population (131,682). In 1890 the number of blacks in the region grew to 75,572 out of a total population of 230,267, causing no change in the district's share of blacks. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population,* 44.

323.8 my son Lewis] Following Douglass's announcement on 20 June 1871 of his resignation as a member of the Legislative Council of the District of Columbia, President Ulysses S. Grant on 28 June appointed Lewis Henry Douglass to fill his father's vacancy. Lewis served as a member of the council until 1873. William H. Boyd, comp., *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia 1873*… (Washington, D.C., 1873), 525; idem, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia 1893*… (Washington, D.C., 1893), 371; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 21 June 1871; Baltimore *American & Commercial Advertiser,* 29 June 1871; *NASS,* 8 July 1871.

323.17–325.2 "Friends and Fellow…all around us."] While there are several variations of this speech, the version reproduced here is closest in substance to the manuscript in the Library of Congress collection. Frederick Douglass, "Address at the graves of the unknown dead at Arlington, Va., 30 May 1871," Speech, Article, and Book File, 1846–94 and Undated, reel 14, frames 605–08, FD Papers, DLC; other texts of this speech can be found in the Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 30 May 1871; Washington (D.C.) *Daily Morning Chronicle,* 31 May 1871; *NNE,* 1 June 1871; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:289–92.

324.13–14 but may my 'right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,'] An adaptation of Ps. 137:5–6.

324.34–35 we have a country not boiling in an agony of blood like France] French armies had suffered total defeat during the Franco-Prussian War (July 1870–January 1871), which also had led to the replacement of the imperial government of Napoleon III by the Third Republic. After the armistice ending the war, disputes between the newly elected, promonarchist National Assembly and prorepublican Parisian leaders provoked a revolt by the latter, who organized their own government, the Paris Commune. Two months of bitter fighting ended in the destruction of the Commune by the army elements loyal to the conservative national government. More than 20,000 Communards and other Parisians were killed in street fighting or by firing squad during "Bloody Week" (21–28 May 1871), when the military finally regained control of the capital. Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France, 1870–1871* (London, 1961); Robert C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852–1871* (New York, 1935), 293–99.

325.3–4 In the month…in New Orleans] The National Convention of the Colored People met at the Mechanics Institute in New Orleans, Louisiana, from 10 to 13 April 1872. Douglass, the delegate from the District of Columbia, was elected the gathering's presiding officer although he did not arrive until evening of the convention's second day. On 12 April the convention passed a resolution repudiating sympathies with Liberal Republicans, and Douglass spoke on 13 April concerning the rights of blacks in public places and eulogizing Ulysses Grant and Charles Sumner. New Orleans *Bee,* 11, 12, 13 April 1872; New Orleans *Picayune,* 11, 12, 13, 14 April 1872; New Orleans *Republican,* 11, 12, 13 April 1872; New Orleans *Semi-Weekly Louisianan,* 14 April 1872; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:293–99, 294n.

325.6–8 Eminent men…second term] The Liberal Republican party emerged during the campaign of 1872 in opposition to the Reconstruction principles of the Radical Republicans. Led by such veteran Republicans as Missouri Representative Carl Schurz and Illinois Senator Lyman Trumbull, the party campaigned on a platform of amnesty for the rebel states. They maintained that equality had been achieved for blacks, and that the goals of Reconstruction had been achieved. The Liberals also complained about the culture of corruption surrounding President Ulysses S. Grant. Unable to block Grant's renomination by the regular Republican party, the Liberals held their own convention in Cincinnati and nominated New York *Tribune* editor, Horace Greeley, for president. Earle Dudley Ross, "The Liberal Republican Movement" (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1919), 1–5, 45–60, 97–99; Sperber and Trittschuh, *American Political Terms,* 238–41.

325.9 Trumbull] Lyman Trumbull (1813–96), who was born in Colchester, Connecticut, and educated there at Bacon Academy, became a lawyer and a U.S. senator from Illinois. In his three terms in office (1855–73), Trumbull was in turn a Democrat, a Republican, and finally a Liberal Republican who supported Horace Greeley for president. When the Liberal Republican movement collapsed, Trumbull returned to the Democratic fold. During the Civil War Trumbull strongly supported his friend Lincoln. During Reconstruction, he championed reforms favorable to blacks, particularly the Freedmen's Bureau, but congressional veto of his proposals dampened his radicalism and edged him toward a more moderate political course. Trumbull opposed the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson and was one of the seven senators who voted against conviction. In later years, Trumbull supported Populist candidates in the Midwest and drew up a declaration of principles for the People's party that was accepted at its St. Louis convention in 1894. Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumball* (Boston, 1913); Ralph J. Roske, *His Own*

Counsel: The Life and Times of Lyman Trumbull (Reno, 1979); *ACAB,* 6:166; *NCAB,* 12:22; *DAB,* 19:19–20.

325.9 Schurz] Carl Schurz (1829–1906), born in Liblar, near Cologne, Germany, and educated at the University of Bonn, was an officer in the revolutionary movement of 1848 before his emigration to the United States in 1852. Settling first in Wisconsin, he quickly transferred his political skills and interests to Republican party and anti-slavery politics and was later rewarded by Abraham Lincoln with the position of minister to Spain. Schurz soon resigned that post, accepted a military appointment, and, eventually achieving the rank of major general, saw action at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Chattanooga. In his subsequent political career as editor, U.S. senator from Missouri (1869–75), and secretary of the interior in the Hayes administration (1877–81), his interest encompassed conditional readmission and general amnesty for the ex-Confederate states, the Liberal Republican movement, and reform in civil service, public land, and Indian policy. At the close of the century, Schurz remained outspoken in his opposition to American expansionism. Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* (Evansville, Wisc., 1930); James P. Terzian, *Defender of Human Rights: Carl Schurz* (New York, 1965); *ACAB,* 5:428–29; *NCAB,* 3:202–03; *DAB,* 16:466–70; *BDUSC* (online).

325.9 Greeley] Horace Greeley secured the presidential nomination of the Liberal Republican party on 1 May 1872 at Cincinnati, with Missouri Governor B. Gratz Brown running second. The liberals had garnered Greeley's support by eliminating the free trade plank from their platform. As the campaign progressed, Greeley's stump speeches hinged on what he called a "New Departure," and throughout the campaign he focused on amnesty and sectional reconciliation. On 9 July the Democratic convention adopted the liberal platform and Greeley's nomination with it. Republican attacks on Greeley were swift and harsh, and Douglass, through columns in his *New National Era,* denounced him as having never been a genuine opponent of slavery. Greeley's own words also were used against him, as the *Tribune*'s editor had for years attacked Democrats and others with whom he was now ostensibly united. Late in the campaign Greeley's wife Molly succumbed to dropsy and other maladies, but by then Greeley had already witnessed Republican victories in North Carolina, Maine, Vermont, and the "October states," Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Greeley and the liberals carried only six states, all along the border or in the South. Greeley himself died before the Electoral College met. James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield* (Norwich, Conn., 1884–86), 2:520–36; Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley,* 400–420; Ross, "Liberal Republican Movement" 36, 56–59, 79, 92–94, 140, 157–60, 183.

325.10 Sumner] Although opposed to Ulysses S. Grant's reelection in 1872, Sumner hesitated in endorsing the Liberal Republican candidate, Horace Greeley, partly because of the lack of support for his civil rights legislation by Liberal Republicans and their Democratic supporters. Not until after the Democratic national convention on 9 July also nominated Greeley and pledged to protect the rights of all citizens did he publicly announce his preference for Greeley. In a letter of 29 July 1872 to black citizens of Washington, D.C., he attempted to block fears of the Democratic support of Greeley by emphasizing that they "have accepted the Cincinnati [Liberal Republican] platform with its…promises, and intend in good faith to maintain it. Democrats cannot turn back." *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works*, 2:186; Donald, *Sumner and the Rights of Man,* 544–55.

325.10–11 Schurz had…State of Missouri] Veteran Republican leader Charles Schurz won a U.S. Senate seat from Missouri in 1868. During the next two years Schurz moved away from Radical Republican politics; initially a supporter of black civil rights, his German-American constituents and other Liberals in Missouri favored Southern amnesty instead. With Democratic support, they passed amendments removing the disqualifications from rebel Missourians. Schurz and his supporters then split the 1870 Republican state convention. The Democrats meanwhile sought to take advantage of the rift by playing a game of local politics and did not nominate a gubernatorial candidate. Schurz's canvassing efforts and the new Democratic and Liberal coalition cemented the victory for Liberal gubernatorial candidate B. Gratz Brown in the 8 November election and essentially ceded control of the legislature and several congressional seats to the Democrats. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress,* 2:517; Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1982), 170, 182–91.

325.29 New York *Herald*] Douglass's speech given at the New Orleans National Convention of Colored Citizens appeared in the New York *Herald* on 14 April 1872. Douglass reports that the speech is reprinted in full; this cannot be determined as the editor of the *Herald* mixes his own description of the events with the words of Douglass's speech. The speech describes the need for American citizens to advocate for their own rights and liberties that were so hard fought for and earned by all, especially African Americans. Douglass lends his fond and enthusiastic support to Charles Sumner in his dispute with the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant. Douglass also deplores the doctrine of States' Rights that seemed to be guiding many out of the Republican party. New York *Herald,* 14 April 1872.

325.34–35 the nomination and election of Grant and Wilson] The Republican national convention of 1872 was held on 5 June at Philadelphia, and on the second day President Ulysses S. Grant was nominated for his second term without a single dissenting vote. Vice President Schuyler Colfax ran against Massachusetts Senator Henry Wilson for the second spot on the ticket, and Wilson won easily on the second ballot. Blacks voted in record numbers in 1872 thanks to the Fifteenth Amendment and federal supervision at the polls, and they voted overwhelmingly for the Republicans. Douglass, in commenting upon the campaign, said, "The Republican party is the ship and all else is the sea," which became the watchword for the majority of African Americans. On 1 August North Carolina held the first election, and Republicans won, thereby setting the tone for the remainder of the campaign. Following the September elections in Vermont and Maine, which Republicans won,

a small number of Democrats opposed to Greeley held a new convention in Louisville and nominated Charles O'Connor and John Quincy Adams as president and vice president respectively. The October election states, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, confirmed the popular sentiment of the country with strong returns for Republican candidates in all three. In the presidential election, Grant ultimately carried all but six states and did so with decisive majorities, winning 55.6% of the popular vote. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress,* 2:526–36; Jean Edward Smith, *Grant* (New York, 2001), 547–52; James M. McPherson, "Grant or Greeley? The Abolitionist Dilemma in the Election of 1872," *AHR,* 71:43–61 (October 1965); *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections,* 1:656.

325.35 I was actively engaged on the stump] On 24 July 1872 Douglass made an appearance on behalf of the Republican party in Richmond, Virginia, with Senator Henry M. Wilson and James H. Clement. He also appeared in Raleigh and Wilmington, North Carolina on 25 and 27 July, respectively. Senator John Pool, Joseph Carter Abbott, James H. Harris, and John Henry Smyth accompanied Douglass on the platform. Contemporary reports indicate that John Mercer Langston was also to have joined Douglass in North Carolina. Douglass then spoke in several cities in Maine from 19 August to 7 September. Senator Hannibal Hamlin, James G. Blaine, General Benjamin F. Butler, and others joined him along the way. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 23 July, 22, 23, 26, 30 August, 1872; Bangor *Daily Whig and Courier,* 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28 August, 2 September, 1872; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:xxxi, 302–21.

325.37 John H. Smyth] Consul general to Liberia from May 1878 to April 1882, John Henry Smyth (1844–1908) was born free near Richmond, Virginia. After earning a law degree from Howard University, Smyth practiced in Raleigh, North Carolina. Like Douglass, he focused his energy on the activities of the Republican party in Washington, D.C., and his efforts were rewarded following Reconstruction with a state department appointment in Liberia. Smyth favored emigration and encouraged African Americans to seek their prosperity in Liberia, and worked to connect the Pan-African ideals of racial separation, self-elevation, and the international connections of black peoples. Richard Brent Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington, Ind., 2003), 60–61; Walter L. Williams, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Africanist: John Henry Smyth, United States Minister to Liberia, 1878–1885," *JNH,* 63:18–25 (January 1978); *DANB,* 7:320–21.

325.37 Senator Hamlin] Best remembered as vice president during the first administration of Abraham Lincoln, Hannibal Hamlin (1809–91) was a leading power in Maine politics for half a century. He did not attend college but apprenticed for the law in the office of Samuel Fessenden. Originally a Democrat, Hamlin served in the U.S. House of Representatives (1843–47) and the U.S. Senate (1848–57). Shifting to the new Republic party in 1856, he won election as governor that year but resigned after a few weeks to begin a new Senate term (1857–61). His tenure as vice president was unremarkable and Lincoln replaced him with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. Hamlin returned to the U.S. Senate for two more terms (1869–81) where he joined Radical Republicans on Reconstruction issues. After a brief service as ambassador to Spain (1881–82), he retired from public life. H[arry] Draper Hunt, *Hannibal Hamlin of Maine: Lincoln's First Vice-President* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1969); *ACAB,* 3:65; *DAB,* 8:196–98.

325.38 Gen. Woodford] Born in New York City, Stewart Lyndon Woodford (1835–1913) attended Columbia and Yale, graduating from the former in 1854. Admitted to the bar in 1857, he practiced law in his native city and became federal district attorney for the southern district of New York in 1861. Woodford joined the Union army in 1862 and held the rank of brevet brigadier general at its close. A Republican, Woodford won the post of lieutenant governor of New York in 1866 but he ran unsuccessfully for the governorship in 1870. Elected to Congress in 1872 he resigned before the end of his term. A Stalwart and political ally of Roscoe Conkling, Woodford received appointments as United States attorney for the southern district of New York (1877–83) and minister plenipotentiary to Spain (1897–98). David M. Jordan, *Roscoe Conkling of New York: Voice in the Senate* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), 83–84, 141, 152, 381, 435; *ACAB,* 6:601–02; *NCAB,* 9:2–3; *DAB,* 20:489–90.

325.38 James G. Blaine] Born in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, James Gillespie Blaine (1830–93), graduated from Washington College near his hometown in 1847. After studying law and teaching, Blaine moved to Maine where he worked for newspapers in Kennebec and Portland in the mid-1860s. An early adherent of the Republican party, he held office in the state legislature (1858–62), the U.S. House of Representatives (1863–75), and the U.S. Senate (1875–81). Relatively conservative on the issues of military Reconstruction, Blaine was a leader of the anti-Grant "Half-Breed" faction of the Republican party and lost bitterly contested battles for the presidential nomination in 1876 and 1880. He served Garfield as secretary of state but departed the cabinet when Chester Arthur became president. In 1884 Blaine finally captured the nomination for president but lost a close election to Grover Cleveland in which Democrats charged him with accepting financial favors while a congressman. Blaine concluded his long public career by serving as Benjamin Harrison's secretary of state (1889–93). David Saville Muzzey, *James G. Blaine: A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York, 1934); Charles Edward Russell, *Blaine of Maine: His Life and Times* (New York, 1931); *ACAB,* 1:275–80; *NCAB,* 1:137–39; *DAB,* 2:322–29.

326.1 Parker Pillsbury] Before entering a seminary and becoming a minister and abolitionist, Parker was a farmer and wagoner. The reference to Douglass's political campaigning as a "field hand" alludes to the intense schedule such workers often kept and the fact that they often were unpaid for their labors. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:185n; *DAB,* 11:608–09.

326.3–4 stalwart element of the Republican party] "Stalwarts" was the nickname for the Republican party faction that supported Ulysses S. Grant for a third term in 1880. Most members of this group had opposed Rutherford B. Hayes on the issues of civil service reform and conciliation of white southerners. More than 300 delegates

remained loyal to Grant throughout all thirty-six ballots at the Republican national convention in 1880, but their leader, Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, moved to make the nomination unanimous after James A. Garfield's victory. The selection of Chester A. Arthur of New York, a Stalwart and Conkling associate, for the vice-presidential nomination helped solidify the support of the disappointed Grant men for the Republican ticket. Donald Barr Chidsey, *The Gentleman from New York: A Life of Roscoe Conkling* (New Haven, Conn., 1935), 209–93; Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 2:1634.

326.14–16 The Republicans carried the State...combined] In the 5 November presidential election of 1872, Republicans won the state of New York by 53,479 votes over the combined Liberal Republican and Democratic ticket headed by Horace Greeley. Republicans garnered 440,758 votes out of a total 829,692. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections,* 1:656.

326.18–19 the Republican Electoral College at its meeting in Albany] The electoral college of New York assembled on 4 December 1872 and voted unanimously for Grant, providing the incumbent president with thirty-five electoral votes. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 5 December 1872; Bangor *Daily Whig & Courier,* 12 December 1872; Lowell (Mass.) *Daily Citizen and News,* 14 December 1872; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:399; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 263–65, 267.

326.21–22 any colored man…post-office to another] The disfranchisement of African Americans from the United States Post Office Department was set in motion by a private letter from Postmaster General Gideon Granger to Senator James Jackson in 1802, which intimated a number of objections to the employment of blacks as mail carriers. This employment, wrote Granger, might teach blacks "that a man's rights do not depend on his color" and could thereby incite insurrection or other forms of subversion. Motivated by such fears, on 3 March 1825 Congress passed a bill prohibiting the employment of anyone but "a free white person" from delivering the mail, with an additional penalty of $20 to be paid by any contractor who hired a nonwhite in the postal service. The law was eventually challenged by Charles Sumner, who on 18 March 1862 introduced a bill proposing to remove all disqualifications of color for mail carriers. Although Sumner's bill passed the Senate without debate, it met opposition in the House partly due to concern, as emphasized by post office committee chairman Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, that the legal change would qualify not only blacks as mail contractors but also Native Americans and Chinese immigrants. On 18 January 1864 Sumner again introduced the bill, which this time was passed and approved. *Barnard's Journal of American Education,* 32 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1855–82), *National Series: Special Report on Education in the District of Columbia,* 19:321–22 (1870); *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works,* 8:247–50; Litwack, *North of Slavery,* 57–59; Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart, eds., *Cyclopedia of American Government,* 3 vols. (New York, 1914), 1:313.

326.23 "triple steel,"] A quote from *Paradise Lost,* Book II, line 569. Milton, *Complete Poems and Major Prose,* 245.

326.37 Ebenezer Bassett] Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett (1833–1908) studied at the University of Pennsylvania and Yale and became a schoolteacher in New Haven, Connecticut, and Philadelphia. A fervent campaigner for Republican candidates, Bassett received the appointment from the Ulysses S. Grant administration in 1869 as the first African American to formally represent the United States abroad as minister resident and consul general to Haiti and *chargé d'affaires* to the Dominican Republic. Bassett's term of duty spanned the administration of four Haitian presidents and a volatile political climate. Once Rutherford B. Hayes replaced Grant, Bassett resigned his foreign post on 27 November 1877 and returned to New York City, where he acted as Haitian consul from 1879 to 1888. When Frederick Douglass received the Haitian post in 1889, Bassett, a longtime friend of Douglass, agreed to accompany him to Haiti and acted as Douglass's secretary for $825 per year. Bassett returned to the United States after Douglass's term and settled in Philadelphia. Robert Debs Heinl, Jr., and Nancy Gordon Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492–1971* (Boston, 1978), 246, 248, 266, 311; *EAAH,* 1:120–21.

327.38 Robert Purvis] Robert Purvis, James Wormley, and Douglass accompanied the body of their friend Henry Wilson from Washington, D.C., to Boston. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 27 November 1875; Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel,* 27, 29 November 1875.

327.38–39 James Wormley] Hotel operator James Wormley (1819–84) was born free to livery stable operator Pere Leigh Wormley and his wife Mary. Wormley briefly operated a horse and carriage hack in the capital, but left Washington to seek his fortune in the California gold rush in 1849. After a stint as a steward on Mississippi River steamboats, he returned to Washington, working as a steward at the Metropolitan Club. He initiated a catering business just before the Civil War erupted, then expanded his business to include a restaurant, which was patronized by important politicos. In 1868 he traveled to Great Britain as the personal steward of newly appointed U.S. minister Reverdy Johnson. In 1871 Wormley opened the hotel that made him famous at the southwest corner of H and Fifteenth Streets. With its central location, the Wormley Hotel attracted many important guests and counted Schuyler Colfax, John Hay, and Roscoe Conkling among its long-term residents. In February 1877 a meeting held at the hotel produced the "Wormley Agreement," which formed the basis for the Compromise of 1877, solving the dispute over the presidential election of 1876. The Wormley Hotel continued operations under the direction of his three sons for several years after Wormley's death. Cleveland *Gazette,* 23 October 1886; Charles E. Wynes, "James Wormley of the Wormley Hotel Agreement," *Centennial Review,* 19:397–401 (Winter 1975); *ANB,* 23:882–883.

328.34–35 sparrow-tailed coat] A coat with its back cut like the tail of a swallow; that is, with an inverted "V" cut into a tapered tail.

329.5 Roscoe Conkling] Roscoe Conkling (1829–88), Republican politician, was born in Albany, New York. He trained for the law in Utica, was admitted to the bar in

1850, and served as district attorney for Oneida County from 1850 until he was elected mayor of Utica in 1858. The following year he entered the U.S. House of Representatives, serving until an 1862 defeat, but returning in 1865 for one term. Serving in the Senate from 1867 until 1881, Conkling ardently advocated Ulysses Grant's Reconstruction policies. A champion of the political spoils system, Conkling opposed the civil service reforms advocated by Presidents Rutherford B. Hayes and James A. Garfield. During Garfield's administration Conkling and a colleague, Thomas C. Platt, resigned from the Senate to protest Garfield's appointment of a former Liberal Republican to a key patronage job in the New York City customs house. Platt and Conkling were chagrined when they lost their anticipated reelections. Conkling resumed law practice in New York City. Jordan, *Roscoe Conkling of New York;* Chidsey, *Gentleman from New York; ACAB,* 1:706–07.

329.5 His speech in executive session] The executive session of the U.S. Senate for confirming the nomination of Douglass to the position of U.S. marshal for the District of Columbia was held on 15–17 March 1877. The nomination was considered in debate on the final day, but the speeches were not recorded. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America,* 147 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1828–), 20:67–68, 71.

329.16–18 two years before…commended by them] Douglass did not anticipate the criticism and resentment that followed his address at Baltimore's Douglass Institute on 8 May 1877. En route to participate in the inaugural ceremonies for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, he stopped to deliver that lecture as part of the St. Paul's lyceum course at the Baltimore hall named for him. He gave a reading of his lecture "Our National Capital," which he had written and delivered in Washington, D.C., more than a year previously. But the publication of short excerpts from this lecture in the Baltimore press and subsequently in the Washington newspapers proved anything but timely. The Senate had just confirmed his appointment by President Rutherford B. Hayes as marshal for the District of Columbia. There had been some local opposition to Douglass's appointment, and now the reports of his criticism of the strong racial prejudices of Washington's white population in "Our National Capital" sparked an angry drive for his removal. The Washington *Evening Star* called his appointment "a mistake" and said that he was "unfit…to take charge of a responsible executive trust." Another Washington newspaper, the *National Republican,* reprinted a petition circulating through the city, asking Hayes to dismiss Douglass from office. The *National Republican* also interviewed a number of prominent Washington citizens—white and black—on the issue. The whites unanimously agreed that Douglass had behaved improperly and deserved removal. Several blacks, including John Mercer Langston, dissociated themselves from Douglass's criticism of the white Washington community, but his friend Charles B. Purvis came to his defense. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 11, 14 May 1877; Washington (D.C.) *National Republican,* 11, 12 May 1877; Syracuse (N.Y.) *Journal,* 12 May 1877; New York *Times,* 13, 18, 19 May 1877; *ChR,* 17, 24 May 1877; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 341–42.

329.30 To the Editor of the Washington *Evening Star*] Douglass accurately reprints the content of his letter, which the Washington *Evening Star* published on 12 May 1877.

329.35 International Exhibition in Philadelphia] On 10 May 1877 public ceremonies dedicated the main building of the former Centennial fairgrounds at Fairmount Park in Philadelphia as the site for a new international exhibition, more popularly known as the Permanent International Exhibition. Presidents Grant and Hayes as well as Douglass were among many dignitaries in attendance. The exhibition failed to live up to its name, being closed down on 14 February 1881 because of financial difficulties. New York *Times,* 8 May 1877; New York *Tribune,* 11 May 1877; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia,* 3:1863.

330.3 My Deputy Marshal] To carry out the responsibilities of deputy marshal, Douglass selected L. P. Williams (c. 1831–?), a former newspaper editor from La Porte, Indiana, who in the spring of 1852 worked briefly on the short-lived Westville (Ind.) *Free Press.* After serving in the Union army during the Civil War, where he attained the rank of major, Williams in 1865 moved permanently to Washington, D.C., living near Howard University. In Washington Williams became an assistant clerk for the District's Supreme Court before accepting the position of Douglass's deputy marshal on 20 March 1877, replacing Colonel George W. Phillips. 1870 U.S. Census, District of Columbia, Washington, 738; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 19 March 1877; New York *Times,* 20 March 1877; Jasper Packard, *History of La Porte County, Indiana, and Its Townships, Towns, and Cities* (La Porte, Ind., 1876), 78; E. D. Daniels, *A Twentieth Century History and Biographical Record of La Porte County Indiana* (Chicago, 1904), 248–49; Douglass Zevely, "Old Residences and Family History in the City Hall Neighborhood," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society,* 6:105–06 (1903).

330.37–39 Under the shadow…all American citizens] Douglass closely paraphrases Daniel Webster's speech at the celebration of the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument on 17 June 1843. Daniel Webster, *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster,* 18 vols. (Boston, 1903), 1:265.

331.15–17 Mahometan to Mecca…the Flowery kingdom] Many religions, particularly Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, practice pilgrimage as a rite of passage, which involves visiting historical sites sacred within each belief system. One of the five mandates of Islam, as dictated by the prophet Muhammad, is that every healthy male visit Mecca at least once in his lifetime, thereby symbolically replicating Muhammad's final pilgrimage to the city. For the Catholic faith, Rome is a popular site of pilgrimage mainly because of the pope's residence there, which purports a holy significance to the city. Although Jerusalem is also visited by Christians, the city is more significantly the central pilgrimage site of Judaism, considered by Jews to be the holiest place on earth and the original location of Mount Moriah, where God stopped Abraham from sacrificing his son Isaac. Pilgrimage to China is not as obligatory within the Taoist and Buddhist doctrines as the journeys to Mecca, Rome, and

Jerusalem are within Islam, Catholicism, and Judaism, respectively, but those who do travel to the country for religious purposes typically visit the Five Marchmounts, which are considered to be the most important of China's sacred mountains. Gen. 22:1–19; Linda Kay Davidson and David M. Gitlitz, *Pilgrimage: From the Ganges to Graceland,* 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, 2002), 1:261, 278, 2:530–31; Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley, 1992), 9, 12, 19, 20; Pei-yi Wu, "An Ambivalent Pilgrim to T'ai Shan in the Seventeenth Century," in ibid., 65–66; David Levinson, *Religion: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia* (New York, 1996), 154.

333.12 his old law partner] Ward Hill Lamon (1828–93), born in Frederick County, Virginia, began his intimate acquaintance with Lincoln when in 1852 he became the future president's law partner in Danville, Illinois. Lamon thereafter remained close to Lincoln throughout the latter's political career, helping to organize his senatorial and presidential campaigns in 1858 and 1860, respectively, and even serving as Lincoln's personal bodyguard when the president-elect traveled to Washington in February 1861 for his inauguration. On 6 April 1861 Lincoln appointed Lamon as marshal of the District of Columbia. His duties included introducing the president at various functions and generally remaining close to the president's side as threats of assassination increased. As the war progressed, however, Lincoln received criticism from abolitionists and Congress itself for Lamon's proslavery views and his stringent enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law while serving as marshal. To his lifelong regret, Lamon was not with Lincoln when the president was assassinated on 14 April 1865, having been called away by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to an assignment in Richmond. Lamon resigned from his position as marshal the following June. *ANB,* 13:86–87; *DAB,* 10:562–63.

333.14 Gen. Sharp] Alexander Sharp III (1825–1901) was born in Green Spring Farm, Pennsylvania, the son of a Presbyterian minister. In 1843 Sharp was enrolled at Jefferson College, his father's alma mater, where he studied medicine. After graduating in 1846, Sharp moved to Philadelphia to continue his education. He relocated to St. Louis in 1850, where he met his wife, Nellie Dent, sister-in-law of then Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant. When the Civil War began, Grant found Sharp on the side of the Union, and had him commissioned as a brigade surgeon. Following the war, Grant had President Andrew Johnson appoint Sharp postmaster of Richmond, Virginia, a post he held from 1865 to 1869. When Grant became president in 1869, Sharp was appointed United States marshal of the District of Columbia, remaining there until 1877. After his tenure in Washington, D.C., he was stationed in the Dakota Territory as paymaster. Later Sharp and his family moved to Leavenworth, Kansas, and then in retirement to San Francisco, California. Margaret Sharp Angus, *A Biography of Dr. Alexander Sharp, Major and Paymaster: His Antecedents and Descendants* (Kingston, Ont., 1988), 143–93.

333.29 his amiable wife] Lucy Ware Webb Hayes (1831–89) was born in Chillicothe, Ohio. In 1844 her family moved to Delaware, Ohio, where Lucy entered the preparatory school of Ohio Wesleyan University. She graduated from Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College in 1850, which was one of the first colleges in the United States to award degrees to women. Lucy and Rutherford B. Hayes were married in 1852. Lucy believed strongly in abolition and influenced Hayes to defend runaway slaves. Hayes joined the Union army during the Civil War, and Lucy often accompanied him to care for the sick and wounded soldiers. She was interested in assisting veterans and young people, and she would continue such work throughout her life. In 1877 Hayes became the nineteenth president of the United States, and Lucy became the first president's wife to have graduated from college. Alcohol was removed from the White House during their tenure because of her temperance beliefs. Renowned for her love of gatherings, Lucy began the tradition of the children's Easter egg roll at the White House on Easter Monday. She became the most widely known and loved president's wife of the era. *ACAB,* 3:143; *NCAB,* 3:196; *ANB,* 10:395–97.

334.2 Columbus Alexander] Columbus Alexander (1815–98) was born in Alexandria, Virginia. His ancestors had named that town, and once owned much of the land, including the Arlington estate where the Lees later lived. Alexander eventually moved to the District of Columbia and became one of its wealthiest residents. He was a member of the jury that tried John H. Surratt for aiding in the assassination of President Lincoln. The case resulted in a mistrial. New York *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator,* 19 February 1898; *Trial of John H. Surratt,* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1867), 2:1379.

334.6 George Hill, Jr.] George Hill, Jr. (1813–98), was born in England, but his family moved to Alexandria, Virginia, when he was very young. Hill moved to Georgetown in 1836, and began the first paper mill in the District of Columbia a short time later. For many years his paper mill supplied the local newspapers and also provided stationery for the government. Hill joined the Union army during the Civil War and reached the rank of major. At the war's close, Hill was appointed postmaster of Georgetown by Presidents Johnson and Grant. Denver *Evening Post,* 27 November 1898; William Tindall, *Standard History of the City of Washington: From a Study of the Original Sources* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1914), 364.

334.12–13 Charles B. Purvis] Charles Burleigh Purvis (1842–1929) was the son of Douglass's old black abolitionist associate Robert Purvis and Harriet Forten, a daughter of the wealthy black Philadelphia sailmaker James Forten and herself an active abolitionist. Raised on his family's farm in Byberry, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, Purvis attended Oberlin College for two years and then the Western Reserve Medical School, where he graduated in 1865. He served as an assistant surgeon and chief administrator (1881–94) of the Freedman's Hospital in Washington, D.C. As a trustee of the Freedman's Bank, Purvis, more than any of his colleagues, criticized the activities of men later found guilty of fraud. When the trustees elected Douglass president in 1874, they chose Purvis as his first vice president. Purvis's career in Washington ended in 1905 when he moved to Boston, where he practiced medicine. Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 691; Herbert M. Morais, *The History of the Negro*

in Medicine (New York, 1967), 50–52; Gerri Major and Doris E. Saunders, *Gerri Major's Black Society* (Chicago, 1976), 169; Fleming, *Freedman's Savings Bank,* 83; Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud,* 165–66; James Forten, "The Forten Family," *NHB,* 10:75–79, 95 (January 1947); *DANB,* 507–08.

334.19 "worthy of stripes or of bonds."] The earliest use of this phrase appears to stem from the six-volume *An Exposition of the Old and New Testament* (1708–10; 1811) by English biblical commentator Matthew Henry (1662–1714). In his explanation of Acts 16:37, from the posthumously completed sixth volume of 1811, Henry paraphrases Paul and Silas's objection to their persecution by the Roman government in their having "done nothing worthy of stripes or of bonds." Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the Old and New Testament,* 6 vols. (1708–10; Philadelphia, 1811), 6:171; *DNB,* 9:574–75.

334.36 Phillips] George W. Phillips (1811–95), deputy marshal for the District of Columbia, was born in Prince George's County, Maryland, and moved to the District in 1824. A successful merchant of dry goods, he was appointed deputy marshal by President Franklin Pierce and also served through the terms of Presidents Buchanan, Lincoln, and Grant. When Douglass was appointed marshal, Phillips declined to continue at his post, but when offered the position by Douglass's successor, Clayton McMichael, Phillips accepted. He remained in office until 1893. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 31 December 1895; Zevely, "Old Residences and Family History in the City Hall Neighborhood," 104–22.

334.36 Williams] L. P. Williams.

335.1 eminent Chief Justice of the District of Columbia] Born in Rochester, New York, David Kellogg Carter (1812–87) was admitted to the city's bar in 1834 and, following his marriage to Nancy H. Hansford two years later, moved to Ohio, where he practiced law in Akron, Masillon, and Cleveland. After serving two terms in Congress as a Democrat (1849–53), Carter was appointed by President Lincoln as a minister to Bolivia—a position he held from 27 March 1861 to 10 March 1862. On 11 March 1863 Lincoln appointed Carter chief justice of the District of Columbia's Supreme Court, a position in which he remained until his death on 16 April 1887. Job Barnard, "Early Days of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society,* 22:2–3, 19–20 (1919); *ACAB,* 1:544.

335.3 J. R. Meigs] Named for his uncle, a governor of Ohio, Return Jonathan Meigs (1801–91) was born in Clark County, Kentucky. Meigs was educated at several academies, eventually turned to law, and was admitted to the bar in 1822. He served as a special agent to the Cherokee and Creek Indians in 1834–41. A Whig in politics, he was appointed the U.S. district attorney for the middle district of Tennessee in 1841 and followed that appointment with one term as a state senator. An opponent of Tennessee's secession, Meigs relocated to New York City. Lincoln appointed him clerk of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in 1863, and he continued in that office until his death. Galveston *Daily News,* 21 October 1891; Johnson, *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans,* 7:359; *ACAB,* 5:288.

335.13–15 the effort...the Northern States] Frustrated by the reinstatement of oppressive Black Codes, imposition of unfair labor practices, lack of educational opportunity, and political impotence to correct these problems, black "Exodusters" from Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, and other regions in the South left in large numbers during spring 1879 for Kansas and adjacent areas of the Midwest. Although many former abolitionists supported the migration, Douglass remained unswervingly opposed to the "Exodus" movement, believing that conditions for blacks in the South would soon improve and that to leave would only connote surrender to white pressure. After criticizing the Exodus in an address in Baltimore on 4 May 1879, Douglass endured a summer of accusations from northerners who believed he had lost touch with the plight of African Americans. However, much of the Democratic press and a number of prominent black leaders and politicians—including James E. O'Hara, Isaiah C. Wears, B. F. Watson, and Senator Blanche Kelso Bruce—agreed with Douglass's views. New York *Times,* 5 May 1879; Athearn, *In Search of Canaan,* 233–38; Painter, *Exodusters,* 7–10, 184–201, 247–50.

335.24–25 the Israelitish departure…pork and hominy] Douglass refers to the book of Exodus, in which Moses leads the people of Israel out of Egypt and into Sinai. Douglass paraphrases Exod. 3:8, "And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites." Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 2:700–701.

336.4–5 Elizabeth Thompson] Elizabeth Rowell Thompson (1821–99) was born in Lyndon, Vermont, to an impoverished farm family and began work as a house servant at age nine. Her fortunes changed when she married wealthy Bostonian Thomas Thompson in 1844. Following her husband's death in 1869, Thompson dedicated her life and fortune to the support of various causes. One of her first ventures was support for the resettlement of urban poor in Colorado and Kansas. Temperance reform was another of Thompson's causes, leading her to author a pamphlet titled *Figures of Hell; or, The Temples of Bacchus* (1878), which presented statistical evidence of the costs of drinking to American society. Thompson also turned her philanthropic support toward the world of science. Some of her significant contributions include major gifts to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and a $10,000 grant to Congress in 1878 to investigate the causes of a yellow fever epidemic plaguing the southern states. Upon her death, the remainder of her husband's fortune went to the working women of the towns of Brattleboro, Vermont, and Rhinebeck, New York. These women, who were mainly seamstresses and shop clerks, shared an estimated $1.3 million. Howard S. Miller, *Dollars for Research: Science and Its Patrons in Nineteenth-Century America* (Seattle, 1970), 127–29; *NAW,* 3:452–54; *ANB,* 21:548–50.

336.6–7 Carpenter's great…Emancipation Proclamation,"] Francis Bicknell Carpenter (1830–1900) painted the historic picture *The First Reading of the*

Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln to His Cabinet in 1864. The canvas measured fourteen feet, six inches long by nine feet high. Set in the Official Chamber of the White House, the painting shows President Lincoln, Secretary of State William H. Seward, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, Attorney General Edward Bates, Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, and Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith. Carpenter insisted on portraying the occasion faithfully, painting the men in their regular clothes and adding only background elements that were used by the men, such as a map showing the slave population and Judge Whiting's book *War Powers of the President.* Frederic B. Perkins, *The Picture and the Men* (New York, 1867), 7, 31, 46.

336.16–17 Social Science Congress at Saratoga] In spring 1879 Douglass entered into the public controversy over the "Exodus" of freed blacks from the Southeast to the prairie states. His criticism of this movement had provoked several other prominent blacks to attack him as indifferent to the problems of blacks in the post-Reconstruction South. Douglass took the opportunity of an invitation from the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association, scheduled for Saratoga, New York, in September 1879, to prepare a detailed explanation of his position. When Douglass read press reports that the association had converted the occasion of his paper delivery into a debate with one of his critics, Richard T. Greener of Howard University's law school, he canceled his appearance. Douglass's original paper was read to the meeting by an old friend, Francis Wayland, after which Greener delivered a defense of the Exodus movement. Frederick Douglass, "Southern Questions: The Negro Exodus from the Gulf States," *Journal of Social Science,* 11:1–21 (May 1880); R[ichard] T. Greener, "The Emigration of Colored Citizens from the Southern States," ibid.:22–35; Painter, *Exodusters,* 3–68, 234–61; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass,* 299–302.

336.34–36 Neither Chinaman, German…Louisiana and Mississippi] In an effort to drive out African Americans from the South and simultaneously counter their loss as a result of the Exodus movement, some southern whites advocated the replacement of black workers with foreign immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and particularly China. Believing the Chinese to be a cheaper source of labor and less concerned with matters of politics, religion, and education, southern white employers conducted a variety of efforts to entice the Chinese of California eastward, which included supporting President Hayes's veto of a Chinese anti-immigration bill and raising $10,000 to send a representative to the West Coast to conduct negotiations of settlement. By 11 April 1879, only one month into the Exodus, the Chinese Six Companies of San Francisco was receiving daily applications for Chinese workers to move to Mississippi, Louisiana, and other southern states. White southerners' support for foreign immigration, however, was mixed with fears that Chinese laborers would lower the wage scale for white workers while also introducing a variety of other unwanted characteristics associated with the so-called "yellow peril," such as heathenism, disease, and a tendency to multiply. Bryan M. Jack, *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters* (Columbia, Mo., 2007), 115–16; Athearn, *In Search of Canaan,* 104–06; Foner, *Reconstruction,* 419–20.

337.11 under the 'beneficent whip' of some bloodthirsty *Legree*] A reference to Simon Legree, the northern-born villain of Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

337.24–25 'the Star of Empire takes its way.'] Douglass misquotes his original statement, "the course of empire takes its way." This frequently appropriated phrase dates back to Bishop George Berkeley's poem *On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* (1752), stanza 6, line 1. George Berkeley, *The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne,* ed. A[rthur] A[ston] Luce and T[homas] E[dmund] Jessop, 9 vols. (London, 1948–57), 7:373; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:514.

339.14 the new Canaan of Kansas] The term "Canaan" refers to an area equivalent to modern Lebanon on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, parts of southern Syria, and Israel. In the book of Exodus, Canaan is referred to as the destination of the followers of Moses after their escape from Egypt. Exod. 6:4; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 1:828–29.

339.36 The Irish and Dutch have frequently been so treated] Although there were numerous earlier episodes of nativist violence, Douglass probably alludes to events in the 1850s. Irish and German Americans in virtually every American city were principal targets for election-day violence on behalf of the American or "Know-Nothing" party, though some of the violence may have been instigated by Democrats. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (1938; Gloucester, Mass., 1963), 180–81, 196–97, 275, 279, 420–21; Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 191, 204–05.

340.13–18 The President of…House and Senate] Douglass is possibly referring to President Rutherford B. Hayes's resistance in 1879 to efforts by the Democratic majorities of both houses of Congress to pass legislation prohibiting federal intervention to protect voting rights. Although congressional Republicans mustered enough votes to sustain the vetoes of such measures, Hayes took few active steps in the last two years of his presidency to protect the freedmen. Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction,* 357–62; Davison, *Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes,* 139–41.

340.39–341.1 In Georgia…fifty millions] The figure for Georgia can be verified: state records in 1879 listed the aggregate taxed property of blacks as $5,182,398. *Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia from October 1, 1879 to October 1, 1880* (Atlanta, 1880), 153–57.

342.7–8 The fact of being to the manner born] *Hamlet,* act I, sc. 4, line 15.

344.4–5 The time to…called in question] Douglass perhaps paraphrases Daniel Webster's speech on 14 January 1814 in the U.S. House of Representatives. Webster, *Writings and Speeches,* 14:25.

344.21 "truth is stranger than fiction."] A paraphrase from Byron's *Don Juan,* Canto XIV, line 1823. George Gordon Lord Byron, Baron Byron of Rochdale, *The*

Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron, ed. Jerome J. McGann and Barry Weller, 7 vols. (New York, 1980–93), 5:588.

344.35–36 to come to side of his dying bed] Douglass reconciled with his former owner, Thomas Auld, on 17 June 1878. Douglass was under the impression that his old master died shortly after his visit; however, Auld did not die until three years after their meeting, on 8 February 1880. Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 126; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 182–85, 231n.

345.11 Hugh] Hugh Auld.

345.16 four different languages] Frederick Douglass's *Narrative* was first translated into Dutch in 1846 and then two years later into French by Sarah K. Parkes of Bristol, England. Ottilie Assing translated *My Bondage and My Freedom* into German in 1860. Both volumes were originally published in English, making his written recollections of Thomas Auld available in four different languages. Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America: From Its Discovery to the Present Time,* 29 vols. (New York, 1868–1936), 5:500.

346.5–6 the subject of mirth by heartless triflers] Douglass's visit to his former owner, Captain Thomas Auld, was widely publicized. Many blacks, especially younger ones, disapproved of both the meeting and the statements Douglass made about it. Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 19 June 1877; *Harper's Weekly,* 7 July 1877; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 342–43; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 342–43; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 180–89.

346.12–13 Charles Caldwell] In 1835 Charles (Handy) Caldwell had attended a clandestine school organized by Douglass on William Freeland's Farm, located in Talbot County. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 2, 2:150; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 131.

346.16 Wm. H. Bruff] William Bruff (c. 1823–?) was married to Sarah Louisa Auld Bruff, daughter of Thomas Auld and his second wife, Rowena. He and Louisa greeted Douglass at their St. Michaels, Maryland, home on Cherry Street, where Douglass's former owner then resided. The location where Douglass's reunion with Auld took place is disputed by the Auld family. The Aulds hold that the reunion took place at the country home of another daughter, Beverly. Despite this inconsistency, Douglass's own notes and letters regarding the visit show the Cherry Street home of William Bruff to be the location where in 1877 Douglass returned as a free man to repair relations with his ailing former master. Some of the Auld family had been offended by Douglass's description of Thomas Auld in his first two autobiographies. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 184–85, 225n, 231n.

346.17 Louisa Bruff] Louisa Auld Bruff (1833–?) was the daughter of Captain Thomas Auld and his second wife, Rowena. Douglass remembered Louisa only as a small child who was born the year he came to live at St. Michaels, in 1833. Her mother, Rowena, had not been kind to the teenage Douglass. She despised Douglass and the other slaves, depriving them of adequate nutrition, and for this he did not remember her fondly. By the time Douglass returned to St. Michaels, Maryland, to make his peace with Captain Auld in 1877, Louisa had become crippled by arthritis. Nevertheless she and her husband, William Bruff, greeted Douglass warmly. Following Douglass's visit to the Bruffs' home, Louisa contacted him to inquire whether he was interested in purchasing their house for a cost of $3,000, even though, according to Louisa, they had purchased it for $4,000. Louisa indicated they would be willing to take a loss in the sale on account of her husband's dire financial circumstances. The Bruffs were planning a move to Texas. Douglass's reply to Louisa is unknown, but Talbot County Land Records show that the Bruffs purchased the home for $1,000 and finally sold the home over a year after Douglass's visit to Dr. Robert A. Dodson on 1 October 1878 for a sum of $1,200. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 106, 184–85, 188–89, 225n, 231–32nn.

346.23 palsy] An affliction resulting in paralysis, often associated with involuntary tremors.

346.36–37 not that I loved Caesar less, but Rome more."] *Julius Caesar,* sc. 8, lines 1408–09.

346.39 my grandmother] Betsey Bailey.

347.18–19 Mistress Lucretia] Lucretia Planner Anthony Auld.

347.19–20 I left Lloyd's for Baltimore in the Spring of 1825] Douglass is incorrect about the year he left for Baltimore. He actually left a year later. When Aaron Anthony's health began to fail, he was replaced as overseer on the Lloyd plantation by James McKeel, and Douglass was sent to live in Baltimore with Anthony's son-in-law's brother, Hugh Auld, on 18 March 1826. Upon the death of Aaron Anthony, Douglass was returned temporarily to the Lloyd plantation. In Anthony's will, Douglass was bequeathed to Anthony's son-in-law, Thomas Auld, on 18 October 1827, who, like Anthony, sent him to live in Baltimore with his brother's family. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 81–82, 90–91.

347.22 James Beacham] The firm of J. S. Beacham & Brothers, headed by James Beacham, was a leading builder of the speedy two-masted pilot-schooners, today remembered as Baltimore clippers. Built in the shipyards of St. Michaels as well as in Baltimore, Beacham ships were sold to customers around the world and made their way into both the opium and the slave trade as well as more legitimate maritime commerce. Beacham constructed the 64-gun frigate *Baltimore* at his Fells Point shipyard for the Brazilian navy in 1826. Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* 293; Geoffrey M. Footner, *Tidewater Triumph: The Development and Worldwide Success of the Chesapeake Bay Pilot Schooner* (Centreville, Md., 1998), 9, 130, 134, 146, 151, 158–59.

347.32–34 His death…event noteworthy] Douglass's visit to his former owner's sickbed was reported in the Baltimore *Sun* on 19 June 1877. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 184–86, 231n.

347.38–39 to deliver an address in the Court House] On 30 November 1878, the Easton *Gazette* reported on a controversial speech that Douglass had been delivering since the 1850s, "Self-Made Men." In the main courtroom of the Talbot County Court House he lectured on black and white meritocracy to an integrated audience.

Seemingly ignoring that blacks were born into poverty with few opportunities to compete, Douglass's views on racial equality were not popular with many younger black leaders. Douglass failed to account fully for the ravages of slavery upon African American social institutions and the inability of the postslavery South to establish truly equal relations between blacks and whites. He denounced the efforts of white charitable organizations to help poor blacks, starting with the idea that blacks held the same advantages as whites upon birth; he ignored the conditions of life for blacks, not only in the deep South, but the North as well. And by opposing black emigration to the western territories, he appeared to lack understanding of the limited nature of the opportunities afforded blacks in the settled portions of the nation, which were unfriendly toward black efforts to establish ownership of commerce, acquire adequate education, and participate fully in political life. Perhaps for political motives, Douglass underestimated the power of white fear over true racial equality. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 190–92, 232n.

348.24 Col. Lloyd's plantation] Wye House.

348.35–36 "Guthrie," (otherwise known in time of war as the "Ewing,")] Douglass returned to Wye House on 12 June 1881 aboard the U.S. Revenue Service cutter *Guthrie* when his friend and fellow Republican John L. Thomas, Jr., who worked for the customs office for the port of Baltimore, offered him a tour of Chesapeake Bay. Both Douglass and Thomas believed that regardless of the Lloyd family's response to entertaining Douglass, a former slave on their plantation, it would bring much-needed publicity to the Radical Republicans' Reconstruction agenda. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 192–93.

348.38 Col. Edward Lloyd] Edward Lloyd VII (1825–1907) was the oldest son of the seventh generation of Lloyds. He inherited the large plantation known as Wye House. He was the son of Edward Lloyd VI (1798–1834) and Alicia McBlair, whom his father married in 1824. His grandfather Edward Lloyd V (1779–1834), whom Douglass remembers as the master of Wye House from his childhood, built Wye Heights on one of his plantations for his parents, but Wye House, the Lloyds's ancestral home since the colonial era, remained the master's home through each successive generation. Like his predecessors Edward VII received private tutoring, but then attended College Point near Flushing, New York, under the direction of the Reverend William Augustus Muhlenberg. However, he did not complete his course of study and instead decided to return to Wye House to help run his father's numerous estates. After serving in the military as a commissioned officer in the Mexican-American War, Lloyd was elected to the Maryland house (1847–51) and later its senate (1873–86). Edward Lloyd VII held the largest estate in Talbot County and prior to the Civil War inherited 700 slaves, worth $350,000, from his father. In 1851 Colonel Lloyd married Mary Key, and they had nine children, six sons and three daughters, with all but one surviving into adulthood. His oldest son, Edward VIII (1857–1948), served in Annapolis as a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy. Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:176, 184–85, 191–92, 194–95, 206, 210–28; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 42–43, 192, 220n.

348.39 Governor Ed. Lloyd] Edward Lloyd V.

349.6 Thompson] The press reported a Peter Thompson of Baltimore among the party accompanying Douglass on this short voyage. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 193.

349.6 Chamberlaine] Colonel Samuel E. Chamberlaine, a descendent of the Talbot County Chamberlaines, who along with the Lloyds and a handful of other families were the elite along Maryland's Eastern Shore, sailed with Douglass and Thomas to make introductions between Douglass and the Lloyds. The Chamberlaines had derived their wealth from commerce more than from farming. During the Revolutionary War, Samuel Chamberlaine, Jr., had been an open British sympathizer, who nevertheless was elected to the state assembly in 1788. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, commander of militia on the upper Eastern Shore, also was a successful merchant. During the Revolution, he resigned his commission following a lost court dispute over the theft by needy patriot neighbors of his salt from Thomas Chamberlaine's store Plaindealing in Oxford, Maryland. During the 1820s James Lloyd Chamberlaine sold numerous slaves to Baltimore-based slave traders such as Austin Woolfolk. Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 2:133–34; Preston and Harrington, *Talbot County,* 127–28, 132–33, 189–90.

349.18 Howard Lloyd] Charles Howard Lloyd (1859–1929) was the great-grandson of Edward Lloyd V. The Baltimore *American* interviewed John L. Thomas, Jr., about Douglass's well-publicized tour of Wye House. Thomas indicated that it was Edward Lloyd VIII, Howard's older brother, who visited with Douglass. However, both family accounts and Douglass's autobiography recount that Charles Howard Lloyd met with Douglass on that day. Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:227; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 194, 232n.

349.37 DeCourcy] DeCourcy Lloyd (1873–1944) was the great-grandson of Edward Lloyd V and younger brother of Charles Howard Lloyd. Tilghman, *Talbot County,* 1:227; Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass,* 194.

350.18 Aunt Katy] Kate Emblem.

350.27 old Barney] Barnett Sampson.

350.34 Uncle Abe] Possibly the same slave earlier identified as Uncle Abel.

350.35 Uncle Tony] Possibly the same slave earlier identified as Uncle Toney.

351.2 Lombardy poplars] Lombardy poplars originated in the Lombardy region in northern Italy. The trees are columnar in appearance and were brought to various regions, including the United States.

351.25 Admiral Buchanan] Baltimore native Franklin Buchanan (1800–74) entered the U.S. Navy in 1815 and moved slowly through the ranks, securing his first command, the sloop *Vincennes,* in 1842. In 1835 he married Ann Catherine Lloyd, the daughter of Edward Lloyd V, governor of Maryland, U.S. senator, and owner of Wye House. Buchanan was named the first superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy in 1845, remaining in that post until 1847, when he returned to active duty during the Mexican-American War. He was promoted to captain in 1855. Buchanan resigned his

commission on 22 April 1861 and subsequently gained a captain's commission in the Confederate navy. As flag officer in command of the James River, Buchanan directed a number of wooden gunboats and the ironclad *Virginia,* which was converted from the scuttled U.S. sloop *Merrimack.* On 8 March 1862, personally commanded by Buchanan, the *Virginia* battled the Union fleet near Hampton Roads and sank two wooden warships and damaged a third. Buchanan was wounded during the fray and was not at the helm the following day, when the *Virginia* inconclusively engaged the Union's ironclad *Monitor.* Buchanan's service at Hampton Roads earned him promotion to admiral in August 1862, and he was dispatched to defend Mobile Bay. There he supervised the construction of additional ironclads, but was overtaken by Union Admiral David G. Farragut on 5 August 1864. Buchanan was captured and remained a prisoner of war until his exchange in February 1865. He returned to Maryland following the war, and then briefly pursued business interests in Mobile, Alabama. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:511–12n; Charles M. Todorich, "Franklin Buchanan: Symbol for Two Navies," in *Captains of the Old Steam Navy: Makers of the American Naval Tradition, 1840–1880,* ed. James C. Bradford (Annapolis, Md., 1986), 87–112; *DAB,* 3:206–07; *ANB,* 3:833–34.

351.27 General Winder] Charles Sidney Winder (1829–62), born in Talbot County, Maryland, was the son of Edward Winder and Elizabeth Taylor Lloyd, the eldest daughter of Edward Lloyd V. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1850 and served in the Oregon and Washington territories. In April 1861 he resigned his U.S. Army commission, offered his services to the South, and was appointed major of artillery in the Confederate service. Winder was promoted to colonel of the 6th South Carolina Infantry Regiment in July 1861, and then to brigadier general in March 1862 in charge of the famous "Stonewall Brigade." He punished his men harshly for misdemeanors, and General Thomas Jackson had to step in upon occasion to keep the men of his former unit from rebelling against Winder. In August 1862 Jackson's command was involved in the Battle of Cedar Mountain. Winder was ill and had been directed to remain behind, but he refused to relinquish command of his brigade. Shortly after arriving on the field of battle, Winder was shot in the left arm, and the bullet tore through his left side. He was carried off the field to the rear, where he died that evening. Winder was buried at the Wye House in Talbot County, Maryland. Jack D. Welsh, *Medical Histories of Confederate Generals* (Kent, Ohio, 1995), 236–37.

351.29 Page] Joel Page.

351.32 McDermott] William McDermott.

352.16–17 Copper] Isaac Copper.

352.22 Buchanan] Ann Catherine Lloyd Buchanan (1808–92), of Wye House, was the daughter of Governor Edward Lloyd V. She married Admiral Franklin Buchanan in 1834. New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* 13 January 1892; Holland and Gary, "Miniatures in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society," 341.

353.3–4 my visit…on John Brown] On 30 May 1881 Douglass attended the commencement ceremonies of Storer College in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. After the graduation exercises, Douglass delivered a lecture on John Brown that he had written in 1873 and delivered on various occasions in subsequent years. Douglass donated the typescript of the lecture to Storer College for publication, with the proceeds designated for an endowment to create a John Brown professorship at the college. Washington (D.C.) *People's Advocate,* 11 June 1881; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 329, 350; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:7–52.

353.4 Storer College] Storer College was founded following the Civil War as a one-room freedmen's school at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Its 1867 establishment as Storer Normal School by the Free Will Baptist denomination was aided by a bequest from Maine philanthropist John Storer. Enrollment at Storer was not limited to freed African Americans when it opened on 3 October 1867, but it soon received a state charter as a degree-granting college for black students. The initial enrollment of nineteen grew to seventy-five in the first year. Storer Normal School became a primary source of training for African American teachers in the region. In 1881 Frederick Douglass delivered a speech on John Brown at the school, and in 1906 it was the location of the second meeting of the Niagara Movement, the early black civil rights organization. In 1938 Storer Normal School became Storer College and continued to provide affordable education until its closing in 1955. Dawne Raines Burke, *An American Phoenix: A History of Storer College from Slavery to Desegregation, 1865–1955* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 2006), 24, 42, 64–65, 83, 87–88, 141.

353.36 Andrew J. Hunter] Andrew J. Hunter (1804–88) was born in Martinsburg, Virginia, in Berkeley County. He graduated from Hampden-Sidney College in 1822. Hunter practiced law in Harpers Ferry, and later moved to Charlestown, the nearby county seat. Hunter was a member of the Virginia legislature before and during the Civil War, and served in the Virginia constitutional convention in 1850. Following John Brown's raid in 1859, Governor Henry A. Wise appointed Hunter to assist in prosecuting Brown and his associates. Hunter drew up Brown's will the night before his execution. Virgil A. Lewis, *History and Government of West Virginia* (New York, 1904), 178; John D. Lawson, ed., *American State Trials,* 17 vols. (St. Louis, Mo., 1914–36), 7:728.

354.35 E. C. Delavan] Born in Westchester County, New York, Edward Cornelius Delavan (1793–1871) was one of the nation's best-known temperance advocates. In the 1810s and 1820s Delavan amassed a great fortune importing wine from Europe and speculating in real estate in the Albany, New York, area. He came to recognize the evils of alcohol and helped found the New York State Temperance Society in 1829. Six years later, Delavan became one of the original officers of the American Temperance Union, and thereafter he contributed the bulk of his fortune and money to its work. *ACAB,* 2:134; *NCAB,* 11:207; *DAB,* 5:221.

355.22–23 H. Ford Douglas] Hezekiah Ford Douglas (1831–65) was the son of William and Mary Douglas, a white man and a slave woman. After escaping from slavery in Virginia, Douglas settled in Cleveland, Ohio, where he became a barber and

a leader in the Ohio free black community. At the 1851 Ohio state convention supporting suffrage for black men, Douglas declared the U.S. Constitution a proslavery document and claimed that black men should not vote under a constitution that condoned slavery. He endorsed antislavery emigrationism, encouraging black settlement in Canada, where he lived for two years. In 1858 he returned to live in Chicago, where in February 1859 he shared a lecture platform with Frederick Douglass, who lectured on the changing phases of the antislavery struggle. After Douglass's lecture, the audience demanded to hear H. Ford Douglas speak. Although they embraced opposite ideologies, Douglass and H. Ford Douglas traveled together for much of Douglass's Illinois lecture tour. Douglas lectured throughout New England beginning in 1860 and increasingly advocated a violent overthrow of slavery, frequently praising John Brown in his speeches. In 1861 he returned to Chicago and became an agent for James Redpath's Haitian Bureau, attempting to persuade individuals of African and Indian descent to immigrate to Haiti. The Civil War ultimately became Douglas's hope for an end to slavery, and he was one of the few black men to join a white regiment, one of fewer than thirty black commissioned officers, and was the only black officer to command his own company. He contracted malaria in Mississippi in 1863, but began speaking and recruiting again in 1864, receiving a commission as captain in February 1865. His unit experienced only five months of active duty, however, and Douglas, too weak for strenuous activity after leaving the Union army, died in November of that year. *DM,* 1:40 (March 1859); Robert L. Harris, Jr., "H. Ford Douglas: Afro-American Antislavery Emigrationist," *JNH,* 62:217–34 (July 1977).

355.25 Janesville] Douglass visited Janesville, Wisconsin, from 10 to 11 February 1859 and delivered a speech at Lappin's Hall. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, vol. 3:xxx.

355.34 on my way from Cleveland to Buffalo] The event probably took place in the summer of 1856, in between Douglass's speeches at Oberlin, Ohio, and Buffalo, New York. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:xxv.

356.20 Edward Marshall] Edward Colston Marshall (1821–83) was born in Woodford County, Kentucky. He attended Washington College in Virginia; Center College in Danville, Kentucky; and Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky. Following his admission to the bar around 1845, he practiced law in Nicholasville, Jessamine County, Kentucky. In 1847 Marshall enlisted for service as a first lieutenant in the United States Infantry during the Mexican-American War, and was honorably discharged the next year. In 1849 Marshall relocated to California and was elected that new state's first member of the House of Representatives, where he served from 1851 to 1853. Marshall returned to Kentucky in 1856 and bought his family's homestead, known as "Buck Pond." Resettling in San Francisco in 1877, Marshall became California's attorney general from 1883 to 1886. Douglass recalled the same incident of meeting Marshall in a speech he delivered in Louisville on 21 April 1873. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:600; E. Polk Johnson, *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians,* 3 vols. (Chicago, 1912), 3:1273–75; *ACAB,* 4:225; *BDUSC* (online).

357.3–4 a Sunday meeting in Pittsfield, N.H.] Pittsfield is a small town in Merrimack County, New Hampshire, located approximately twelve miles east-northeast of Concord. Although the exact date of this incident has not been determined, Douglass recalled that his visit to Pittsfield, New Hampshire, took place in 1842, when the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society sent him there to deliver a Sunday lecture. John L. Myers, "The Major Effort of Antislavery Agents in New Hampshire, 1835–1837," *Historical New Hampshire,* 26:3–27 (Fall 1971); Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2450.

357.7 *Herald of Freedom*] Founded in 1835 and published in Concord, the *Herald of Freedom* was the official newspaper of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society. Nathaniel P. Rogers became its editor in 1838.

357.7 Nathaniel P. Rogers] New Hampshire abolitionist Nathaniel Peabody Rogers (1794–1846) left a law practice in Plymouth to edit the Concord abolitionist weekly *Herald of Freedom* in 1838. He also worked to desegregate transportation facilities, promote temperance, and end capital punishment. In the mid-1840s Rogers quarreled bitterly with other Garrisonian abolitionists, charging that disunionism carried an implicit threat of war. Perry, *Radical Abolitionism,* 162–63; Mabee, *Black Freedom,* 116, 123; Robert Adams, "Nathaniel Peabody Rogers: 1794–1846," *NEQ,* 20:365–76 (September 1947); *NCAB,* 2:320.

357.10 There were no railroads in New Hampshire in those days] The Boston & Maine Railroad was granted its charter on 27 June 1835 in New Hampshire; the Maine, New Hampshire & Massachusetts Railroad was established in Maine on 30 March 1836. The Eastern Railroad of Massachusetts began building north from East Boston in 1836 and had reached the state border near Smithtown in November 1840. By 31 December 1840 this railroad line connected to the Eastern Railroad of New Hampshire, being built south from Portsmouth. Other lines connecting the north and west of New Hampshire were chartered and created after the mid-1840s, as Douglass contends. The Worcester and Nashua Railroad was organized in 1845, the Nashua and Rochester Railroad (1847), the Concord & Claremont (1848), and the New Hampshire Central (1848) are only a few of the other major railroads created during the mid-1840s railroad boom. Ronald Dale Karr, *Lost Railroads of New England,* 2d. ed. (Pepperell, Mass., 1996), 34, 72–156; Robert M. Lindsell, *The Rail Lines of Northern New England: A Handbook of Railroad History* (Pepperell, Mass., 2000), 94, 101, 119, 124; Baker, *Formation of the New England Railroad Systems,* 123, 145.

357.22 the old Granite State] The nickname is derived from the many years that New Hampshire was one of America's most important centers for granite quarrying. Adrian Room, *Nicknames of Places* (Jefferson, N.C., 2006), 112.

358.2 I was to speak four times] The exact date of Douglass's visit and lectures in Pittsfield, New Hampshire, has not been determined. However, in a speech delivered on 31 May 1849, Douglass recalled the incidents to his audience, remembering them as having occurred "several years ago." *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:213–14, 214n.

358.21 "New England northeaster"] A storm with northeast winds.

358.29–31 the saying of…lay his Head,"] Matt. 8:20, Luke 9:58.

358.36 Moses Norris] A prominent Democratic politician, Moses Norris, Jr. (1799–1855), represented New Hampshire in the House (1843–47) and Senate (1849–55). *ACAB,* 4:533; *NCAB,* 12:394; *BDUSC* (online).

358.39 Reverend George Storrs] Born in Lebanon, New Hampshire, Reverend George Storrs (1796–1879) was a Methodist minister known for his extreme antislavery views. In December 1835 Storrs was arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace for delivering an antislavery lecture in Northfield, New Hampshire. He was acquitted of this charge following a trial. In March 1836 Storrs was arrested in Pittsfield, New Hampshire, during another antislavery lecture. Moses Norris, later a U.S. senator from New Hampshire, had complained that Storrs had been making incendiary remarks in agitating for the abolition of slavery. Storrs was sentenced to three months in jail, but successfully appealed the conviction. While meeting in Cincinnati, the Methodist General Conference denounced Storrs and another minister, Samuel Norris, for their abolitionist activities. At that point Storrs severed his ties with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He continued speaking out against slavery, and went on to edit and publish a series of newspapers supporting Adventism. Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 30 December 1879; Greeley, *American Conflict,* 127; Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780–1845* (1965; Westport, Conn., 1978), 3–29, 62–110, 139–41.

359.4 Norris] Born in Essex County, Massachusetts, Abigail Brown Todd (c. 1811–?), daughter of Atkins and Rhoda (Choate) Todd, was the wife of Democratic politician Moses Norris, Jr. She died in Meriden, New Hampshire. Leonard Allison Morrison, *Lineage and Biographies of the Norris Family in America: From 1640 to 1892* (Boston, 1892), 100–101; *Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849,* 2 vols. (Salem, Mass., 1911), 1:390; *ACAB,* 4:533.

359.28–29 I happened to be in Philadelphia] Douglass visited Philadelphia in August 1844. While there, he attended an antislavery meeting in the State House yard on 17 August and delivered his "Slaveholder's Sermon." *Lib.,* 18 August 1844.

360.12 Chestnut street] Chestnut Street, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was originally named Wynne Street, after Thomas Wynne, who was William Penn's physician. The name of the street was changed to Chesnut (original spelling) in the 1680s. Chestnut Street has been in use since Penn arrived, and later sections were added until 1911. Alotta, *Street Names of Philadelphia,* 40.

360.15 the steamer "Alida,"] The steamboat *Alida* was constructed in 1847 by George B. Collyer, a shipbuilder from Sing Sing, New York, whose seven brothers were also involved in the steamboat industry. Considered among the fastest day boats to operate on the Hudson River at the time of its launch, the *Alida* sailed at an average of 20 miles per hour and could travel from New York to Albany in approximately eight hours. After spending some later years as a towboat, the *Alida* discontinued its service in 1875 and was broken apart at Port Ewen. Fred Erving Dayton, *Steamboat Days* (New York, 1925), 60, 65, 394.

360.15 some English ladies] The Englishwomen traveling with Douglass on the *Alida* were Julia and Eliza Griffiths. On 24 May 1849 Douglass and the Griffiths sisters boarded the *Alida* at Albany, New York. Douglass relates the entire incident to his readers in *NS,* 15 June 1849. Albany *Evening Journal,* 21 May 1849; Albany *Express,* 21, 22 May 1849; *NASS,* 31 May 1849; *Lib.,* 13 July 1849; Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 180–81; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:201–02, 202n, 207–11.

360.25 Sarah Jane Clarke] Sarah Jane Clarke Lippincott (1823–1904) wrote poetry and children's stories under the pseudonym "Grace Greenwood." Originally from Pompeii, New York, Lippincott relocated to New Brighton, Pennsylvania, in 1842. Two years later she began her literary career by publishing in numerous periodicals. She became an editorial assistant for *Godey's Ladies' Book,* but was fired for her antislavery writings. Lippincott then moved to Washington, D.C., where she wrote for the *National Era.* In 1853 she married and moved to Philadelphia, where she launched her own successful children's magazine, the *Little Pilgrim.* Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:513n; *NAW,* 2:407–09.

360.26 Grace Greenwood] Sarah Jane Clarke.

360.32 the great Free Soil Convention] Douglass traveled to Pittsburgh to attend the national convention of the Free Democratic party on 11 and 12 August 1852. Douglass delivered an impromptu address to the gathering on its first day, and the party chose him as one of its seven secretaries. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:388–93.

360.33 George W. Julian] George Washington Julian (1817–99), born in Centerville, Indiana, had a long career as an antislavery and reform politician. Essentially self-educated, Julian taught elementary school for three years before becoming a lawyer in 1840. Despite a youthful conversion from Quakerism to Unitarianism, Julian retained great sympathy for the slave. He was elected to the Indiana legislature in 1845 as a Whig, but converted to Free Soilism in 1848 and served a term in Congress (1849–51). In April 1852 both Julian and Douglass were featured speakers at the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Convention. Later that year, Julian was the unsuccessful Free Soil candidate for vice president. An early Republican, he returned to the House of Representatives in 1860 for five consecutive terms. As a congressman, Julian championed civil rights for the freedman, female suffrage, and public land policy reform. Offended by the corruption of the Grant administration, Julian supported the Liberal Republican movement and eventually became a Democrat. Patrick W. Riddleberger, *George W. Julian, Radical Republican: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Politics and Reform* (Indianapolis, 1966); *ACAB,* 3:486.

360.34 Alliance, Ohio] Alliance is a city located in Stark County in east-central Ohio on the Mahoning River. Seltzer, *Gazetteer of the World,* 47.

361.4–5 I delivered…from Peoria] Douglass lectured in the vicinity of Peoria, Illinois, in February 1869 and February 1870, but no record survives of his appearance in Elmwood, also in Peoria County.

361.22 Robert G. Ingersoll] Best remembered for giving James G. Blaine his nickname, the "plumed knight," in a nominating speech at the 1876 Republican convention, Robert Green Ingersoll (1833–99) was also a well-known advocate of atheism. Born in Dresden, New York, he accompanied his family to Illinois in 1843. After briefly teaching school, he practiced law together with his brother Ebon Ingersoll in Peoria. In 1860 Ingersoll was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress. He served as a colonel in the Union army during the Civil War and at the time converted to the Republican party. From 1867 to 1869 Ingersoll held the appointed office of Illinois attorney general. Douglass first met Ingersoll in the late 1860s when he took Douglass into his home as a guest after all Peoria hotels had refused him a room. Ingersoll had a lucrative legal career in addition to receiving record fees for lectures on "free thought" and other topics. A powerful and witty stump speaker, he was a major weapon in the Republican oratorical arsenal in elections during the 1880s and 1890s. His condemnation of the Supreme Court ruling overturning the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was consistent with his long history of opposition to racial and religious discrimination. C[larence] H. Cramer, *Royal Bob: The Life of Robert G. Ingersoll* (Indianapolis, 1952); *ACAB,* 3:348.

362.37–38 New York Central railroad] The New York Central Railroad was established through the New York Central Consolidation Act of 2 April 1853, which merged ten of the state's railroad branches into one corporate entity. Thirteen representatives from the ten railroad companies were elected as the company's directors on 7 July 1853, with Erastus Corning (1794–1872), one of the directors, serving as the New York Central's first president from 1853 to 1864. Frank Walker Stevens, *The Beginnings of the New York Central Railroad: A History* (New York, 1926); *ANB,* 5:525–27.

363.11–12 a marble bust to be made from me] The marble bust of Frederick Douglass was formally presented by its sculptor, Johnson M. Mundy, on 17 June 1879 in Sibley Hall, University of Rochester. Joining Mundy as speakers at the ceremony were D. M. Dewey, a member of the committee that had commissioned the bust a few years earlier, and Martin B. Anderson, the University of Rochester's president at the time. Established in 1877, the two-story Sibley Hall contained the university's library and museum and was named after its benefactor, Hiram Sibley (1807–88), a successful businessman in the telegraph industry who donated $100,000 for the building's maintenance. The bust was later relocated to a permanent position in the university's Frederick Douglass Building. Rochester *Daily Union & Advertiser,* 18 June 1879; Arthur J. May, *A History of the University of Rochester, 1850–1962* (Rochester, 1977), 67, 69, 219; Curtis, *Black Heritage Sites,* 331; Summerfield and Devine, *University Histories,* 599–603; *DAB,* 17:145–46.

363.14 Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*] On 28 June 1879, the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle* published the remarks just as Douglass presents them, with one exception: the line "To him, the republic offered no opportunities" originally followed the line that begins "Frederick Douglass can hardly be said to have risen to greatness on account of the opportunities…."

365.8–9 have pretty generally received the title of a "self-made man;"] Douglass delivered versions of a speech titled "The Trials and Triumphs of Self-Made Men" on many occasions during the thirty-five-year period of his speaking career. The first versions of the speech date from his tour of Illinois and Wisconsin in February 1859. Douglass opens by claiming that the widespread perception that African Americans can speak publicly only about slavery is a fallacy before turning to his main topic: how men may best use the time allotted to them in life and "the proportion which their success in the world bears to their several opportunities." He speaks mainly to the younger persons in his audience, who, having much time remaining to them, can avoid ruin by "wisdom, by firmness, and by a manly and heroic self-denial." Douglass emphasizes self-culture and self-improvement as necessary for a life of virtuous action, and he exhorts his audience not to wait for the joys of heaven, but to labor against ignorance and vice in their worldly endeavors. Speaking particularly about persons born in humble circumstances who raised themselves to "usefulness, greatness, honour, influence, and fame," Douglass poses three reasons for their success: great intelligence, favorable circumstances and opportunities, and industry. He concludes that success follows from "brave, honest, earnest, ceaseless heart and soul industry"; this dedication to work and improvement, Douglass believed, would enable any person to advance, whatever his or her circumstances in life. Among the examples of self-made men Douglass presents are self-taught mathematician Benjamin Banneker, a free black from Maryland; inventor William Dietz of Albany, New York; and Haitian revolutionary François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1:3, 289–300.

365.26–27 mine to take the "Tide at its flood."] Paraphrases *Julius Caesar,* sc. 12, lines 2009–10.

365.38 Francis Jackson] A leading figure among Boston Garrisonians, Francis Jackson (1789–1861) was president of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from 1837 until his death and secretary of the Boston Vigilance Committee in the 1850s. He presided over the 1841 Nantucket convention where Douglass launched his abolitionist career. Born in Newton, Massachusetts, Jackson moved to Boston as a young man to become a prosperous merchant and minor city government official. Jackson's considerable wealth was frequently put at Garrison's disposal to keep the *Liberator* in print. *Lib.,* 22 November 1861; Stewart, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 128–31; *ACAB,* 3:386; *NCAB,* 2:318.

365.39 Joseph Southwick] Born in South Danvers, Massachusetts, Joseph Southwick (1791–1861) was a prominent Quaker abolitionist and merchant. He resided for a time in Maine but settled in Boston around the early 1830s and participated in numerous business enterprises. He was one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 and a longtime officer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. In 1835 he and his wife, Thankful Southwick, gave refuge to British abolitionist George Thompson during the violent Boston riot. The Southwick home on Sumner Street was a frequent gathering place for Garrisonian abolitionists, includ-

ing Douglass. Although Southwick was openly critical of disunionism, William Lloyd Garrison still spoke respectfully of him at his funeral. *NASS,* 2 February 1867; Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 1:396, 2:46–48, 3:100, 4:412; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 2:80.

365.39 Samuel E. Sewall] Attorney Samuel E. Sewall (1799–1888) published in 1827 his *Remarks on Slavery in the United States,* which had first appeared in the *Christian Examiner.* Although he wrote no lengthy legal analysis of American slavery, Sewall was active in the defense of fugitive slaves captured in Massachusetts and in 1843 ran for governor of the state on the Liberty party ticket. Nina Moore Tiffany, *Samuel E. Sewall: A Memoir* (Boston, 1898), 33–81.

365.39 John Pierpont] John Pierpont (1785–1866) was a poet and an activist Unitarian minister of Boston's Hollis Street Church from 1819 to 1845. Douglass quoted Pierpont's work in many speeches and writings, and published this poem, composed in 1839, in the first issue of the *North Star.* He misquoted a line from "The Fugitive Slave's Apostrophe to the *North Star*" in a lecture to the New Lyceum in Manchester, New Hampshire, on 24 January 1854. Pierpont also appeared with Douglass and many luminaries of the abolitionist movement at the well-publicized fourteenth anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society on 9 May 1848 at the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City. *NS,* 3 December 1847; New York *Daily Tribune,* 9 May 1848; *NASS,* 11 May 1848; John Pierpont, *The Anti-Slavery Poems of John Pierpont* (Boston, 1843), 29–33; *DAB,* 14:586–87.

365.39–366.1 Henry I. Bowditch] Henry Ingersoll Bowditch (1808–92), born in Salem, Massachusetts, was a prominent physician and medical writer as well as an abolitionist and advocate for women's rights. After graduating from Harvard College in 1828, he spent time in Europe, where his thought was greatly influenced by the antislavery writings of William Wilberforce. As a young doctor in Boston, Bowditch witnessed the mobbing of William Lloyd Garrison—an incident that strengthened his fervor for abolitionism. Bowditch subsequently befriended Douglass and joined Boston's Committee of Vigilance to assist runaway slaves. As an authority within the medical community, he agitated for changes in policy to benefit blacks and women. When Massachusetts General Hospital refused to treat blacks, Bowditch resigned in protest, and the board of trustees changed its position. He was not successful, however, when, as dean of Harvard Medical School, he argued to admit blacks and women to study medicine there. Bowditch's medical writings include *The Young Stethoscopist* (1846), a comprehensive medical text that established routine procedures for pulmonary and coronary examination; these procedures continued to be used for many years. He served as surgeon on the Board of Enrollment of the Fourth Massachusetts Congressional District during the Civil War, and later founded the Massachusetts State Board of Health. John H. Felts, "Henry Ingersoll Bowditch and Oliver Wendell Holmes: Stethoscopists and Reformers," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine,* 45:539–48 (Autumn 2002); *DAB,* 1:492–93.

366.1 Edmund Quincy] Son of Josiah Quincy, a Boston Federalist leader and president of Harvard University, Edmund Quincy (1807–77) joined the abolitionists in reaction to the murder of Elijah Lovejoy in 1837. A close associate of William Lloyd Garrison, Quincy was the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from 1844 to 1853. He served on many other abolitionist committees, contributed frequently to Garrisonian publications, and often edited the *Liberator* during Garrison's absences. *NS,* 21 January 1848; *Tribute of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of Edmund Quincy and John Lothrop Motley* (Boston, 1877), 6; *NCAB,* 6:93–94; *DAB,* 15:306–07.

366.2 Edward Greely Loring] Edward Greely Loring (1802–90) was a Harvard-trained Massachusetts jurist and lawyer whose chief fame derived from his controversial enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Admitted to the bar in 1824, Loring later served on the Boston School Committee (1846–47) and as a lecturer at Harvard Law School. In 1840 he became a commissioner of the U.S. Circuit Court in Massachusetts, and seven years later Governor George N. Briggs named him probate judge for Suffolk County. In 1851, as fugitive slave commissioner, Loring ordered the return to slavery of Thomas Sims despite an antislavery outcry and a defense conducted by Loring's cousin and former law partner, Charles Greely Loring. Three years later Judge Loring tried Anthony Burns on similar charges and, after a failed attempt by abolitionists to rescue Burns, ordered his reenslavement. As a result of a petition campaign led by Garrisonian abolitionists, the Massachusetts legislature voted to remove Loring from the probate court on four different occasions. In each case, the governor vetoed the measure, and it was not until 1855, after a similar vote, that Governor Nathaniel Banks agreed to strip Loring of his office. President Buchanan then appointed him to the U.S. Court of Claims in Washington, D.C., where he served until 1877. Loring also lost his Harvard lectureship as a result of his fugitive slave decisions. Stevens, *Anthony Burns,* 222–24; Lawrence Lader, *The Bold Brahmins: New England's War against Slavery, 1831–1863* (New York, 1961), 215–16; Campbell, *Slave Catchers,* 93–94; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 4:330–31; Shapiro, "Rendition of Anthony Burns," 43–44.

366.2–3 Seth Hunt] Seth Hunt (1814–93) held the position of clerk and treasurer to the Connecticut River Railroad Company from 1845 into the late 1890s. His office was located in Springfield, Massachusetts. Hunt was a Garrisonian abolitionist as well as a member of the communitarian community of Florence in Massachusetts. Hunt met Douglass initially at Florence, while the latter was still a fugitive slave in the mid-1840s. Hunt also befriended David Ruggles, who had come to Florence on account of his failing health and had been taken in by the community there and nursed back to health. Hunt and Ruggles induced the local sheriff, Ansel Wright, to meet with a slave girl and her owner and explain to her that since her master had brought her into a free state, Massachusetts, she was free to leave him. Fearing her owner, the girl refused to leave him, and the sheriff incurred much wrath from the owner. New York *Times,* 4 July 1893; Frederick Douglass, "What I Found at the Northhampton Association," in *The History of Florence, Massachusetts,* ed. Charles A. Sheffeld

(Florence, Mass., 1895), 130; Joseph Marsh, "The 'Underground Railway,'" in ibid., 167; T. A. Busbey, ed., *The Biographical Directory of the Railway Officials of America* (Chicago, 1893), 187.

366.3 Arnold Buffum] Born into a Quaker family at Smithfield, Rhode Island, Arnold Buffum (1782–1859) was an antislavery lecturer and editor. Buffum became president as well as lecturing agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, and he helped to found the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia in 1833. In 1840 and 1841 Buffum edited the *Protectionist* in New Garden, Indiana (later renamed Fountain City). Thomas William Herringshaw, *Herringshaw's Encyclopedia of American Biography* (Chicago, 1905), 168; *NCAB,* 2:320; *DAB,* 3:241–42.

366.3 Nathaniel B. Borden] Nathaniel Briggs Borden (1801–65) was born in Freetown, Massachusetts, but spent most of his youth in Rhode Island. Borden then moved to Fall River, Massachusetts, where he engaged in entrepreneurial endeavors as well as civic and charitable works. Along with others, Borden formed the Pocasset Manufacturing Company, of which he was named treasurer in 1821, and in 1825 he founded the Watappa Reservoir Company. In addition to his business dealings, Borden served in the Massachusetts legislature in 1831 and 1834. Borden was also active in the antislavery movement, opening the local schoolhouse for meetings in 1834. He was elected to Congress on an anti-Masonic and Jacksonian platform, and served there from 1835 to 1839. He returned to the Massachusetts legislature for a single term in 1851. In 1856 Borden was elected mayor of Fall River and spent his administration aiding the residents during an industrial depression. He also held other public positions in Fall River, including alderman, town clerk, selectman, and highway surveyor. John Howard Brown, ed., *Lamb's Textile Industries of the United States,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1911–16), 2:348, 350; *BDUSC* (online).

366.3 Bourne Spooner] Bourne Spooner (1790–1870) was a Massachusetts abolitionist who also founded and operated the Plymouth Cordage Company. On account of his philanthropic nature and strong character, Spooner was well liked by both his fellow abolitionists and his employees. Spooner was a strong advocate for the abolitionists, organizing meetings and inviting many into his home. William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips enjoyed his company. Spooner was an avid storyteller, and he often regaled guests late into the night. William Lloyd Garrison spoke at his funeral. D. Hamilton Hurd, comp., *History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia, 1884), 187; Garrison and Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison,* 3:313, 412, 4:254; Abby Morton Diaz, "A Plymouth Pilgrimage," *New England Magazine,* 7:14, 17 (September 1889); Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 6:55.

366.3–4 William Thomas] William Thomas (1789–1882) was the great-grandson and bore the name of William Thomas, a merchant adventurer of London who traded with the Pilgrims of the American colonies. His father, Joshua Thomas, served in the Revolutionary War as an aide-de-camp of General John Thomas of Kingston. Joshua married Isabella Stevenson of Boston, and they had three children: John Boles, William, and Joshua. William graduated from Harvard in 1807 and went on to study law with his father in Plymouth. In 1816 he married Sarah Warren Seven, and they had a daughter named Ann Seven. William practiced law in Plymouth and for several years edited the *Old Colony Memorial* while writing editorials for the *North American Review*. He was also well known for his abolitionist views and friendship with Garrison, Phillips, and Douglass. William Thomas to Douglass, 6 April 1877, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, MPlyS; Boston *Daily Advertiser,* 22 September 1882.

366.4 John Milton Earle] John Milton Earle (1794–1874) was a journalist and legislator from Massachusetts. In 1823 he and his partner, Anthony Chase, bought the *Worcester Spy,* and until 1858 Earle was the chief manager and editor. An opponent of slavery, he used his newspaper to further the cause against it. Earle served in the Massachusetts general court in 1844–46 and 1850–52, the upper house in 1858, was a member of the convention to revise the state constitution in 1853, and was appointed a commissioner in 1859 to examine the conditions of the Native Americans of Massachusetts. *NCAB,* 11:145.

366.4 John Curtis] Textile manufacturer John Curtis had traveled to England in 1841 on behalf of the Ohio Liberty party to campaign against the Corn Law. Curtis published a pamphlet for the party drawing a connection between the Corn Laws in England and slavery in the United States. He remained in touch with English reformers such as Richard Cobden after returning to the United States. Curtis presided over the Liberty League's national convention held in Buffalo, New York, on June 1848 to discuss separating from the Liberty party in response to the movement in the latter to merge with antiextensionist elements in the Whig and Democratic parties. Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America,* 3 vols. (1872–77; Boston, 1879), 2:111–12; Thomas P. Martin, "The Upper Mississippi Valley in Anglo-American Anti-Slavery and Free Trade Relations: 1837–1842," *MVHR,* 15:220 (September 1928); Simon Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838–1846," *Historical Journal,* 52:96 (2009).

366.4 Clother Gifford] Clother Gifford (1800–71) was a Quaker-born reformer and phrenologist who left the Massachusetts utopian Hopedale community, founded by Adin Ballou, in a disagreement over private property. Gifford was a staunch advocate of communal property, and Hopedale members angrily debated the existence of private property within the community. Gifford was admonished to be silent in meetings and eventually led a group that left Hopedale, accusing the community of being high-minded aristocrats, according to Ballou. After departing the community, Gifford published *Mankind Unriddled; or, an Essay on Man, According to Phrenology and Physiology, a Poem; to Which Is Added Interesting Poetical Essays on Courtship, Health, Natural and Moral Laws and Education, and a Phrenological Chart* in 1841 and set up a phrenology business located in Milford, Massachusetts, just outside Hopedale. During a return visit to the community from 17 to 18 April 1842, he lectured on phrenology and animal magnetism, examined nearly all the community, and attempted unsuccessfully to put member Barbara Colburn into a magnetic sleep.

While Gifford was visiting Hopedale in 1842, Douglass lectured in Milford at Milford Academy Hall. There is no evidence of their paths crossing directly, but both had been friendly with reformers in the antislavery cause. Adin Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community, from Its Inception to Its Virtual Submergence in the Hopedale Parish* (Lowell, Mass., 1897), 77–78; 87–90, 266–67; Lewis Perry, "Adin Ballou's Hopedale Community and the Theology of Antislavery," *CH*, 39:382 (September 1970).

366.5 John Bailey] John Bailey (1788–1883), a watchmaker and jeweler, was a Quaker and longtime abolitionist in the New Bedford area. In 1843 he served as vice president of the Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society, and in the 1850s as the vice president of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. In 1854 Bailey and other New Bedford abolitionists launched two antislavery newspapers, the *Pathfinder* and the *People's Press. Lib.,* 16 June 1843; Ellis, *New Bedford,* 527–28; Frederick Douglass, "Reminiscences," *Cosmopolitan,* 7:376–82 (August 1889); Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:274–75.

366.6 the Burleigh brothers] Several of the children of Rinaldo and Lydia Burleigh of Plainfield, Connecticut, became reformers in adulthood. Besides the prominent Garrisonian Charles Calistus Burleigh (1810–78), William Henry Burleigh (1812–71), Lucian (1817–84), Cyrus Moses (1820–55), and George Sheppard Burleigh (1821–1903) made noteworthy contributions to the antislavery movement. Rinaldo Burleigh had championed Prudence Crandall's academy in its admission of black girls as students, and his sons Charles and William had written articles for the Connecticut press in Crandall's support. William went on to edit a number of abolitionist, Liberty party, and Republican party newspapers. Cyrus joined Charles as a Garrisonian abolitionist lecturer and editor but died young of consumption. George contributed widely republished poetry to both abolitionist and Republican party journals. A strong perfectionist, George also took Nathaniel P. Rogers's side in the heated dispute inside Garrisonian ranks. Lucian became a minister and is best remembered as a mentor to Clara Barton. Charles, William, Lucian, and George also were active temperance reformers. Pillsbury, *Anti-Slavery Apostles,* 480–81; *DAB,* 3:284; *ANB,* 3:961–62.

366.6 William Chace] William M. Chace.

366.7 John Brown] John Mifflin Brown.

366.7 C. C. Eldredge] Charles Child Eldredge.

366.8 Isaac Kenyon] Isaac Collins Kenyon (1816–57) was a merchant and Rhode Island Garrisonian abolitionist who contributed occasional letters to the *Liberator. Lib.,* 22 December 1848, 30 April 1852.

366.8 Daniel Gould] Daniel Gould (c. 1810–?), a member of the prominent Rhode Island Quaker abolitionist family. 1850 U.S. Census, Rhode Island, Washington County, 344; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 64–65, 210, 270.

366.9 Geo. James Adams] George James Adams (c. 1811–?) of Providence, Rhode Island. Adams was an active abolitionist and a founding member of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society. In 1858 Adams purchased the freedom of a slave woman named Bethany Veney and her son, Joe. Veney later recounted the events in her narrative. *Proceedings of the Rhode-Island Anti-Slavery Convention, Held in Providence, on the 2d, 3d and 4th of February, 1836* (Providence, 1836), 5; 1850 U.S. Census, Rhode Island, Kent County, 235; Bethany Veney, "The Narrative of Bethany Veney, A Slave Woman," in *From Bondage to Belonging: The Worcester Slave Narratives,* ed. B. Eugene McCarthy and Thomas L. Doughton (Amherst, Mass., 2007), 207–37.

366.9 Martin Cheney] Born in Dover, Massachusetts, Free Will Baptist minister Martin Cheney (c. 1792–1852) first ran a grocery in Brooklyn, New York, and then presided over a congregation in Olneyville, Rhode Island, for nearly a quarter-century before his death. Cheney was a leading temperance as well as abolition advocate. At the time of his death, Douglass eulogized him as "one of the most unflinching and constant advocates of emancipation in the State of Rhode Island." *Lib.,* 9 January 1852; *FDP,* 22 January 1852; Charles Henry Pope, *The Cheney Genealogy* (Boston, 1897), 274, 322–23.

366.10 Gen. Sam'l Fessenden] Samuel Fessenden (1784–1869), lawyer and abolitionist, was born in Fryeburg, Maine. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1806, won admission to the Maine bar in 1809, and married Deborah Chandler in 1813. He served in the Massachusetts state senate in 1818–19. Along with his son and later U.S. senator, William Pitt Fessenden, the family moved to Portland, Maine, in 1822. Fessenden served with the Massachusetts militia for fourteen years and rose to the rank of major general. He represented Portland in the state legislature in 1825 and 1826, following the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, and he practiced law in Maine for forty years. An active philanthropist, Fessenden became involved with the American Anti-Slavery Society and was the Liberty party's candidate for governor and Congress in 1847. Douglass saw Fessenden speak at least once in Portland, and Fessenden was nearly always present for Douglass's orations there. Douglass was also welcomed into Fessenden's home not long after his escape from bondage. Douglass to Francis Fessenden, 10 October 1881, Fessenden Family Mss., MeB; *ACAB,* 2:443.

366.11 John Clarke] John L. Clarke (1812–80), a physician from Massachusetts, was born in Scituate, Rhode Island. In 1854 he graduated from the Homoeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania and moved to Fall River in Bristol County, Massachusetts, where he became a prominent doctor in the community. A former member of the Society of Friends, Clarke actively opposed slavery from the earliest days of the abolitionist movement. Indeed, shortly after Clarke's death from congestion of the lungs in 1880, Douglass wrote to his widow, Mary R. Clarke, expressing gratitude for the couple's support "in the days when the cause of the Slave had few friends." Douglass to Mrs. John L. Clarke, 11 November 1880, Manuscripts File, Fall River Historical Society; 1870 U.S. Census, Massachusetts, Bristol County, 546; Herbert C. Clapp, "Obituary, John L. Clarke, M.D.," *New England Medical Gazette,* 16:31–32 (January 1881); I. T. Talbot, "Homoeopathic Directory," *New England Medical Gazette,* 5:155–61 (March 1870).

366.19–20 Doctor James McCune Smith] The son of a slave father and a self-emancipated bondswoman, James McCune Smith (1813–65) was born in New York City, where he attended the New York African Free School. Denied admission to American medical schools, Smith set sail for Scotland in 1832, receiving his B.A. (1835), M.A. (1836), and M.D. (1837) from the University of Glasgow. Upon his return to New York City, Smith set up a medical practice and pharmacy that catered to both blacks and whites. He also devoted himself to abolitionist concerns. Smith served briefly as an associate editor of the *Colored American* in 1839 and contributed regularly to the *Anglo-African Magazine* and, under the pseudonym "Communipaw," to the *North Star* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* A longtime opponent of black colonization and emigration, Smith helped finance the revival of the *Weekly Anglo-African* as an antiemigrationist organ in 1861. In 1863 Smith was appointed professor of anthropology at Wilberforce College, but illness kept him from his post. *Lib.,* 1 June 1838; *FDP,* 18 May 1855; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 115, 134; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 90–92, 103, 110; Stauffer, *Black Hearts of Men,* 224–25; David W. Blight, "In Search of Learning, Liberty, and Self-Definition: James McCune Smith and the Ordeal of the Antebellum Black Intellectual," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History,* 9:7–25 (July 1985); Freeman, "The Free Negro in New York City," 40–42, 177, 186, 195, 200, 247, 276, 286, 325, 353, 393; *DAB,* 27:288–89.

366.31 Jehiel C. Beman] Born a freeman, Jehiel C. Beman (1789–1858) was a black shoemaker and pastor of an African Methodist Episcopal Zion church in Middletown, Connecticut. As an active abolitionist Beman helped establish dozens of black church congregations and attempted to found a black college in New Haven, Connecticut. These actions caught the attention of white abolitionists, including William Lloyd Garrison. Beman was recruited as a founding member of the American Anti-Slavery Society and an agent for Garrison's *Liberator.* Beman accepted a ministerial position in Boston in 1838, but soon after cut his connection to the Garrisonians. Instead Beman joined the ranks of a rival abolition group, the Massachusetts Abolition Society, and later supported the Liberty and Free Soil political parties. During the 1840s and 1850s Beman devoted most of his time to the antislavery cause: attending and chairing abolitionist conventions, raising money for indigent, former, or runaway slaves' legal fees, and helping the Underground Railroad. He received recognition in 1853 for his dedication and leadership when he was elected to the National Council of Colored People. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 3:61n; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:17, 23, 309n, 450–56, 4:11n, 261, 263n, 312; Kathleen Housley, "'Yours for the Oppressed': The Life of Jehiel C. Beman," *JNH,* 77:17–29 (Winter 1992); Jennifer Lee James, "Jehiel C. Beman: A Leader of the Northern Free Black Community," *JNH,* 82:133–157 (Winter 1997).

366.32 Thomas Van Rensselaer] Thomas Van Rensselaer was a leading black abolitionist in New York City and a cofounder of the *Ram's Horn* (c. 1846–48). A former slave from New York's Mohawk Valley, Van Rensselaer ran away from his master in 1819 and later operated a New York City restaurant called the Temperance House. He was active in the New York Vigilance Committee and in campaigns for equal educational and political rights for blacks. Though not a nonresistant, Van Rensselaer sided with the Garrisonians and served on the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1840–43). Around 1849 he moved to Philadelphia, where he continued to attend antislavery and black conventions. New York *Colored American,* 18 March, 28 October, 9 December 1837; *NS,* 8 December 1848, 26 October, 2 November 1849; *FDP,* 15 July 1853; Penn, *Afro-American Press,* 61–65; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 79–80, 100–01, 138, 178, 185; Freeman, "Free Negro in New York City," 71, 98, 100, 193–95, 197, 200, 284–85, 353, 365.

366.35 William P. Powell] William Peter Powell (1807–c. 1879), a Garrisonian abolitionist and reformer, was born free in New York, the son of a free woman and an enslaved father. Powell apprenticed as a sailor and lived and worked in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he helped to found a local antislavery society, became one of the first members of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and joined the American Seaman's Friend Society. In 1839 he moved to New York City, opening the Colored Seamen's Home, an employment agency and boardinghouse for black sailors. Powell remained active in abolitionist circles and also supported women's rights, black self-help, and temperance reform. He served as secretary of the Garrisonian Manhattan Anti-Slavery Society and was among those who established the Committee of Thirteen, an organization of prominent African Americans opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law and other forms of racial discrimination. In early 1852 he moved to Great Britain, where he remained active in abolitionist circles, returning to the United States in 1861. Upon his return Powell reestablished the Colored Seamen's Home and in 1863 accepted a commission in the U.S. Navy. During the July 1863 New York draft riots, a white mob looted Powell's boardinghouse, causing almost $5,000 in property damage. Following the Civil War, he remained an activist seeking to improve the working conditions of African American sailors. Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:72n; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers,* 3:302–03; *ANB,* 17:786–87.

366.36 Charles L. Reason] Born in New York City, the son of Haitian émigrés, Charles Lewis Reason (1818–93) was a prominent leader in the black community of his native city and state for over fifty years. From the age of fourteen until his death he was a teacher in or principal of various black schools in New York City, except for the brief period in the 1850s when he headed the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, and the few years that he spent before this as professor of belles-lettres, French, and mathematics at Central College in McGrawville, New York. He was the first black man to hold a professorship in an American college. Reason helped organize the New York Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children, a black organization that won from the state legislature in 1847 authority over black schools in New York City. After the Civil War, he was one of the leaders in the successful effort to integrate the city school system. Reason was no less active in the antebellum struggle to pressure the New York legislature into abolishing the property qualifications for black voters. In this connection he served as secretary of the

Association for the Political Improvement of the People of Color in 1837 (or 1838) and as secretary of the State Convention of Colored Citizens, which met in Albany in 1840. Reason's opposition to Negro colonization was long standing, beginning in 1838 when he joined in the call for a "Great Anti-Colonization Meeting" in New York City and carried through into the 1850s, when he was outspoken in his criticism of the African Civilization Society, the black colonizationist organization. *NASS,* 3 May 1849; *NS,* 27 April, 4, 30 May 1849; *FDP,* 15 July 1853, 17 February 1854, 21 September 1855; Cleveland *Gazette,* 5 September 1885; Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 1105–09; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 114, 145, 172; Pease and Pease, *They Who Would Be Free,* 10, 86–87, 148, 175, 258, 270–71; Dick, *Black Protest,* 21, 50, 190; Anthony R. Mayo, "Charles Lewis Reason," *NHB,* 5:212–15 (June 1942); Charles H. Wesley, "The Negroes of New York in the Emancipation Movement," *JNH,* 24:65–103 (January 1939); Freeman, "Free Negro in New York City," 41–42, 53, 136, 188, 237, 279, 345, 350, 353, 368.

367.4–5 on the various lines between New York and Boston] The New York and Boston Railroad Company was chartered in 1856. It consolidated companies of the same name in Rhode Island and Connecticut. The Boston and New York Central Railroad Company was created in 1853. It consolidated the Norfolk County Railroad Company, the Southbridge and Blackstone Railroad Company, and the Midland Railroad Company. Henry Varnum Poor, *History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States of America* (New York, 1860), 96, 140.

367.31 Lucretia Mott] Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793–1880) was one of the foremost abolitionists and women's rights activists of the early nineteenth century. Born among the independent Quaker women of Nantucket, Massachusetts, and educated in a coeducational Quaker school in Millbrook, New York, Mott soon became a noted speaker at Quaker meetings in Philadelphia, where she moved with her husband, James Mott, in 1811. Her inclination toward abolitionism grew to a passion after she met William Lloyd Garrison, and she became one of the founders of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and a frequent antislavery lecturer. Mott first became aware of the need for a women's rights movement when she and other female delegates, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, were refused their seats at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in England in 1840. Eight years later Mott and Stanton organized the first women's rights convention in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York. The convention launched the women's rights movement. Lucretia Coffin Mott, *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott,* ed. Beverly Wilson Palmer (Urbana, Ill., 2002), xiii–xxviii; Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (New York, 1980); Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change,* 108, 130–32; *DAB,* 8:288–90; *NAW,* 2:592–95; *ANB,* 16:21–23.

368.21 Lydia Maria Child] Born in Medford, Massachusetts, Lydia Maria Francis Child (1802–80) published her first of many novels, *Hobomok,* at age twenty-two. From 1826 to 1834 she edited the bimonthly *Juvenile Miscellany,* the first periodical for children to be published in the United States. She married David Lee Child

(1794–1874) in 1828, and both were drawn into the abolitionist movement in 1831 by William Lloyd Garrison. Her *Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833) was the first of a dozen antislavery books and pamphlets; the topic caused the popularity of her literary writings to decline drastically. A longtime officer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Child edited its official newspaper, the New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* from 1841 to 1843. In addition to abolition, she supported most of the other humanitarian causes of the time with her never-idle pen. William S. Osborne, *Lydia Maria Child* (Boston, 1980); Milton Meltzer, *Tongue of Flame: The Life of Lydia Maria Child* (New York, 1965); *ACAB,* 1:603–04; *NAW,* 1:330–33.

368.24 "remember those in bonds as bound with them;"] A close paraphrase of Heb. 13:3.

368.25 "Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans,"] An allusion to Lydia Maria Child's definitive antislavery work, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans.* Prior to its publication, the abolitionist movement lacked a text that truly dealt with the slavery question. Child thoroughly engages the question on a humanitarian, intellectual, and social level. As the title indicates, one of the fundamental arguments of the work is that African Americans are in fact Americans, who should be allowed to assimilate into American culture rather than be forcibly restrained from doing so. By providing a historical context of slavery worldwide, Child emphasizes the odious nature of slavery in the United States. The argument addresses both economics and politics, making a case for establishing a free labor system in the South. At the center of the work, Child analyzes the differences between colonizationalists and abolitionists; the most fundamental difference, she claims, is the belief that racial prejudice may be overcome. To defeat these prejudices, Child calls for Americans to align their actions and beliefs with their republican creed. Lydia Maria Child, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans,* ed. Carolyn L. Karcher (1833 and 1836; Boston, 1996); Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, N.C., 1994), 183–85.

368.28 David Lee Child] Born in West Boylston, Massachusetts, David Lee Child (1794–1874) graduated from Harvard University in 1817. He fought for the Spanish against invading Napoleonic armies as a volunteer. He married Lydia Maria Francis in 1828 and launched a dual career as a lawyer and antislavery journalist. William Lloyd Garrison recruited the couple to his immediate abolitionist movement in 1831. *ACAB,* 1:603–04.

368.30 "Letter from New York,"] During her two years as editor for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Lydia Maria Child wrote nearly 100 weekly columns on life in New York City, with her first letter printed on 19 August 1841. Written from the perspective of an unfamiliar outsider, Child's column documented the cultural tensions and at times disorienting aspects of the city, mixing standard journalistic reporting with her own personal observations. Influenced by Transcendentalist ideals, Child

infused her sketches with abolitionist sentiments and support for women's rights, hoping that the imaginative, engaging nature of her letters would make her political statements easier to swallow for the unconverted. The columns proved so popular that they were later compiled and published in two volumes, titled *Letters from New-York,* in 1843–44. Lydia Maria Child, *Letters from New-York,* ed. Bruce Mills (1843–44; Athens, Ga., 1998), ix–x, xiv–xvii, xi–xxii; Blassingame, *Antislavery Newspapers and Periodicals,* 4:3; Leonard Ray Teel, "Abolition at the Crossroads: Lydia Maria Child and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* 1841–1843," in *The Civil War and the Press,* ed. David B. Sachsman, S. Kittrell Rushing, and Debra Reddin van Tuyll (New Brunswick, N.J., 2000), 75–92.

368.35 Sarah and Angelina Grimké] Angelina Grimké (1805–79) was born in Charleston, South Carolina, into a prominent slaveholding family. Deeply attached to her older sister, Sarah Moore Grimké (1792–1873), Angelina joined her in becoming a Quaker and moved to Philadelphia. The Grimkés entered the abolitionist ranks in 1835 and the following year Angelina wrote the widely discussed pamphlet, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.* Both sisters became the subject of considerable controversy when they began delivering antislavery addresses before mixed female and male audiences. In May 1838 Angelina Grimké married Theodore L. Weld, another abolitionist lecturer, and within a few years the Welds together with Sarah Grimké settled on a New Jersey farm. From 1848 to 1862 the three operated a boarding school and only rarely participated in antislavery activity. In 1864 they moved to the Boston area and continued teaching, although Angelina's ill health caused her to retire from public life. Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, *The Emancipation of Angelina Grimké* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1974); Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels against Slavery* (Boston, 1967); *DAB,* 7:634–35; *NAW,* 2:97–99.

369.2 "fought the good fight"] An adaptation of the opening of 1 Tim. 6:12.

369.7–8 "Pastoral Letter,"] By July 1837, South Carolina-born abolitionists Sarah and Angelina Grimké had been so outspokenly radical in their speeches for women's rights that the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts concluded that a formal reprimand was required. The resultant pastoral letter, written chiefly by Hezekiah Niles and the Reverend Nehemiah Adams, was not aimed exclusively at the sisters. The letter seemed aimed primarily at the disruptive controversy generated by abolitionist followers of William Lloyd Garrison. The letter defended women's moral influence generally, but it did argue that the proper place of women was not lecturing at a pulpit. Catherine H. Birney, *The Grimké Sisters: Sarah and Angelina Grimké: The First American Women Advocates of Abolition and Woman's Rights* (1885; New York, 1970), 185; Stephen Howard Browne, *Angelina Grimké: Rhetoric, Identity, and the Radical Imagination* (East Lansing, Mich., 1999), 103, 125–27; Lerner, *Grimké Sisters from South Carolina,* 131–34, 137, 141, 144.

369.10 Abby Kelley] Abby Kelley Foster.

369.11 "History of Woman Suffrage,"] Douglass refers to the six-volume chronicle of American female suffrage. Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and

Elizabeth Cady Stanton conceived the work originally as a pamphlet, but it grew into three volumes of documents, letters, and commentary regarding the feminist movement in America. The first three volumes were published in 1881, 1882, and 1887, respectively. Ida Husted Harper, Anthony's longtime associate, furthered the original work, adding to it three new volumes; the fourth was published in 1902, while the fifth and sixth were published in 1922. Stanton, *History of Woman Suffrage.*

369.12 Stanton] Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) was the best-known feminist of her day. Born in Johnstown, New York, and educated at Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary, Stanton developed an interest in abolition and other reforms during visits to the home of her cousin Gerrit Smith. Stanton became determined to work to advance the status of women when she and other female delegates were barred from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. Eight years later Stanton, along with Lucretia Mott, organized the first-ever women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, where Stanton had settled with her husband, Henry B. Stanton, the antislavery politician. During Reconstruction, she opposed the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments because they granted equal rights and suffrage to black males but ignored all females. She held to this position in the *Revolution,* the woman suffrage weekly she edited with Parker Pillsbury, and in the platform of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which she and Susan B. Anthony founded in 1869. Besides presiding over the last organization for more than two decades, Stanton wrote numerous articles and several books, including the multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage* in collaboration with Anthony and Matilda Gage. Alma Lutz, *Created Equal: A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1815–1902* (New York, 1940); Lois W. Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: A Radical for Woman's Rights* (Boston, 1980); *NAW,* 3:342–47.

369.12 Anthony] Best known for her partnership with Elizabeth Cady Stanton during the late nineteenth-century woman suffrage campaign, Susan Brownell Anthony (1820–1906) first became an activist through the temperance and abolitionist movements in Canajoharie and Rochester, New York. Anthony spent her childhood in eastern Massachusetts, where she attended Quaker schools and became a teacher. In 1845 she followed her family to western New York, where they had fled to escape financial difficulties and to join a radical branch of Hicksite Quakers that included the Posts, Hallowells, and Porters. Discussions with Abigail Mott, whom she had met sometime before 1845, led Anthony to join the Unitarian Church shortly after her arrival in Rochester. Anthony continued to teach for another four years, but her involvement in the Daughters of Temperance and the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society soon became her priority. By 1851 she also became interested in the women's rights movement, and a common friend, Amelia Bloomer, introduced Anthony to Stanton. For the next half-century she and Stanton devoted themselves tirelessly to the struggle for women's access to education, professions, and politics. Between 1856 and 1866, however, Anthony continued to work for the end of slavery, serving as an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society, organizing antislavery conventions in

Rochester and publishing a newspaper that endorsed suffrage for blacks and women. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,* 3 vols. (Indianapolis, 1898–1908); Stanton and Anthony, *Papers,* 1:xxvi–xxviii; Blake McKelvey, "Susan B. Anthony," *RH,* 7:1–24 (April 1945); *ANB,* 1:547–50.

369.12 Joslyn Gage] Matilda Electa Joslyn Gage (1826–98), women's rights advocate, was born in Cicero, New York, to Dr. Hezekiah and Helen (Leslie) Joslyn. After early instruction by her father, she completed her formal education at the Clinton Liberal Institute of New York. She married Henry H. Gage in 1845, and they moved from Cicero to nearby Fayetteville, New York. Despite recurring health problems Gage became active in the fledgling women's rights movement, speaking, writing, and organizing for the cause as early as 1852. She was a member of the National Woman Suffrage Association from its inception and served as its president from 1875 to 1876. Gage was a principal contributor to the first newspaper devoted to woman suffrage, the *Revolution,* and coauthored with Elizabeth Cady Stanton the historic "Declaration of Rights" for women, which was presented at the Independence Day ceremonies at the 1876 meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association in Philadelphia. She edited the *National Citizen and Ballot Box,* wrote many pamphlets, and joined Stanton and Anthony to produce the multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–86). Because of her family commitments and ill health, she neither achieved the fame of Susan B. Anthony nor received the credit of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but both acknowledged her leadership in the women's rights movement. Leila R. Brammer, *Excluded from History: Matilda Joslyn Gage, Nineteenth-Century American Feminist* (Westport, Conn., 2000), xiii–xvii, 1–3, 4–7, 13; Sally Roesch Wagner, *Matilda Joslyn Gage: She Who Holds the Sky* (Aberdeen, S.D., 2002), 1–34, 66–70; *NAW,* 2:4–6.

369.13–19 "Abby Kelley was…she found opportunity."] Douglass accurately quotes the original text. Stanton, *History of Woman Suffrage,* 1:40.

369.32 Sallie Holley] The daughter of Myron Holley, a founder of the Liberty party, Sallie Holley (1818–93) was born in Canandaigua and raised on a farm near Rochester, New York. She attended Oberlin College and, while there, converted from political abolitionism to Garrisonianism after attending a lecture by Abby Kelley Foster. Following her graduation in 1851, Holley became an effective traveling lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. During and after the Civil War, she raised funds and gathered clothing to assist the newly emancipated southern slaves. In 1870 Holley joined Caroline F. Putnam, her close friend since college days, at Lottsburg, Virginia, where they operated a school for blacks. John White Chadwick, *A Life for Liberty: Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley* (1899; New York, 1969); Lee Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, A Better Husband: Single Women in America, the Generations of 1780–1840* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 149–55; *NAW,* 2:205–06.

369.34 Lucy Stone] Lucy Stone (1818–93) was emerging as one of the leading abolitionist and feminist orators of the day. Born in West Brookfield, Massachusetts, she was the daughter of Francis Stone, a wealthy farmer, and Hannah Matthews

Stone. At sixteen, when her father refused to finance her college education, primarily because she was a woman, Lucy decided to teach in the local school and save money. For brief periods she attended Quaboag Seminary in Warren, Massachusetts, the Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and Oberlin College, from which she was graduated in 1847. That same year Stone gave her first public address on women's rights from the pulpit of her brother, William Bowman Stone, at Gardner, Massachusetts, and in 1848 she began to lecture regularly for the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1850 she was instrumental in launching the annual National Woman's Rights Conference, first held at Worcester, Massachusetts, and she helped pay for the publication of its proceedings. In May 1855 she married fellow reformer Henry Blackwell but continued to use her family name. In the 1860s Stone was one of the founders of the New England Woman Rights Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1870 she raised money for the founding of the *Woman's Journal,* and in 1872 she and her husband became its coeditors. Stanton, *History of Woman Suffrage,* 1:260–62; Alice Stone Blackwell, *Lucy Stone: Pioneer of Women's Rights* (Norwood, Mass., 1930); *ACAB,* 5:702–03; *NCAB,* 29:128; *DAB,* 17:80–81; *NAW,* 3:387–90.

369.34 Antoinette Brown] Born in Henrietta, New York, Antoinette Louisa (née Brown) Blackwell (1825–1921) graduated from Oberlin College in 1847. Despite resistance from her family and educators, Brown enrolled in the master's program in theology, but was not granted a minister's license at the completion of her study in 1850 because of her gender. She was a delegate to the World's Temperance Convention in 1853 and was ordained as the first female minister in the Congregational church that year. She married Samuel Charles Blackwell in 1856 and had seven children. Blackwell was active in the Congregational church as a minister and lecturer until her conversion to Unitarianism in 1878. She was also active in the antislavery and women's suffrage movements. During her life, Blackwell published ten books and several articles. After her husband's death in 1901, she settled with a daughter in Elizabeth, New Jersey. In 1908 she helped found the All Souls' Unitarian Church, where she preached until 1915. On 2 November 1920, at age ninety-five, Blackwell voted in the first national election open to women. Herringshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Biography,* 117; Elizabeth Cazden, *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: A Biography* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1983); *NAW,* 1:158–160.

370.4 Lucinda Wilmarth] Born in Attleboro, Massachusetts, Lucinda Wilmarth (1816–44) lived in several towns in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, such as Pawtucket, Norton, and Taunton, where she taught school. She also became an organizer at abolitionist fairs and a subscription agent for antislavery newspapers. Wilmarth assumed responsibility for running the Rhode Island state antislavery office in 1842. In this post, she continued her antislavery work, managed abolitionist finances and speakers, and sheltered fugitive slaves. In 1843 Wilmarth struggled to keep the Rhode Island organization together when the last of the clergy supporters walked out of the state antislavery convention in protest at the condemnation of

churches that refused to open their doors to abolitionist lecturers. Her health failed later that year, and forced her sudden resignation from her post. *Lib.,* 31 May 1844; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 51, 106, 190–91.

370.6 Amarancy Paine] Amarancy Paine Sarle (1812–82), a female abolitionist from Olneyville, near Providence, Rhode Island, retained the positions of secretary and state agent for the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society from 1843 to 1852. Paine joined the organization in 1835, became a member of its executive committee in 1842, and in 1843 took the organization's position of state agent, following the death of her predecessor, Lucinda Wilmarth. Paine also served as secretary for the Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, an organization formed in 1843 that served as auxiliary to the state society. As secretary of the Ladies' Society, she assisted the Underground Railroad and was responsible for a weekly sewing circle, tea parties, a statewide antislavery fair, and the circulation of three antislavery newspapers. Paine resigned from her position at the state society in 1852. She married Orris Sarle in 1857. William F. Davis, *Saint Indefatigable: A Sketch of the Life of Amarancy Paine Sarle* (Boston, 1883); Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 105–09.

370.8 Phebe Jackson] Phebe Jackson (1807–87), a leader of the abolitionist movement in Providence, Rhode Island, enjoyed a close friendship with the Garrison family and often hosted the Garrisons when they visited Providence. She was the daughter of Richard Jackson, a U.S. congressman (1808–15), and sister of the Reverend Henry Jackson, who became a popular clergyman at the First Baptist Church of Providence. Jackson's other two brothers, Charles and George, served as governor of Rhode Island and as an editor of the Providence *Journal,* respectively. *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1881), 171; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 2:151n; Van Broekhoven, *Devotion of These Women,* 37–38, 55, 223–24.

370.8 Elizabeth Chace] Born in Providence, Rhode Island, Elizabeth Buffum Chace (1806–99) was the daughter of Arnold Buffum, the first president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. She married Samuel B. Chace, son of a Fall River cotton manufacturer, in 1828. In 1840 the couple settled in Valley Falls, Rhode Island, where Samuel operated a cotton mill and Elizabeth became active in Garrisonian abolitionist activities and the Underground Railroad. In 1843 she quit the Quaker church, believing that it lacked a wholehearted antislavery stance. From the 1850s until her death, Chace was instrumental in the women's movement, serving as president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association (1870–99) and in various offices of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Douglass visited her occasionally and was invited to her eighty-fifth birthday celebration in December 1891. Elizabeth B. Chace to Douglass, 29 November 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frames 336–37, FD Papers, DLC; Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman and Arthur Crawford Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace, 1806–1899: Her Life and Its Environs,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1914), 2:110, 179, 251–52; *DAB,* 2:584.

370.9 the Roses] Daughter of an orthodox rabbi from Piotrków, Russian Poland, Ernestine Louise Siismondi Potowski Rose (1810–92) rebelled against parental authority and left home at sixteen. She traveled across Europe in intellectual circles and became a disciple of Robert Dale Owen's utopian plans. She married a wealthy English radical, William E. Rose, and the couple moved to New York City in 1836. Rose lectured at her own expense throughout the North on such topics as deism, free public schools, abolition, and women's rights. From 1837 to 1848 she led the campaign that ultimately won legal protection for the property rights of married women in New York. During the Civil War, she actively worked for the National Women's Loyal League. Returning to Great Britain in 1869, Rose continued to lecture on behalf of numerous reform causes. Yuri Suhl, *Ernestine L. Rose and the Battle for Human Rights* (New York, 1959); *ACAB,* 5:322; *DAB,* 16:158–59.

370.10 the Fayerweathers] Sarah (1812–78) and George (?–c. 1869) Fayerweather were abolitionists from Kingston, Rhode Island. In 1832 Sarah became nationally recognized as the first black to be admitted to Connecticut's Canterbury Female Boarding School, which had just opened the previous year. Prudence Crandall, a Quaker teacher, oversaw Sarah's admission to the school. The incident was met with controversy not only in Canterbury but in the country at large, leading to Crandall's arrest and trial and the school's subsequent closing. Shortly after this event, Sarah married George Fayerweather, Jr. In 1841 the couple moved to New London, Connecticut, and then in 1855 to Kingston, Rhode Island, where they raised a family of eight children. Throughout their lives the Fayerweathers participated in many abolitionist functions, with George joining the Colored Men's Convention in New London and Sarah attending various abolitionist meetings in Boston, New York, and other cities, during which she developed close friendships with Douglass and the Garrisons. From their home in Kingston the Fayerweathers entertained a number of prominent antislavery figures, including the fugitive slave William Wells Brown. Hallie Q. Brown, *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (New York, 1988), 23–29; Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women: Book II* (Detroit, 1996), 218–21.

370.10 the Spooners] Douglass probably refers to the family of Massachusetts abolitionist Bourne Spooner.

370.10 the Southwicks] Joseph and Thankful Southwick.

370.11 the Fords] Douglass probably refers to the activities of Isaac Sheldon Ford (1800–74), an abolitionist from Richfield Springs, New York. Born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, Ford attended Fairfield Academy for one term but decided to remain a farmer. In 1824 he married Lydia Reed (1903–88) and bought land in Manheim, New York. The Fords lived in Manheim until March 1866, when they moved permanently to Richfield Springs. Although he changed religious affiliations throughout his life, leaving the Presbyterian church to become a Baptist before finally embracing Universalism, Ford remained steadfast in his antislavery views. A friend of Gerrit Smith, Ford became well known throughout Otsego County for his abolitionism, and on 22 February 1856 he served as a delegate at the Republican party's organizing

convention in Pittsburgh. Eliakim Reed Ford, *Ford Genealogy; Being an Account of Some of the Fords Who were Early Settlers in New England* (Oneonta, N.Y., 1916), 104–07.

370.11 the Wilburs] Douglass probably refers to the antislavery efforts of Julia A. Wilbur (1815–95), a white Quaker from Rochester, New York, who advocated for the rights of both blacks and women. A teacher and member of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, Wilbur was hired by the society as a freedmen's agent and in October 1862 was sent to Alexandria, Virginia, to assist contrabands. She formed a close alliance with Harriet Jacobs, who arrived in Alexandria in January 1863 to support Wilbur's activities. Sometimes clashing with army officials in the area, Wilbur and Jacobs assisted schoolteachers and established a number of sewing circles and other work sites. Wilbur continued to help free blacks after the war, most notably at her residence in the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association building in Georgetown and also campaigned for women's right to vote through the National Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, D.C. Throughout her life she retained a close relationship with her family in Avon, New York. Julia A. Wilbur to E[dwin] M. Stanton, 24 March 1863, in *The Civil War and Reconstruction: A Documentary Reader,* ed. Stanley Harrold (Malden, Mass., 2008), 134–36; Carol Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement* (Philadelphia, 2004), 15–17, 85, 91.

370.11 the Henshaws] Douglass probably refers to the family of Josiah Henshaw (c. 1791–?), a leading abolitionist of West Brookfield in Massachusetts's Worcester County. From the early days of the abolitionist movement until the end of the Civil War, Henshaw served as president of the Worcester County Anti-Slavery Society. Because of his involvement with the society and its sponsorship of Douglass and Abby Kelley Foster, Henshaw was excommunicated in 1843 from the First Church of Brookfield, which he had attended since 1816, serving as a deacon and superintendent of its Sunday school. Following Henshaw's departure, the church's pastor, Moses Chase, expelled other members of the congregation who were involved in antislavery activities, including abolitionist Lucy Stone. *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, for the Year 1886* (Worcester, Mass., 1887), 82–83, 85; Julia Ward Howe et al., eds., *Representative Women of New England* (Boston, 1904), 192; Charles J. Adams, ed., *Quabaug 1660–1910: An Account of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration Held at West Brookfield, Mass., September 21, 1910* (Worcester, Mass., 1915), 106–07.

370.11 the Burgesses] Douglass probably refers to the abolitionist activities of Dyer and Isabella Burgess in West Union, Ohio. Dyer (1784–1872), born in Springfield, Vermont, was a Presbyterian minister known for his strong reformist opinions. In 1816 Dyer moved to West Union, Ohio, where he worked as a pastor. Dyer grew unpopular because of his radical views and moved to Manchester in the late 1820s. There he became engaged to South Carolina native Elizabeth Means (1799–1889), but she broke the engagement because of Dyer's modest income as a minister, opting instead to marry Dr. William M. Voris. Though initially distraught by the breakup, Dyer moved to Cincinnati and married Isabella Ellison (?–1839). Dyer also began a semimonthly periodical called *Infidelity Unmasked,* which he used to express his condemnation of slavery, intemperance, and especially Masons. Soon after their marriage, the Burgesses returned to West Union, where Isabella's wealth allowed Dyer to establish a large residence known as the "Anti-Slavery Palace" for the number of abolitionists who were entertained there. Following the death of Isabella, Dyer left West Union for Washington County, where he preached in Warren, Belpre, and Watertown and reunited with his first love, Elizabeth W. Voris, who was now a widow. The two married in 1842 and afterward moved to Constitution, Ohio. *Burgess Genealogy: Memorial of the Family of Thomas and Dorothy Burgess, Who were Settled at Sandwich, in the Plymouth Colony, in 1637* (Boston, 1865), 139; Nelson W. Evans and Emmons B. Stivers, *A History of Adams County, Ohio: From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (West Union, Ohio, 1900), 514–21.

370.17 denominated a woman's-rights-man] Douglass was a strong early advocate of the movement for women's rights. He frequently reported on women's rights issues in the *North Star* and attended a number of the first women's conventions, gaining a reputation as the strongest male advocate of women's rights. At the famous Seneca Falls convention in July 1848, organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, Douglass helped to sway the delegates in support of Stanton's resolution calling for female suffrage. A month later he attended a convention at Rochester where he again advocated female suffrage and declared his belief that women should be equal to men in all aspects of life. Douglass's support of women's rights and his friendship with activists such as Stanton remained strong after the Civil War, and he joined her in the call for the Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention in 1866. There the American Equal Rights Association formed to advocate for the rights of both black men and all women. Although Douglass disputed with Stanton and Susan B. Anthony regarding passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, which bestowed suffrage upon only black males, he remained a prominent supporter of women's rights until his death. *NS,* 11 August 1848; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life* (New York, 2009), 55, 59, 66, 119–20; Stauffer, *Black Hearts of Men,* 224–25.

373.27–28 "fault is not…we are underlings,"] *Julius Caesar,* sc. 2, lines 216–17.

373.28–29 "who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."] Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* stanza 76, line 721. Byron, *Complete Poetical Works,* 2:69.

374.1–2 "faith is…things not seen,"] Heb. 11:1.

375.6 Ten years ago…book were written] The first American edition of *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* was published by Park Publishing Company of Hartford, Connecticut, in November 1881. Douglass's introductory remarks in the additional third part of the expanded and revised second edition, published in 1892—written roughly ten years later than the first published edition—by DeWolfe, Fiske and

Company of Boston, Massachusetts, refer to the first American edition, which consisted of the first two sections of the DeWolfe, Fiske editions.

375.18 Dickens] Charles Dickens (1812–70), British novelist and writer, authored many of the most enduring pieces of modern literature. The quintessential Victorian writer, Dickens penned dozens of stories and novels beginning with the *Monthly Magazine* publication of a short story titled "A Dinner at Poplar Walk" (1833). Many of his works consider the bleak side of human nature and reflect the darker side of life in Victorian England. Among his best-known works are *Pickwick Papers* (1837), *A Christmas Carol* (1843), *David Copperfield* (1850), *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), and *Great Expectations* (1861). Grahame Smith, *Charles Dickens: A Literary Life* (New York, 1996); *DNB,* 5:925–37.

375.18 Dumas] Alexandre Dumas.

375.19 Carlyle] Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), Scottish historian and social philosopher, was one of the most prolific writers of the Victorian era. He is best remembered for his critically acclaimed multivolume examinations of important historical events and figures, including *The French Revolution* (1837), *Chartism* (1840), and a six-volume *History of Friedrich II of Prussia, Called Frederick the Great* (1858–65). Carlyle lectured widely and wrote on such subjects as Chartism, Darwinism, and economics. On social and scientific issues Carlyle was often acerbic and argumentative, but his works of history marked a groundbreaking advance in the scholarship of the nineteenth century. Fred Kaplan, *Thomas Carlyle: A Biography* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 239–40; Stanley J. Kunitz, ed., *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1936), 115–18.

375.33 called upon to expose even my stripes] Douglass began his career as an antislavery orator, giving his first public address at Nantucket, Massachusetts, in August 1841. As a fugitive from slavery, his early speeches detailed the horrors of slavery from a firsthand perspective. Mayer, *All on Fire,* 305–06; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 13–14.

376.3 negro problem] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, African American intellectuals and civil rights activists planned a series of meetings to discuss the place of black citizens in society. Organized by such prominent race leaders as Booker T. Washington, T. Thomas Fortune, and W. E. B. Du Bois, the movement was just beginning in the last few years of Douglass's life in reaction to the slow erosion of civil rights advances instituted during the Reconstruction era: the rapid advance of disfranchisement, Jim Crow laws, and the horrors of lynching in the South. The meetings and discussions eventually led to the formation of organizations such as the Afro-American League, which focused on black self-help and in due course the Niagara Movement, targeting civil rights issues. As the elder spokesman among a group of younger black activists, Douglass's words and thoughts on the state of black-white relations and the place of African Americans in the nation were valued. His most famous oration concerning the issue was a frequently delivered speech titled "Lessons of the Hour," which he sometimes alternatively titled "The Negro Problem." In the speech Douglass condemned racial prejudice and the oppression of African Americans. He argued that Americans needed to put away their prejudices and embrace the principles of liberty and equality on which the nation was founded. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:575–607; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans,* 7th ed. (New York, 1994), 288–89.

376.10 Humboldt] Alexander Von Humboldt (1769–1859), Prussian (German) geographer, studied mineralogy at the University of Frankfurt and at the University of Göttingen, then worked for the Prussian government as the superintendent of mines. From 1799 through 1803 Humboldt traveled extensively in the Americas, where he studied the natural world and developed his holistic theory of nature, integrating the study of biology, geology, geophysics, archaeology, and meteorology. The work resulting from his travels and extensive study was published in thirty-three volumes titled *Voyage aux regions equinoctales du Nouveau Continent* (1805–34). Humboldt continued to travel to areas in Mexico, Peru, and Cuba, enhancing human knowledge of the natural world. He is accredited as one of the harbingers of modern empirical scientific methods and is considered the founder of the modern science of geography. Gerard Helferich, *Humboldt's Cosmos: Alexander Von Humboldt and the Latin American Journey That Changed the Way We See the World* (New York, 2004); *The McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography,* 12 vols. (New York, 1973), 3:1100–03.

376.10 Cuvier] Georges Cuvier (1769–1832), French biologist and anatomist, is credited with expanding the system of classifying organisms by dividing the fossil record into phyla. A professor of zoology and animal anatomy, Cuvier taught at the Collège de France, then spent many years at the Museum of Natural History in Paris. There he continued his work on animal anatomy, finally developing the classification system that sorted animals into the four phyla of vertebrates, mollusks, articulates, and radiates. Despite his extensive work in paleontology and anatomy, Cuvier rejected evolutionary theory, believing that beings in the natural world were already perfect. Toby A. Appel, *The Cuvier-Geoffroy Debate: French Biology in the Decades before Darwin* (New York, 1987), 136–42, 145–50, 170–74; Magill, *Great Lives from History,* 2:570–73.

376.10 Darwin] Charles Robert Darwin (1809–82), British naturalist, is most commonly associated with the theory of natural evolution. Educated at the University of Edinburgh and Christ's College, Cambridge, Darwin began his naturalist career in 1831 on a round-the-world voyage aboard the HMS *Beagle.* During this five-year excursion, Darwin studied animal and bird species and by 1838 developed his theory of natural selection, which held that the fittest of a species were most likely to survive. Darwin's theories were revealed to the world with the 1859 publication of *On the Origin of the Species,* outlining his belief in scientific evolution. Although other nineteenth-century naturalists made similar proposals, Darwin's evolutionary theory was the first to receive widespread support from the scientific community. Darwin's ideas were considered controversial in the nineteenth century and beyond. Peter J.

Bowler, *Charles Darwin: The Man and His Influence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 17–19; *DNB,* 5:522–37.

376.14 ethnology] Proponents of ethnology, a pseudoscience popular in the mid-nineteenth century, claimed that races of people were in fact separate human species. Southern proslavery advocates used the notion of ethnology to support the belief that as a separate species, individuals of African descent were an inferior race and perfectly suited for slavery. Thomas E. Will, "The American School of Ethnology: Science and Scripture in the Proslavery Argument," *Southern Historian,* 19:14–34 (1998); *EAAH,* 1:484–85.

376.39–377.1 Why did I marry a person of my father's complexion] Douglass's marriage to Helen Pitts, a white clerk in the Recorder of Deeds office, stirred considerable controversy. The ceremony was performed by Presbyterian minister Francis J. Grimké on 24 January 1884 at his home in Washington, D.C. The interracial marriage received much coverage in the press. The Washington *Evening Star* reported that in a recent lecture Douglass had advocated "the merging of the races, but the suggestion was construed as nothing more than a glittering generality in favor of cooperation of the races by the amalgamation or miscegenation process. His bride, although young and pretty, appears to be an 'advanced thinker' on this question." The New York *Times* noted the age difference between Douglass and his new bride, commenting that he had "daughters as old as his present wife." New York *Times,* 25 January 1884; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* quoted in M. Annella, "Some Aspects of Interracial Marriage in Washington, D.C.," *Journal of Negro Education,* 25:384–85 (Autumn 1956); Francis J. Grimké, "The Second Marriage of Frederick Douglass," *JNH,* 19:324–29 (October 1934).

377.30–31 "No man liveth unto himself, or ought to live unto himself"] Douglass paraphrases Rom. 14:7.

378.12–13 Much has been…anti-slavery movement] In the years between 1880 and the turn of the twentieth century, a number of publications reflected on the antebellum antislavery struggle and detailed the lives of famous abolitionists. Some were memoirs or autobiographies, such as Douglass's own *Life and Times,* while others were written by family members or scholars interested in glorifying the cause. Among the popular titles were biographies of William Jay, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Osborn, James G. Birney, Joshua R. Giddings, and Frederick Douglass. Personal reflections on the antislavery movement appeared in works by Parker Pillsbury, Oliver Johnson, Sarah H. Southwick, and Elizabeth Buffum Chace, among others. Topical treatments of the antislavery movement appeared in volumes concerning slavery in Washington, D.C., Abraham Lincoln's role in the abolition of slavery, and specific events such as the emigrant movement in pursuit of a free Kansas. Bayard Tuckerman and John Jay, *William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery* (1893; New York, 1969); Sarah H. Southwick, *Reminiscences of Early Anti-Slavery Days* (Cambridge, Mass., 1893); Mary Tremain, *Slavery in the District of Columbia: The Policy of Congress and the Struggle for Abolition* (New York, 1892); James Freeman Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days: A Sketch of the Struggle Which Ended in the Abolition of Slavery in the United States* (New York, 1883); Charles Godfrey Leland, *Abraham Lincoln and the Abolition of Slavery in the United States* (New York, 1879); Oliver Johnson, *The Abolitionists Vindicated in a Review of Eli Thayers' Paper on the New England Emigrant Aid Company* (Worcester, Mass., 1887); idem, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; or, Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America* (Boston, 1881); George W[ashington] Julian, *The Life of Joshua R. Giddings* (Chicago, 1892); idem, *The Rank of Charles Osborn as an Anti-Slavery Pioneer* (Indianapolis, 1891); Elizabeth Buffum Chace, *Anti-Slavery Reminiscences* (Central Falls, R.I., 1891); William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times* (New York, 1890); George Lowell Austin, *The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips* (Boston, 1884); Holland, *Frederick Douglass;* Pillsbury, *Anti-Slavery Apostles.*

378.32 render honor where honor is due] Rom. 13:7.

379.4 Adams] John Quincy Adams.

379.4 Giddings] Joshua Reed Giddings.

379.4 Hale] John Parker Hale.

379.4 Chase] Salmon Portland Chase.

379.4 Wade] Benjamin Franklin Wade.

379.5 Seward] William Henry Seward.

379.5 Wilson] Henry Wilson.

379.5 Sumner] Charles Sumner.

379.20–22 the biography…Concord, Massachusetts] Frederic May Holland (1836–1908), prominent Unitarian minister from Concord, Massachusetts, authored a number of books on history and literature. Among his publications are *The Reign of Stoics* (1879), *Stories from Robert Browning* (1882), *The Rise of Intellectual Liberty from Thales to Copernicus* (1885), *Our Clergywomen* (1892), and *Liberty in the Nineteenth Century* (1899). In 1888 he began writing a biography of Douglass, which appeared in 1891 as *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator.* Funk and Wagnalls published the volume as a part of its American Reformers series edited by Carlos Martyn. To prepare this detailed examination of Douglass's life and career, Holland did considerable research and corresponded frequently with Douglass, who provided copies of his correspondence and speeches. Holland gave Douglass the opportunity to review the final manuscript before publication, and according to Holland's correspondence, Douglass looked on the book with approval. Following Douglass's death in 1895, Holland issued a revised second edition of the biography including a new conclusion on the final five years of Douglass's life. The volume provides a sympathetic look at Douglass and includes substantial quotes from original orations and personal correspondence. Frederic May Holland to Douglass, 6 August 1888, 28 July, 1 August 1889, 30 July, 8 August 1890, 20 April 1891, Douglass to Holland, 8 August 1889, General Correspondence File, reel 5, frames 496–98, 505–07, 514–16, 723–24, 745–46, reel 6, frames 78–80, FD Papers, DLC; Holland, *Frederick Douglass;* Oscar Fay Adams, *A Dictionary of American Authors* (1884; Boston, 1970), 190.

379.32–33 On the Fourth of March in that year] As marshal for the District of Columbia, Douglass not only attended Garfield's inauguration on 4 March 1881, but led the procession of the presidential party and officials into the Senate chamber where the oath of office was administered. New York *Times,* 5 March 1881.

379.33 United States Marshal of the District of Columbia] President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed Douglass U.S. marshal for the District of Columbia on 17 March 1877, and he served until 1881. Established by the Judiciary Act of 1789, the office of U.S. marshal was created to support the federal courts and to carry out the orders issued by federal judges, Congress, or the president. Federal marshals formed the first civilian police force under the jurisdiction of the three branches of government. Because marshals held broad authority, Congress limited their tenure to four-year terms, and although their tenure was renewable, marshals served at the pleasure of the president. Acting primarily in support of federal courts, marshals' duties ranged from serving subpoenas and warrants to making arrests and handling prisoners. Law enforcement responsibilities were balanced with administrative tasks. Marshals acted as the federal court bursar, paying the fees and expenses of clerks, jurors, and witnesses. More mundane responsibilities included ensuring that prisoners and witnesses appeared on time, and that the water pitchers were filled. For most of its history the post of U.S. marshal was a patronage job. No central administrative structure governed the marshals until the 1950s, and from 1789 until 1896 each marshal could hire as many deputies as he pleased. Deputy marshals were paid from fees collected for serving writs, warrants, and subpoenas. Because federal law was not yet complicated, nineteenth-century marshals such as Douglass were able to learn the requirements of the position quickly and carry out their duties efficiently. Appointment, 1877, Miscellany, reel 31, frames 315–17, FD Papers, DLC; Frederick S. Calhoun, *The Lawmen: United States Marshals and Their Deputies, 1789–1989* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 2–8.

380.34 nation of sixty millions] At the time of Garfield's inauguration the population of the United States was closer to fifty million, as the census counted 50,155,783 in 1880. The nation's population in 1890 was 62,622,250. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington, D.C., 1895), 2; idem, *Tenth Census,* 2–3.

381.27–28 Some thought that…wanting in dignity] The New York *Times* confirms that Garfield did indeed stoop to kiss both his mother and his wife before receiving congratulations after taking the oath of office as president. "New Chief Magistrate," New York *Times,* 5 March 1881.

381.34 the mad assassin Guiteau] The assassin of President James A. Garfield, Charles Julius Guiteau (1841–82), grew up in a home that embraced the perfectionist tradition of John Humphrey Noyes. As a young adult, Guiteau lived for a time at the perfectionist community at Oneida, New York, and then studied law in Chicago. After losing his only court case, he specialized in collecting bad debts and in creating his own. Guiteau returned to New York City in 1871, where he was briefly married to librarian Annie Bunn. In 1872 he campaigned for presidential candidate Horace Greeley, hoping for appointment as minister to Chile. Following Greeley's defeat, Guiteau turned to religion, working as an itinerant evangelist. In 1880 he published a speech for Republican candidate Garfield and reportedly spent time at Republican headquarters. He hoped to be appointed consul general at Paris but was unsuccessful. In May 1881, after being ejected from Blaine's office, Guiteau became convinced that removing Garfield from office was the only way to save the Republican party and the nation from another civil war. He purchased a revolver and began stalking the president, catching up with him at the Baltimore & Potomac railway station in Baltimore on 2 July 1881. He shot and mortally wounded Garfield, who died on 19 September in Elberon, New Jersey. Guiteau was arrested, tried, and convicted, despite an attempted insanity defense. He was hanged in Washington, D.C., on 30 June 1882. Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Trial of the Assassin Guiteau: Psychiatry and Law in the Gilded Age* (Chicago, 1968), 1–12; Franklin L. Ford, *Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 353–56; James W. Clarke, *American Assassins: The Darker Side of Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 198–214; Peskin, *Garfield,* 582–96; *ANB,* 9:715–16.

382.2 Arthur] Chester A. Arthur.

382.22–24 Any civil service…every patriotic citizen] Douglass describes the "spoils system" associated with the practice of awarding public appointments and jobs to supporters of the winning candidate. Although the practice stretches across the history of politics in the United States, Senator William Marcy of New York first applied the term "spoils" in 1832, when President Andrew Jackson openly rewarded loyal followers with important political posts. A call for reform in federal appointment procedures was sounded during the scandal-ridden administration of Ulysses S. Grant, but it was the assassination of James Garfield that finally brought civil service reform. Knowledge that Garfield's assassin, Charles Julius Guiteau, was partly motivated by his quest for a public appointment in Garfield's administration led to widespread support for change. Under the administration of Chester A. Arthur, Congress passed the Pendleton Act of 1883 to regulate and improve the civil service system of the United States. Although some patronage appointments continued to be made, the act established a merit system for many government posts. The Pendleton Act created the U.S. Civil Service Commission, an executive agency charged with classifying and appointing personnel to non-cabinet-level federal positions. Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Democracy,* 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1995), 4:1177–79; Jay M. Shafritz, *The Dorsey Dictionary of American Government and Politics* (Chicago, 1988), 400.

383.27 Chicago Convention] The factionally divided Republican party held its 1880 convention in Chicago beginning 2 June. One bloc, the "stalwarts" headed by New York's Roscoe Conkling, sought to nominate former president Ulysses S. Grant for a third term. Those in opposition favored a number of candidates, including the eventual nominee, Congressman James A. Garfield of Ohio. After settling disputes

over delegate credentials, the convention began a long series of ballots in search of a nominee. Garfield's name was put forth late in the process and received the party's nomination on the thirty-sixth ballot. After their struggle to nominate a candidate ended, the delegates easily approved a platform by voice vote without debate. Major issues in the platform included a call for increased federal power, continued support for a protective tariff, civil service reform, and the limiting of Chinese immigration. *Official Proceedings of the National Republican Conventions of 1868, 1872, 1876 and 1880* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1903), 454–669; *National Party Conventions, 1831–1996* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 50–51.

383.29–30 coming upon an armed murderer or a poisonous reptile] A largely inconsequential president, Chester A. Arthur did have a particular characteristic that ended his political career at its peak. A true *bon vivant,* Arthur was appalled by the White House's "modern abominations," including Victorian bureaus, dark paneling, and dreary window hangings. He made plans for a new executive mansion to be built across Lafayette Park. When these plans fell through, Arthur demanded that Congress make an appropriation for redecoration, stating that if Congress did not act he would pay for the project himself. Congress did act, albeit reluctantly, and the president began redecorating. He removed cartloads of "junk," repainted the walls, and brought in draperies and new furniture. An exemplar of Arthur's opulence was a Louis Comfort Tiffany-designed colored-glass screen across the rear of the main entrance hall. So involved was Arthur in the project that contemporaries claimed he devoted more time to interior design than to presidential duties. After the redecoration was complete on 7 December 1881, Arthur brought in a respected French chef from New York City to prepare meals. The president's wardrobe consisted of twenty-five new Prince Albert-type frock coats and several hundred pairs of pants. Arthur's kingly ways, however, tarnished his image in the American democratic public eye, and possibly ruined his chances of becoming president in his own right in 1884, when he lost the Republican nomination to James G. Blaine. Representative Joe Cannon of Illinois remarked after the Blaine nomination that "Arthur was defeated by his trousers." Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur* (New York, 1975); David M. Pletcher, *The Awkward Years: American Foreign Relations under Garfield and Arthur* (Columbia, Mo., 1962), 259–60; Doenecke, *Presidencies of Garfield and Arthur;* Howard Bailey, "Le Grand Chester," *History Teacher,* 3:50–55 (March 1970).

384.6–8 I was for…to his candidacy] Ulysses S. Grant considered running for a third term as president in 1880. Beginning in May 1877, Grant and his wife Julia embarked on a two-year tour around the world, which received extended press coverage abroad and in the United States. He hoped that his popularity with world leaders would erase the memory of his two scandal-ridden terms in the White House. Grant's name appeared on the ballot at the Republican convention held at Chicago in 1880, and in the first ballot he received 304 of the 370 votes necessary to secure the nomination. Although his wife urged him to appear before the convention to demonstrate his desire to return to the presidency, Grant refused. On a subsequent ballot, the nomination went to James A. Garfield of Ohio. Following Grant's failure to secure a nomination, Douglass spoke of his support for the former president at a celebration in Elmira, New York, proclaiming, "no grander man now walks this continent than the trained soldier and tried statesman, U. S. Grant." *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:571; McFeely, *Grant,* 478–83; idem, *Frederick Douglass,* 277.

384.16 stalwart qualities] In mentioning "stalwart qualities," Douglass alludes to those "stalwart" Republicans who opposed James G. Blaine as the Republican nominee in the 1884 presidential election. Blaine coined the term as an accolade. In 1877 he wrote to the Boston *Herald:* "the Boston Press no more represents the stalwart Republican feeling of New England on the pending issues than the same press did when it demanded the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1851." Four years later *The Nation* commented on Blaine's letter, stating: "The epithet 'Stalwart' as applied to a class of politicians was first used by Mr. Blaine in 1877 to designate those Republicans who were unwilling to give up hostility and distrust of the South as a political motive." During the 1884 election, Republicans divided into two factions: the "stalwarts" were party regulars who opposed Blaine, and the "half-breeds" were independents who supported Blaine. Ironically, it was Blaine's opposition that appropriated his term "stalwart." Blaine was an avid reader of Sir Walter Scott, who frequently used "stalwart" in his writings. The word itself is of Anglo-Saxon origin, meaning "foundation worthy." The Old English meaning is "serviceable," a fitting description of what a loyal party politician should be. The term remains in usage today as a means of identifying a staunch, supportive, unwavering party regular. Safire, *New Political Dictionary,* 750–51.

384.22–25 Under the fair-seeming…into their power] As Reconstruction came to a close in the 1870s and conservatives gained control of southern state governments, violence against African Americans escalated. The perpetrators of political and physical violence worked to repeal federal guarantees of civil and political rights, and fashioned themselves "Redeemers," implying divine sanction for restoring the authority white southerners had lost during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many southern states and localities followed the tactics of the so-called "Mississippi Plan," which began as an all-out assault on African Americans in that state in 1875. Aiming to regain control peacefully if possible, but sanctioning any necessary violence, Redeemers terrorized blacks and appealed to the population to support white supremacy. Although some southern whites initially objected to the violence of "redemption," once the movement's goals became sanctioned in law, the methods of restoring white supremacy became enshrined in the mythos of the postbellum era and was later openly celebrated on monuments and in commemorations. Nicholas Lemann, *Redemption: The Last Battle of the Civil War* (New York, 2006), 185–87; Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction,* 153–54.

384.31–32 sickly conciliation] The election of 1876 resulted in a dispute centering on twenty electoral votes from four states: Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South

Carolina. A compromise was effected to determine how the disputed electors would be counted. Democratic nominee Samuel J. Tilden needed only one to win, but Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican, needed all twenty. To retain the presidency, the Republicans agreed to several provisions. As president, Hayes would see that Congress appropriated funds for southern infrastructure and transportation, would appoint a southerner to the presidential cabinet, and the Republicans would follow a policy of noninterference in southern affairs. This last provision paved the way for southern Democrats to roll back many of the Reconstruction-era gains by Republicans in relation to civil and political rights for blacks; hence it was a "sickly conciliation" in Douglass's view. Foner, *Reconstruction,* 566–80; *EAAH,* 3:13–16.

385.3 Randolph Tucker] John Randolph Tucker (1823–97) was born in Winchester, Virginia. After studying at the University of Virginia, he opened a legal practice in his hometown. In 1857 Tucker was elected attorney general of Virginia, a position to which he was reelected twice and held until 1865. Following the end of the Civil War, Tucker practiced law in Baltimore and served as general counsel of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Tucker's skill as a legal advocate involved him in several prominent cases, including the defense of Jefferson Davis after the Civil War. He also represented Florida before the Electoral Commission during the disputed 1876 election and made an unsuccessful appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court for the Chicago anarchists accused in the Haymarket bombing on 4 May 1886. In 1874 Tucker was elected to Congress, where he gained a reputation as a staunch representative for the South. He was a strict constructionist on the issue of state's rights, and he used his oratorical skills to speak out against Reconstruction and the Electoral Commission Bill. Despite strong political differences, Tucker became close friends with Congressman James A. Garfield of Ohio. After Garfield's assassination, Tucker became guardian of his two sons. After retiring from Congress in 1887, Tucker taught at Washington and Lee University. From 1892 to 1893 he served as president of the American Bar Association. Tucker spent his last years working on his own analysis of the Constitution. Following his death, his son, Henry St. George Tucker, also a professor at Washington and Lee, finished the book. John W. Davis, "John Randolph Tucker: The Man and His Work," in *The John Randolph Tucker Lectures,* 4 vols. (Lexington, Va., 1952–1967), 1:11–36; *ANB,* 21:898; *BDUSC* (online).

385.4–5 Garfield had used the phrase "perjured traitors" as descriptive] The exchange Douglass describes took place during a speech Garfield delivered before the House of Representatives on 12 January 1876, concerning extending amnesty to former Confederates. The general tone of the speech was conciliatory, but Representative Randolph Tucker of Virginia took offense when Garfield noted that the original amnesty did not extend to those holding federal commissions in the government or military who changed sides to support the Confederacy. He argued that those individuals were guilty of "the crime of perjury in the eyes of the law." When challenged by Tucker, Garfield attempted to explain, "In view of the fact of flaming war, I do not say those men should be regarded as ordinary perjurers; I never said that. But what will the gentleman call it? By what other name does the law know it? I did not make the dictionary, nor did I make the law." After several southerners joined in Tucker's protest, claiming Garfield's words injured the honor of numerous men, he made a second attempt to smooth ruffled feathers, proclaiming, "I have not used the word in any offensive sense, but in its plain and ordinary acceptation, as used in the law." James A. Garfield, *Amnesty Speech of Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, In Reply to Hon. B. H. Hill, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, January 12, 1876,* Speech, Article, and Book File, reel 23, frame 167, FD Papers, DLC.

385.12–13 Owen Lovejoy] Owen Lovejoy (1811–64), a congressman and Congregational minister, studied briefly at Bowdoin College in the early 1830s. Influenced by Theodore Dwight Weld, Lovejoy became a staunch abolitionist in 1836. He moved to Alton, Illinois, to study for the ministry under his brother Elijah P. Lovejoy, who published an antislavery newspaper, the Alton *Observer.* When Elijah was killed at the hands of an antiabolition mob in 1837, Owen vowed to devote himself to "the cause that has been sprinkled with my brother's blood." Beginning in the 1840s Lovejoy was an active political abolitionist, supporting first the Liberty party, then the Free Soilers, and eventually the Republican party. In 1856 he won a seat in Congress. In 1860 Lovejoy campaigned for Lincoln's election to the presidency and advocated a heavy-handed prosecution of the war against the Confederacy. In December 1861 Lovejoy proposed a bill to free all slaves in the United States and called for the use of black troops. In 1862 he played a major role in the passage of the Homestead Act and the Pacific Railroad Bill, which authorized the building of the first transcontinental railroad. When Lovejoy died in 1864, Lincoln eulogized him as "the *best* friend I had in Congress." Edward Magdol, *Owen Lovejoy: Abolitionist in Congress* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1967); idem, "Owen Lovejoy's Role in the Campaign of 1858," *JISHS,* 51:403–16 (1958); Ruth Ewers Haberkorn, "Owen Lovejoy in Princeton, Illinois," *JISHS,* 36:284–315 (1943); *ANB,* 14:6–7.

385.32 No man more than he, considered a man's word his bond.] Miguel Cervantes, "An honest man's word is as good as his bond." Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote,* 2 vols. (1604–15; Ware, Eng., 1993), 2:550.

386.22–23 Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia] The recorder of deeds acts as the tax collection agent for the District of Columbia, administering the Office of Tax and Revenue. The recorder's office also functions as the official repository for all land records and general public instruments for the District. The recorder of deeds maintains records of real estate transactions, deeds, transfer tax, and fees on instruments being recorded. The office also maintains the records for public inspection. Herbert Sydney Duncombe, *Modern County Government* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 59; Paul W. Wager, ed., *County Government across the Nation* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1950), 17.

387.13 "Powers that be"] A paraphrase of Rom. 13:1.

387.14 sheet anchor] Literally, a large ship's anchor, used only in an emergency.

Figuratively, it refers to that on which one places one's reliance when everything else has failed.

387.22–23 the office has…by colored men] According to a study of African Americans in late-nineteenth-century Washington, D.C., blacks had long benefited from appointments to a number of local government posts in the District. Beginning with Douglass's appointment, the post of recorder of deeds was held continuously by blacks at least through the 1890s. Edward Ingle, "The Negro in the District of Columbia," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* 11:140–41 (March–April 1893).

387.26–30 With the almost…real estate business] Following the end of Reconstruction in 1877, Washington, D.C. experienced a boom in real estate sales and new building construction that lasted until the onset of the depression of 1893. Speculation in city properties was spurred by a building spree that saw new businesses and neighborhoods constructed around Washington. Congressional promises to maintain federal sharing of the city's expenses kept property taxes low, and residents and speculators began to build houses to sell or rent. In the 1880s a well-furnished house in the District rented for an average of $200 a month, although less affluent residents could lease a home for as little as $75 monthly. New construction of office buildings also encouraged investment in real estate. In 1887 there were some 2,450 buildings erected on land that increased in value from 8 cents a square foot in 1882 to 48 cents a square foot in 1887. Many of the new offices were occupied by real estate agencies. As recorder of deeds during this boom, Douglass stood to make a handsome living from the fees for recording and transferring property. Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington,* 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1962–63), 2:9–34; Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City: Politics, "Corruption," and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861–1902* (Baltimore, 1994), 65–66, 73.

387.32–34 the income…United States] Because the income of the recorder of deeds was directly tied to the number of transactions and recordings performed, the recorder's salary did increase significantly as the District of Columbia grew and prospered. Although figures are not available for subsequent recorders, the boost in Douglass's salary supports the trend. At the end of his first full year in the office, the personal account of the recorder amounted to $4,447. By August 1886 the earnings effectively doubled to $8,735. Even if one assumes a steady growth, it is unlikely that the recorder's salary approached the $50,000 earned by the president of the United States. Subject File, Recorder of Deeds, 1881–86, FD Papers, DLC; Leonard W. Levy and Louis Fisher, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Presidency,* 4 vols. (New York, 1994), 4:1346.

390.10 Grover Cleveland] Twenty-second and twenty-fourth president of the United States, Grover Cleveland (1837–1908) was born in Caldwell, New Jersey. As a young adult he settled in Buffalo, New York, where he practiced law. His political career began when he was elected mayor of Buffalo in 1881. In 1884 Cleveland sought the Democratic nomination for the presidency. His disdain for partisan politics

won him the support of Democratic reformers as well as that of Republican Mugwumps, who favored civil service reform. Cleveland narrowly defeated Republican James G. Blaine of Maine, receiving only 48.5 percent of the vote but carrying key states. Cleveland's first term focused on attacking the tariff and on civil service reform. Just before his inauguration, he wrote to Douglass suggesting that he consider resigning his position as recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. However, Douglass remained in the post for most of 1885. Although he did not agree with Cleveland's politics, Douglass respected the president's willingness to treat African Americans as social equals, once remarking on him that "whatever else he may be, he is not a snob; and he is not a coward." Cleveland lost his 1888 bid for reelection to Republican Benjamin Harrison. He returned to win the Democratic nomination in 1892 and solidly defeated Harrison. Retiring from the presidency in 1897, Cleveland spent his final years as a trustee of Princeton University, where he died in 1908. Douglass to F. W. Bird, 6 April 1886, Francis William Bird Papers, Harvard University, Houghton Library, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frame 112, FD Papers, DLC, reprinted in New York *Times,* 2 May 1886, also quoted in Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 356–57; H. Paul Jeffers, *An Honest President: The Life and Presidencies of Grover Cleveland* (New York, 2002); Richard E. Welch, Jr., *The Presidencies of Grover Cleveland* (Lawrence, Kans., 1988); *ANB,* 14:60–64.

390.16 Register of Wills] In most jurisdictions, the register of wills presides over the court of probate. The officeholder is responsible for collecting inheritance taxes and the tax on the commissions of estate administrators and executors. They are paid a percentage of fees collected. Emmett G. Asseff, "Delaware," in *County Government,* ed. Wager, 214; Elwyn A. Mauck, "Maryland," in ibid., 223.

390.27 He had been the candidate of civil service reformers] The 1884 Democratic platform proclaimed allegiance to civil service reform. Grover Cleveland characterized the Republican party as "a vast army of office-holders" hopelessly corrupted by power, money, and influence. This Republican army, he warned, stood as a barrier between the people and their government. Desiring more than lofty stump statements, the Civil Service Reform League urged Cleveland to make specific promises that he would retain meritorious officeholders regardless of their party affiliations. Cleveland's response was a letter in which he promised to retain such officeholders as long as they were not in positions central to the execution of administration policy and had not previously engaged in "obnoxious" partisan politics. Officeholders who attended strictly to their public duties, he assured, would not be dismissed "for party or political reasons." In contrast to Cleveland, Republican nominee James G. Blaine was an unabashed spoilsman, who alienated reform-minded Republicans. Blaine's famously scandal-ridden past made Grover Cleveland's tepid commitment to reform seem revolutionary. Mark Wahlgren Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 75–6, 204–05; Welch, *Presidencies of Grover Cleveland,* 35–36.

390.38 "To the victor belong the spoils"] During the Senate debate on 21 January

1832 over confirmation of President Van Buren's nomination for ambassador to Great Britain, New York Senator William L. Marcy declared that the politicians of the United States "see nothing wrong in the rule, that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." *Register of the Debates in Congress…of the First Session of the Twenty-second Congress,* 14 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1833), 8:1325.

391.5 They occupy neutral ground and have no political existence] The U.S. Constitution granted Congress jurisdiction over the U.S. capital city, which in turn approved limited political rights for residents of the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia was treated as a U.S. territory from the end of the Civil War until 1878, when Congress passed the Organic Act, which halted movement toward local self-government. At the same time the city's solvency was guaranteed, as the Congress pledged to underwrite the District's public debt. Under this arrangement municipal administration was overseen by presidentially appointed commissioners, while city residents had neither voting rights nor representation in Congress. Although periodic movements in the late nineteenth century called for suffrage and home rule, proponents of D.C. suffrage were defeated at least partly because of a fear of enfranchising the large numbers of African Americans who inhabited the capital city. With ratification of the Twenty-third Amendment in 1961, D.C. residents were allowed to vote for president and vice president, but continued to be represented in Congress only by a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives. Green, *Washington,* 2:vii, 4–5, 24, 185; Lessoff, *Nation and Its City,* 10–11, 101–29; Martha Derthick, "Politics in Voteless Washington," *Journal of Politics,* 25:93–106 (February 1963).

391.25–27 he went to…among the number] As president, Cleveland responded to clamors for a reduction in political appointments and for civil service reform promised by the Democratic party. Cleveland aimed to end the practice of political spoils with the 1883 Pendleton Act, the purpose of which was to reform and to ensure uniformity in federal appointments. Although Cleveland did remove some political appointees, including Douglass, he was also accused of using the civil service system to place his own political appointments under the classification system, thereby guaranteeing their retention once he was out of office. Welch, *Presidencies of Grover Cleveland,* 59–62; Ari Hoogenboom, "The Pendleton Act and the Civil Service," *AHR,* 64:301–18 (January 1959).

392.24 elect James G. Blaine] During the 1884 presidential election campaign James G. Blaine and the Republican platform maintained the party's traditional advocacy of the protective tariff. Anticipating a possible large defection of "Mugwump" Republicans offended by Blaine's taint of public corruption, the Democrats wrote a platform that attempted to blur historic points of difference between the parties, especially regarding the tariff issue. Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland defeated Blaine by 1,143 votes in New York, carrying the state and the 1884 election. W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836–1892* (Baltimore, 1955), 137; Schlesinger, *American Presidential Elections,* 2:1570–71, 1573; Johnson, *National Party Platforms,* 1:65–68, 72–74.

393.17–19 when the Republican…rapine and murder] Douglass refers to the election enforcement measure pursued by the House of Representatives in 1875. Known by proponents and detractors as "the force bill of 1875" or "Grant's bayonet bill," the legislation was designed to protect black voters from intimidation and fraud. For political reasons, southern Republicans were the measure's strongest supporters; one of the bill's effects would be to ensure Republican national victories in the presidency, House, and Senate by virtue of southern electoral votes. Drafted by the House Republican caucus, the bill proposed strict federal intervention in the South to protect voters at the polls and prevent the overthrow of state authority. It also empowered the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, and specified new and harsh penalties for voter fraud and election irregularities. The bill went before the House on 25 February 1875. Radical Republicans supported the bill, but the measure passed largely on the support of Republican moderates who foresaw the bill's death in the Senate. In the Senate, Democrats lined up in opposition, while moderate Republicans either railed against the excessive power the bill would give the president, or agreed with Speaker of the House James G. Blaine, that the bill would not rescue a South already controlled by Democrats. The defeat of the Force Bill forecasted the imminent failure of Reconstruction. Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 231; Charles W. Calhoun, *Conceiving a New Republic: The Republican Party and the Southern Question, 1869–1900* (Lawrence, Kans., 2006), 69, 75–78; Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction,* 280–299.

393.22–27 gave the powerful…the rebel States] Douglass, along with many staunch Republicans, expressed disdain for President Rutherford B. Hayes's soft-handed policies toward the southern states. Assuming the office of the presidency after a disputed election in 1876, Hayes was determined to end the sectional turmoil that had marked the presidency of his predecessor, Ulysses S. Grant. Envisioning a post-Reconstruction South in which Republicans could hold their own, Hayes planned to build a Republican party in the southern states that would not depend on black votes as the sole source of its strength, but would also garner the respect of conservative southern whites. He appointed David M. Key, a Tennessee Democrat and former Confederate general, to be postmaster general. Hayes then curtailed African American and carpetbagger leadership in the Republican party, recalled all federal troops from their remaining garrisons in the South, and restored "home rule" to southern whites. Hayes embarked on two successful tours through the South in 1877, but his proposed program of national aid for southern internal improvements failed to attract a southern Democratic exodus to the Republican party. Even Hayes's new appointment policy, which filled southern political posts with Democrats, failed to amass Republican strength in the South. Hayes's conciliatory southern policies, though well intentioned, only served to anger staunch Republicans like Frederick Douglass. Vincent P. DeSantis, "President Hayes's Southern Policy," *JSH,* 21:476–94 (November 1955); Frank P. Vazzano, "Rutherford B. Hayes and the Politics of Discord," *The Historian,* 68:519–40 (Fall 2006).

393.29–30 withering blast of the sirocco upon all vegetation] Douglass employs a meteorological analogy to emphasize the detrimental effects President Rutherford B. Hayes's southern policies had on the spirit of the Republican party. He compares Hayes's policies to the sirocco, a warm wind of the Mediterranean area that usually sweeps northward from the hot and dry Sahara or Arabian deserts. The sirocco generally hits Mediterranean shores in the spring when atmospheric low-pressure areas move over the Mediterranean. Douglass believed that Hayes's policy of appeasement toward the southern states forcefully withered away the Republican spirit that abolished slavery and restored the Union, much in the same way that the sirocco withers away vegetation. Oliver, *Encyclopedia of World Climatology,* 467, 473.

393.36 Grant] Ulysses S. Grant.

393.37 Sumner] Charles Sumner.

393.37 Conkling] Roscoe Conkling.

394.6 "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion"] During the 1880 presidential campaign, a Republican circular issued in Maine attacked the urban and Irish immigrant base of the Democratic party by publicizing the notion that the party was controlled by the spirit of "rule or ruin," which meant it was controlled by "Rum and Romanism, Rebellion and Despotism!" While many Republicans favored temperance or prohibition, the urban constituency of the Democratic party did include rum sellers and Irish immigrants known to patronize saloons. The slogan was resurrected and became a centerpiece of the 1884 Republican presidential campaign. A week before the election, the Reverend Samuel D. Burchard addressed a gathering of the Religious Bureau of the Republican National Committee, associating the Democratic party with rum, Romanism, and rebellion. Burchard proclaimed the Democrats to be on the wrong side of the most important issues of the day: temperance reform, anti-Catholicism, and the Civil War. Unfortunately for Republican presidential nominee James G. Blaine, public backlash against Burchard's statement may have tipped the election's narrow margin in favor of Democrat Grover Cleveland. Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion,* 80, 279–85.

395.11–13 the decision...unconstitutional] On 15 October 1883 the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. This law, generally regarded as one of the most radical to emerge from the Reconstruction era, stated that all persons, regardless of race or color, were entitled to full and equal access to public accommodations and facilities, particularly places of lodging, amusement, and transportation. By an eight-to-one vote, the Supreme Court struck down the law, which had been intended to ensure the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment. The majority opinion, written by Justice Joseph P. Bradley, declared the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional because it compromised the power of state governments in a manner the Constitution did not authorize. Bradley maintained that the Fourteenth Amendment had not given Congress the right to compel states to regulate against private acts of racial discrimination but only to pass legislation correcting state actions that denied civil rights. Moreover, Bradley maintained, the Thirteenth Amendment granted Congress the power to enact laws necessary to destroy slavery and its "badge." Unequal access to public facilities, he concluded, neither perpetuated the institution of slavery nor symbolized it and therefore was a matter for state not federal jurisdiction. 109 U.S. 3 (1883), 8–26; Lois B. Moreland, *White Racism and the Law* (Columbus, Ohio, 1970), 64–78; Loren P. Beth, *The Development of the American Constitution, 1877–1917* (New York, 1971), 192–96; Herman Belz, *Emancipation and Equal Rights: Politics and Constitutionalism in the Civil War Era* (New York, 1978), 134–36.

395.22–23 "shake hands over the bloody chasm;"] The quotation originates with Horace Greeley's public letter accepting the Liberal Republican party's nomination for president in May 1872. The concluding sentence of this letter noted: "People, I accept your nomination, in the confident trust that the masses of our countrymen, North and South, are eager to clasp hands across the bloody chasm which has too long divided them, forgetting that they have been enemies in the joyful consciousness that they are and must henceforth remain brethren." *Proceedings of the Liberal Republican Convention, Held in Cincinnati, May 1st, 2d and 3d, 1872* (New York, 1872), 40.

396.17–18 a meeting was…in the city] The 15 October 1883 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 null and void sparked loud protest from African Americans. One of the largest of the meetings to denounce the decision took place on 22 October in Washington, D.C., at Lincoln Hall. More than 2,000 people, white as well as black, crowded into the hall while an equal number was turned away. James M. Gregory of Howard University presided, and the Reverend Francis J. Grimké opened the meeting with a prayer. After Gregory stated the object of the meeting, Douglass's son Lewis read eight resolutions, unanimously adopted by the meeting, calling for state civil rights laws, equal treatment of black citizens, and enforcement of civil rights laws by the Republican and Democratic parties. Gregory then introduced Douglass, whom the crowd "lustily applauded," according to the Washington *Evening Star.* The popular lecturer Robert Green Ingersoll followed Douglass with the longest address of the evening. When Ingersoll finished, Douglass led three cheers for his speech, which had been frequently interrupted by applause. Brief remarks by former congressman Samuel Shellabarger and the Reverend Jeremiah E. Rankin concluded the meeting. Henry Johnson to Douglass, 23 October 1883, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frame 793, FD Papers, DLC; Cleveland *Gazette,* 20, 27 October, 10 November 1883; Washington (D.C.) *Post,* 21, 24 October 1883; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 23 October 1883; Washington (D.C.) *People's Advocate,* 27 October 1883.

396.24 Robert G. Ingersoll] Robert G. Ingersoll shared the platform with Douglass and addressed the crowd concerning the voiding of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. His speech began with an overview of the Supreme Court decision and the specific provisions of the 1875 act found unconstitutional. Ingersoll reminded the audience that the justices of the court were merely men and that the citizens of the United States had the right to question their rulings. He expanded on the lack of racial

equality and gave numerous examples to support the need for civil rights legislation. In the conclusion of the address, Ingersoll noted that "he saw no reason why the white man should hate the black man, but if the tables were turned, we would have cause to do so." Henry McNeal Turner, *The Barbarous Decision of the United States Supreme Court Declaring the Civil Rights Act Unconstitutional and Disrobing the Colored Race of All Civil Protection* (Atlanta, 1893), 48–53.

396.30 "I have…this evening] Douglass gave this address on 22 October 1883 at Lincoln Hall in Washington, D.C. The speech was reprinted in several contemporary sources. *Proceedings of the Civil Rights Mass-Meeting Held at Lincoln Hall, October 22, 1883* (Washington, D.C., 1883), 4–14; Washington (D.C.) *National Republican,* 22 October 1883; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:110–23.

396.33 Judge Harlan] John Marshall Harlan (1833–1911) was born in Boyle County, Kentucky, and educated at Centre College at Danville and the Transylvania University at Lexington. Though a slaveholder, Harlan joined the Union army at the start of the Civil War. A lawyer since 1853, he served as Kentucky's attorney general from 1863 to 1867. Harlan unsuccessfully sought the Kentucky governorship on the Republican ticket in 1871 and 1875 but regained political influence by campaigning strenuously for Rutherford B. Hayes's election as president. Hayes rewarded that support by appointing Harlan an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1877. Known as "the great dissenter," Harlan wrote 316 dissenting opinions out of a total of 703 opinions during his thirty-three-year career on the highest court. In opposing the majority decision on the Civil Rights Act of 1875, Harlan claimed that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments intended to protect the civil rights of former slaves from racial discrimination. Congress therefore had a right, Harlan concluded, to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, "by appropriate legislation, which may be of direct and primary character," as was the Civil Rights Act of 1875. According to Harlan, this civil rights legislation was within constitutional bounds when it allowed Congress to regulate the actions of states as well as individuals and corporations that exercised public functions in order to ensure equal access of members of various races to public accommodations and facilities. 109 U.S. 3 (1883), 26–62; Floyd Barzilia Clark, *The Constitutional Doctrines of Justice Harlan* (Baltimore, 1915); Beth, *American Constitution,* 195–96; Moreland, *White Racism,* 64–78; Louis Filler, "John M. Harlan," in *The Justices of the United States Supreme Court, 1789–1969: Their Lives and Major Opinions,* ed. Leon Friedman and Fred L. Israel, 5 vols. (New York, 1969–78), 2:1281–95; *DAB,* 34:296–72.

397.4–8 'When a deed…east to west.'] Douglass quotes the first lines of "The Present Crisis" (1844), by James Russell Lowell. James Russell Lowell, *The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell,* 5 vols. (1876; Boston, 1904), 1:185.

398.21–25 'No state,' says…of the laws.'] Douglass makes only a few minor errors in quoting the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

398.35–36 passed under…United States] When the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was passed on 1 March, George Henry Williams was the United States attorney general.

The duties of attorney general, according to the Judiciary Act of 1789, which created the cabinet-level post, include giving advice and opinions "upon questions of law when required by the President of the United States, or when requested by the heads of any of the departments." Although the attorney general would have had no specific role in crafting or revising the legislation, the controversial nature of the Civil Rights Act would almost certainly have been of interest to President Grant and probably would have been reviewed by the nation's chief lawyer. Judiciary Act of 1789, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 1 (1789): 73–93.

399.13 President Johnson] Andrew Johnson.

399.25 We neither come to bury Caesar, nor to praise him] Douglass twists the lines from Marc Antony's speech in William Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar,* in which Antony declares, "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." *Julius Caesar,* sc. 9, line 1461.

399.34 His Holiness the Pope is to the Roman Catholic Church] The dogmatic constitution of the Roman Catholic Church, *Pastor Aeternus,* ratified on 18 July 1870 by the first Vatican Council, affirmed that the pope was infallible, that is, immune from error through divine assistance. More specifically, this constitution maintained that when the bishop of Rome, as spiritual head of the Universal Church, came to a decision regarding questions of faith and morals with intent to define a doctrine applicable to all Christians, such decrees were divinely guaranteed as inerrant. Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *The New Schaff-Herzog Encylopedia of Religious Knowledge,* 12 vols. (New York, 1908–12), 5:489–90; Vergilius Ferm, ed., *An Encyclopedia of Religion* (1945; New York, 1981), 369, 598.

400.15–17 Its National Power…has no people] Douglass alludes to Justice Joseph Bradley's interpretation of the U.S. Constitution regarding the right of state governments to provide their own legislative protection for their citizens' civil rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, Bradley concluded, because it compromised this right in favor of federal intervention. The Constitution, Bradley asserted, "does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights." Douglass, therefore, broadly interprets Bradley's statement to suggest that federal intervention for civil rights is allowable only in those areas of the country not yet designated as states. 109 U.S. 3 (1883), 8–26; Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York, 2004), 10–11; John R. Schmidhauser, *The Supreme Court as Final Arbiter in Federal-State Relations, 1789–1957* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1958), 98–100; Moreland, *White Racism,* 64–68; Donna A. Barnes and Catharine Connolly, "Repression, the Judicial System, and Political Opportunities for Civil Rights Advocacy during Reconstruction," *Sociological Quarterly,* 40:327–45 (Spring 1999).

400.23 Chief Justice] Morrison Remick Waite (1816–88) served as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1874 to his death. Born in Lyme, Connecticut, Waite graduated from Yale College in 1837, studied law at the office of Samuel M. Young

in Maumee City, Ohio, and passed the bar in 1839. The following year, Waite married his second cousin, Amelia Champlin Warner, of Lyme, and became Young's law partner. He played an active role in first the Whig and then the Republican parties in Ohio, but his only successes in reaching public office were one-year terms in the state legislature (1849) and on the Toledo town council (1851). His display of legal skills as an American counsel in the Alabama claims arbitration between the United States and Great Britain (1871) and as president of the Ohio constitutional convention (1873) prompted Grant to select Waite as chief justice. During the fourteen years Waite held his position, he delivered the court's decision on more than 1,000 cases. In cases dealing with Reconstruction-era legislation, Waite took an active, and consistently conservative, role in formulating decisions that curtailed the authority of the federal government to protect the civil rights of the freedmen. C. Peter Magrath, *Morrison R. Waite: The Triumph of Character* (New York, 1963); Schmidhauser, *Supreme Court as Final Arbiter,* 97–114; Moreland, *White Racism,* 44–49; Louis Filler, "Morrison R. Waite," in *Justices of the United States Supreme Court,* ed. Friedman and Israel, 2:1243–57; *DAB,* 10:322–25.

401.2–3 'No man can…his own neck.'] The words were a portion of the address that Douglass delivered on 22 October 1883, condemning the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 null and void. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:117.

401.5–6 that a wrong…to all men] Douglass uttered these words during an address delivered in Washington, D.C. on 22 October 1883. His speech condemned the actions of the U.S. Supreme Court in declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 null and void. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:117.

401.31–32 power and friendship of seven millions of people] In 1880 the African American population of the United States stood at 6,580,793; by 1890 it had risen to 7,470,040. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census,* 3; ibid., *Eleventh Census,* 397.

401.39–402.4 The negro…responded gallantly] During the American Revolution, black Americans fought for both sides. The British made dubious promises of deliverance from slavery in exchange for the services of blacks, promises that were quickly abandoned when the British began to sell their black recruits into slavery to raise wartime funds. Even though fighting for the Americans was little better, since it rarely guaranteed manumission, some 5,000 black Americans fought with Patriot forces. The Revolutionary War created a climate of social insubordination and chaos that blacks used to their advantage in attempts to gain freedom. African Americans also fought on both sides in the War of 1812. Many served with honor as sailors, as the Navy was one of the few institutions that offered rough equality with whites. Service in land forces was generally restricted to white men, but in Louisiana, a state with a large free black population, African American soldiers participated in the victory over the British at the Battle of New Orleans. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), 68–93; Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, 2006), 21–37; Gail Buckley, *American Patriots: The Story of Blacks in the Military from the Revolution to Desert Storm* (New York, 2001), xiii–xiv, xvi, 416, 450; *EAAH,* 1:60–66, 287–92, 3:315–17.

402.38–403.3 When we said…intention must govern] Douglass alludes to the preamble of the U.S. Constitution and the decision of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the Dred Scott case. *Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford,* 19 Howard 393 (1857), 407–10.

403.4–15 When we came…may be due,'] Douglass describes Article I, Section 9, of the U.S. Constitution. This article prohibited the banning of the slave trade by Congress prior to 1808.

403.26 the law of Ninety-three] The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.

403.33 demanded its pound of flesh] A paraphrase of the *Merchant of Venice,* sc. 18, line 1907.

405.4–5 a banner on the outer wall of American liberty] Adapts *Macbeth,* sc. 25, line 1982.

405.6–7 There are tongues…the running brooks] Misquotes *As You Like It,* sc. 4, lines 597–98.

405.7 This law, though dead, did speak] A paraphrase of Heb. 11:4.

405.29–30 stigmatize the 'Civil Rights Bill' as a 'Social Rights Bill.'] Douglass expressed dismay over the opposition argument that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was a social rights bill that would somehow require blacks "to enter into social relations with whites." *Harper's Weekly* reported that in opposition to the bill, southern Democrats revived the old question, "Do you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" When the Civil Rights Act became law in 1875, *Harper's* even ran an editorial in which a southern planter lamented, "Now my daughter will have to marry a Negro." Douglass fiercely countered this racist attitude by explaining that social equality and civic equality were two different things and that just because an African American would have the right to sit in a restaurant with a white man, the Civil Rights Act did not give said black the right to enter into social relations with anybody. Despite Douglass's protests, the "Social Rights argument" fanned the flames of popular prejudice and played a decisive role in the eventual failure of the bill. Kirt H. Wilson, *The Reconstruction Desegregation Debate: The Politics of Equality and the Rhetoric of Place, 1870–1875* (East Lansing, Mich., 2002); L. E. Murphy, "The Civil Rights Law of 1875," *JNH,* 12:110–27 (April 1927).

405.37–39 respectable papers…Social Rights Bill] The Chicago *Tribune,* the New York *Times,* and other newspapers editorialized favorably upon the Supreme Court's decision declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. Douglass's prompt criticism of the decision drew censure from the editors of these newspapers. Washington (D.C.) *Post,* 16 October 1883; New York *Times,* 16, 18 October 1883; Chicago *Tribune,* 19, 20 October 1883.

406.10 House of Lords] The House of Lords, the upper chamber of the British Parliament, was originally part of the king's council of the Norman and Plantagenet

monarchs. During the reign of Edward III the Lords became separated from the Commons. Since that separation the House of Lords has been in continuous existence except for a gap between the end of the English Civil War in 1649, when it was abolished by a unanimous vote of the Commons, and 1660, when it resumed at the Restoration of Charles II. Juliet Gardiner and Neil Wenborn, eds., *The Columbia Companion to British History* (New York, 1997), 482–83.

406.10 British Museum] The British Museum and Library was founded in 1753 to house the Cotton, Harley, and Sloane collections of historic books, manuscripts, and curiosities acquired by the British Commonwealth. The museum was funded by public lottery and established in Montagu House, Bloomsbury. It was intended to cover all world cultures and became a highly regarded center for both scholarship and tourism. Some of the impressive artifacts housed at the museum include the Rosetta Stone, George III's library, and the Elgin marbles. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, eds., *The London Encyclopedia* (Bethesda, Md., 1983), 89–91.

406.10 Coliseum] Known as the Coliseum, or Flavian Amphitheater, Douglass refers to the ancient Roman imperial amphitheater used for gladiatorial and hunting games. The Coliseum represented the finest elements in Roman architecture and engineering. Construction began under the Flavian emperor Vespasian and was dedicated in 80 CE. While the Coliseum displayed the brilliance of Roman building, it also symbolized the worst, most depraved elements of Roman taste and character. Prisoners and enemies of the state engaged in brutal gladiatorial battles in the arena, much to the delight of thousands of onlookers from all levels of Roman society. The structure fell into disrepair in the late medieval and early modern era, but was consecrated as a holy site by Pope Benedict XIV (1740–58) to honor the numerous Christian martyrs slain there. Douglass visited the Coliseum in Rome in January 1887 during his European honeymoon with Helen Pitts Douglass. Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome* (Leipzig, 1909), 303–07; Foner, *Frederick Douglass,* 345; Mark G. Emerson, "Scholarly Edition of the Grand Tour Diaries of Frederick Douglass and Helen Pitts Douglass" (M.A. thesis, Indiana University, 2003), 610n; Nancy Thomson de Grummond, ed., *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology,* 2 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1996), 1:308–14.

406.11 National Gallery] By the end of the eighteenth century most of the principal national galleries in Europe had opened. During this period British planners proposed building a National Gallery in London to rival the best Europe had to offer. In the early 1820s Sir George Beaumont and the Reverend W. Holwell Carr donated their collections to the gallery. The Treasury purchased an additional thirty-eight paintings from the estate of city broker John Julius Angerstein. This national collection was first housed in the Angerstein house in Pall Mall. When the collection outgrew its first home it was moved to a new building in Trafalgar Square in 1838, which also housed the Royal Academy. Thanks to Treasury grants, personal gifts, loans, and bequests, the British National Gallery grew into one of the most impressive and respected galleries in the world. Gardiner and Wenborn, *Columbia Companion to British History,* 536.

406.25–26 Sermon on the Mount] Matt. 5–7.

406.27–28 the teaching…the earth] A paraphrase of Acts 17:26.

407.23 a Samson shorn of its locks] Douglass refers to the biblical hero Samson, who lost his strength when his wife, Delilah, shaved the seven locks from his head, leaving him vulnerable to attack by his enemies, the Philistines. Judg. 16:17–20; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:950–54.

407.25 Grant] Ulysses S. Grant.

407.25 Conkling] Roscoe Conkling.

407.26 General Butler] Benjamin Butler.

407.28–29 He made…its beginning] On the evening of 18 November 1884, local friends and supporters of James G. Blaine came to his home in Augusta, Maine, to offer consolation for his defeat in the presidential election. Blaine thanked his visitors and delivered a short address that attracted national publicity. Blaine congratulated Grover Cleveland on his victory but warned that the transfer of the White House to the Democrats was "a great national misfortune" because of southerners' control over that party. Blaine claimed that the southern Democrats had unjustly intimidated over a million black voters away from the polls and thereby carried enough states to steal the close election. These practices amounted to "the rule of a minority," in Blaine's estimation, which gave the southern white voter disproportionate political power. New York *Times,* 19 November 1884; Edward P. Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington, Del., 2000); Muzzey, *James G. Blaine,* 325.

407.33 Sumner] Charles Sumner.

407.33 Wade] Benjamin Wade.

407.33 Morton] Oliver P. Morton.

407.33 Stevens] Thaddeus Stevens.

407.33 Logan] John Alexander Logan (1826–86) began a legal and political career soon after returning to Illinois from service in the Mexican-American War. He served as a state representative (1852–53, 1856–57) and as prosecuting attorney for the state's third judiciary district (1853–57). An enthusiastic supporter of Stephen A. Douglas's faction of the Democratic party, Logan won election to a congressional seat in 1858. Though reelected in 1860, he resigned from Congress the following August to join the Union army. After the war, Illinois Republicans elected him to Congress in 1866, 1868, and 1870. In 1871 the state legislature appointed him to the U.S. Senate, a post he lost in 1877 but regained in 1879 and held until his death. During his years in Congress, Logan especially concerned himself with veteran affairs and had come to support civil service reform by 1885. He was James G. Blaine's vice-presidential candidate in the Republican party's unsuccessful 1884 campaign. James Pickett Jones, *John A. Logan: Stalwart Republican from Illinois* (Tallahassee, 1982); *ACAB,* 4:4–5; *NCAB,* 27:280–81; *DAB,* 11:363–65.

407.34–35 "waving the bloody shirt"] The tactic of "waving the bloody shirt" was used by some Republicans and other opponents to imply that members of the Democratic party were responsible for the bloodshed of the Civil War and the assas-

sination of Abraham Lincoln. Republican politicians often cast Democrats and southerners as synonymous, exploiting the graphic image of the "bloody shirt" to garner support for their own candidates. Foner, *Reconstruction,* 487, 487–88n, 509, 569; Reinhard H. Luthin, "Waving the Bloody Shirt: Northern Political Tactics in Post-Civil War Times," *Georgia Review,* 14:64–71 (Spring 1960).

408.1 old issues of tariff and free-trade] Tariffs, the duties collected on imported goods, were one of the most politically divisive issues in the United States during the nineteenth century. Burgeoning industry, particularly in the North, generated interest in protective tariffs, as they essentially offset the investment required to start up new manufacturing. However, the goods affected and the rates levied were inconsistent, and southern states, such as South Carolina, saw consumer prices on foreign goods increase and foreign demand for their agricultural exports decrease. Tariffs therefore became one of the primary conflicts of political interest between the North and the South. This difference naturally manifested in antebellum political parties, beginning most clearly with the Nullification Crisis of 1832. During the Civil War, tariffs reached an all-time high, and the nation became dependent upon them as a primary source of revenue. The "war tariff," in fact, remained largely untouched by legislation until 1887. In 1884, Republicans, the party then in favor of tariffs, placed the tariff question at the head of their national platform. This issue, however, did little to redeem the scandal-tarnished public image of presidential candidate James G. Blaine. F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States,* 8th rev. ed. (New York, 1964), 68, 84–92, 155–56, 253.

408.15–19 Even colored voters…the Democratic Party] Beginning with the New Departure movement following the election of 1868, some Democrats moved to court the support of northern African Americans. By signaling acceptance of the Reconstruction constitutional amendments and support for moderate racial policies, they hoped to break the strong commitment of northern blacks to the Republican party. The strategy was employed at both state and local levels—for example, in 1870, Democrats in the New York legislature tried to claim credit for black suffrage by passing a bill that ended the state's property restriction on black voters. While many African Americans, including Douglass, realized that the Democrats' support for racial issues was meant to mask the encroachment of violence and loss of civil rights among southern blacks, others switched parties. Democratic recruitment among northern black leaders increased in the 1880s, and in 1888 prominent blacks T. Thomas Fortune, T. McCants Stewart, and George T. Downing actively campaigned for the reelection of Grover Cleveland. Lawrence Grossman, *The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868–92* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 21–22, 37–40; Emma Lou Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (Chicago, 1972), 93–94.

409.1 especially to revisit England, Ireland and Scotland] In August 1845 Fredrick Douglass boarded the Cunard liner *Cambria* to embark on his first trip to the British Isles. He was at that time the most celebrated black American to cross the

Atlantic. Douglass's first visit to the British Isles served a dual purpose: to remove him from his own country at a time when revelations made in his autobiography had threatened him with re-enslavement and to demonstrate his commanding presence and powerful rhetoric to the British people. Douglass used the liberal atmosphere of the British Isles to his great advantage. After arriving in Liverpool he traveled to Ireland, where he spent three months delivering lectures to mesmerized audiences in Cork, Dublin, and Belfast. After touring Ireland, Douglass spent 1846 and early 1847 sweeping through Scotland and England, speaking to large crowds and establishing himself as the most sought-after American reformer. Douglass's first trip to the British Isles was a resounding success. His long-awaited third trip to Britain forty years later in 1886 was at times bittersweet. Many of the friends he had made during his first visit and the group of "England's great men," whom Douglass had observed in the House of Commons, had died. Rice and Crawford, *Liberating Sojourn,* 1–5; *EAAH,* 1:411.

409.18 Sir James Graham] The second baronet Sir James Graham (1792–1861) was educated at Oxford University and inherited a large estate in Cumberland. He was first elected to Parliament in 1820 and soon became a leading Whig. While a defender of individual property rights, Graham also supported Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform. In 1830 Graham was appointed first lord of the Admiralty in Earl Grey's cabinet. In that position he championed naval administrative reform. Graham resigned from the Admiralty in 1834 over proposals for reforming the established Church of Ireland. He later served as home secretary in Sir Robert Peel's 1841–46 ministry. During this latter tenure he supported Corn Law repeal and was responsible for public order during the Chartist riots. Graham returned to the Admiralty in Lord Aberdeen's coalition ministry of 1853–55. Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 428; Gardiner and Wenborn, *Columbia Companion to British History,* 349.

409.19 Gladstone] William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), British prime minister (1868–74, 1880–85, 1886, 1892–94), was the personification of Victorian liberalism. The fourth son of a Liverpool merchant, he was educated at Oxford University. Intensely religious in his early years, Gladstone was elected to Parliament as a Conservative in 1832. In 1859 Gladstone quit the Conservative party and joined Lord Palmerston's Liberal ministry. As chancellor of the Exchequer, a position he held in four different terms, Gladstone set out to complete the Free Trade program and to reduce taxes and public expenditures. Gladstone placed as much emphasis on the moral basis of politics as he did on the material basis. His drive for the abolition of church rates endeared him to the Nonconformists and helped transform the Liberal party into a powerful political force. Gladstone's first term as prime minister (1868–74) featured significant reforms of the army, civil service, local government, and law courts. In foreign affairs, Gladstone was committed to the notion of the "Law of Nations," an overriding imperative for world peace and mutual understanding. In an age of resurgent British imperialism, however, Gladstone's pacifist outlook toward foreign affairs rendered him a target for critics who demanded a more aggressive

foreign stance. Gladstone retired from politics after Benjamin Disraeli's Conservative government came to power in 1874, but in 1879 he returned to the political stump to protest Disraeli's foreign policy. Gladstone's later ministries of 1880–85, 1886, and 1892–94 were less productive than his first one. The Liberal party, distracted by the Irish problem, became less responsive to the changing interests of the working classes, more interested in economic and social improvements than on constitutional and religious questions. Gladstone's great oratorical skill, organizational flair, and capacity to meet new challenges with fresh ideas made him one of the most enduring political figures in British history. Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 415–417; Gardiner and Wenborn, *Columbia Companion to British History,* 340–341; *DNB,* Supplement, 22:705–54.

409.28 Tory party] The Tories were one of the two main British political parties between the later seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. The name "Tory" comes from the Irish word *Toraidhe,* meaning bandit, cattle thief, bog-trotter, or outlaw. The Tories originally supported the notion of God-ordained kingly authority, or "divine right." They held a deep attachment to the Anglican Church, and believed the crown and church to be the chief guarantors of the British political, religious, and social order. Though the Tories' existence as a parliamentary party evolved over time in response to issues and personalities, the party's values, emphasizing the church and the sanctity of governmental authority, remained a constant in British politics. These values played a prominent role in the debates on America and in the "conservative reaction" toward the end of the eighteenth century. During the French Revolution the Whig opposition derided the ministry of William Pitt the younger as "Tory." The term "Tory" is still used in modern British politics to refer, often pejoratively, to the Conservative party. Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 923; Gardiner and Wenborn, *Columbia Companion to British History,* 747–48.

410.1–2 Lord George Bentinck] Lord (William) George Frederic Cavendish-Scott Bentinck (1802–48) was a prominent British politician and sportsman. Bentinck did not attend school or university, but instead acquired a patched-together education while roaming about Nottinghamshire. Bentinck began his career in politics as personal secretary to his uncle George Canning. In 1828 he succeeded his uncle Lord William Bentinck as member of Parliament for King's Lynn, a borough in which his family exacted much influence. A moderate Tory follower of George Canning, Bentinck refused to support Lord Wellington's ministry, voted in favor of Catholic Emancipation, and supported the Reform Bill of 1832. A close friendship with Edward Stanley led Bentinck into the Derby Dilly, a group of moderate Whigs who seceded from the reformers in 1834, and were later absorbed into the Conservative opposition. He supported Robert Peel and the Conservatives but refused to take office, showing more interest in hunting than in politics. He carried on extensive horse breeding, training, and racing operations, and he displayed a weakness for gambling on races. Bentinck made substantial contributions to the sport, including devising a new code of racing rules in 1844. Bentinck dipped back into politics in 1845–46 as an opponent of Peel's policy of Corn Law repeal. Bentinck's personal connections and social standing assured him the leadership of the protectionist revolt in the Commons. He failed to prevent the repeal, but he did succeed in bringing down Peel's government. Bentinck spent the remainder of his days in politics as a champion of protectionism. Though conservative in most areas, he was liberal on religious matters, and he alienated his party by voting for the admission of Jews to Parliament in 1847. This stance resulted in his resignation from party leadership. Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 96; *DNB,* 2:297–302.

410.2 philippics] Douglass adopts the term "philippics" to refer to speeches given in 1845 by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli in opposition to the Corn Law policies of Sir Robert Peel and the Tories. The term itself derives from Demosthenes, deemed the greatest of the Athenian orators. As a politician Demosthenes became prominent by consistently urging resistance to the encroachment of Philip II, king of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great. Demosthenes attacked Philip in a series of four political orations, known as his *Philippics.* They consisted of long, periodic sentences that were often followed by short, pithy statements. In more modern political terminology, as shown by Douglass's usage, "philippics" can serve as a general term delineating any type of oppositional speech given by one person or political body against a rival individual or group. M. C. Howatson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature,* 2d ed. (New York, 1989), 179–83, 432.

410.9 whig] The Whigs were one of the two main political parties in Britain between the later seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. The term "Whig" derived from the extended form "Whiggamore," a derogatory name for the Scottish Presbyterian Covenanters. The political label "Whig" originally came into use in the late 1670s, when the Tories used it to identify those opposed to the succession of James II. The Whigs saw Parliament as the crucial constraint on royal prerogative. The party's primary goal was to gain power in Parliament, which they believed would safeguard the national interest and place a check on royal power. A party of aristocratic lineage, the Whigs championed reform in part so that the lower classes would maintain their deference. By the 1820s the Whigs focused on taxation, Catholic Emancipation, and parliamentary reform. In 1829 they succeeded in removing the political restrictions on Catholics. In March 1831 the prominent Whig Lord John Russell introduced a wide-ranging parliamentary reform bill. The bill became law in July 1832 and heralded a new series of Whig reforms, including the abolition of slavery, and a Factory Act that alleviated harsh working conditions and child labor. Despite a series of successful reforms, the late 1830s saw the Whig party steadily unravel through factionalism. This process culminated in the 1859 alliance between Whigs, radicals, and former Peelites under the leadership of former foreign secretary Lord Henry John Temple Palmerston, a union that marked the foundation of the modern Liberal party. Gardiner and Wenborn, *Columbia Companion to British History,* 804–05; Mitchell, *Victorian Britain,* 856–58.

410.30 Liberal] Before 1868 the Liberal party in Britain existed as an uneasy

coalition between Whigs, the moderate liberals who dominated, and middle-class reformers. The Whigs were led by some of Britain's richest aristocratic magnates, who blocked much reform legislation. The balance of power shifted after the Reform Act of 1867 broadened suffrage. The Gladstone government of 1868–74 was one of the great reforming administrations in British history. With the passing of Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill of 1886, however, the Liberal party divided, and Whigs defected en masse to the Conservatives. The division of the party was characterized less by the Whig defection than it was by a change in the character of liberalism itself. Most Liberals in this period opposed armaments, belligerence in foreign affairs, and imperial expansion, and the reforms they enacted were political, not social. They sought to curtail the powers of the House of Lords, called for the disestablishment of the Church of England, and demanded that government not intervene in economic and social affairs. After 1868, in an attempt to cater to the demands of the new partly enfranchised working class, the Liberal agenda shifted to social issues such as industrial reform. The 1890s brought further division when the party split heavily over British foreign affairs. The more radical "Little Englanders" were hostile toward the growth of a foreign empire. The conservative "Unionists," in contrast, supported imperialism and a strong national defense. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 227–92; Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 573–75.

410.35 Balfour] Arthur James Balfour (1848–1930), first earl of Balfour, prime minister, and philosopher, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. From 1874 to 1885 he represented Hertford in Parliament, then East Manchester until 1906. Balfour made his reputation as chief secretary for Ireland (1887–91). There he ruthlessly suppressed rural violence, earning himself the epithet "Bloody Balfour." Beginning in 1891, following his post in connection with Ireland, Balfour was groomed for the office of prime minister by his uncle, the exiting Prime Minister Robert Gascoyne-Cecil Salisbury. He succeeded his uncle as prime minister but also inherited Salisbury's accumulated problems, including the inflated cost of the South African War. Balfour's government passed key legislation, including the 1902 Education Act, and the Anglo-French Entente of 1904. These successes notwithstanding, after 1906 the Conservative party became predominantly protectionist, and Balfour exercised little effective leadership. By 1911 a "Balfour Must Go" campaign had been mounted, and Balfour resigned. Balfour was thirty-eight years old when Douglass witnessed him debate William Gladstone in 1886. Max Egremont, *Balfour: A Life of James Arthur Balfour* (London, 1980); Sydney Henry Zebel, *Balfour: A Political Biography* (Cambridge, Eng., 1973); Catherine B. Shannon, *Arthur J. Balfour and Ireland, 1874–1922* (Washington, D.C., 1988); *DNB,* 41–57.

410.39 Irish Force Bill] Douglass refers to the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act passed in July 1887. Also known as the Crimes Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act, it was rooted in the Irish Plan of Campaign, which began in October 1886. This plan gave Irish tenants clear directions and legal advice as to how they

could force rent reductions from their landlords. To fight the Irish unrest, Arthur James Balfour was made the new chief secretary for Ireland. The Criminal Law and Procedure Act strengthened his power, by permitting the private questioning under oath by a resident magistrate of any individual suspected of holding information relevant to crimes. It also made offenses associated with agrarian agitation punishable by swift imprisonment, and gave the attorney general the authority to move cases from one county to another. The act gave rise to numerous violent confrontations, notably the "Mitchelstown massacre," in which constables opened fire on a crowd of protestors, killing two and injuring dozens. This incident demonstrated Balfour's ruthless enforcement of the Crimes Act and earned him the title "Bloody Balfour." R. V. Comerford, "The Parnell Era, 1883–91," in *A New History of Ireland, VI, Ireland under the Union, II, 1870–1921,* ed. W. E. Vaughan (Oxford, Eng., 1996), 70–73.

411.24 Richard Webb] Richard D. Webb was a Garrisonian abolitionist from Dublin, Ireland, whom Douglass met on his first trip to the British Isles in 1845. Originally a Quaker, he turned toward Unitarianism as his antislavery passions became more radical. A successful printer, Webb guided the small, but intensely active, Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society in Dublin, of which James Haughton and his family were also members. Webb printed the organ of the British Garrisonian abolitionist movement, the *Anti-Slavery Advocate,* out of his Dublin-based office. The British Garrisonians were active pamphleteers, and Webb's own *The National Anti-Slavery Societies of England and the United States* (1852) was one of the most confident and able statements of the Garrisonian cause to appear on either side of the Atlantic. Temperley, *British Antislavery,* 210, 212–13, 227, 237, 239, 244, 252–54, 256, 259; Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists,* 241–44, 248, 258–59, 293–94.

411.24 Richard Allen] Richard Allen (1803–86), Irish abolitionist and Quaker reformer, was a prominent member of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society. In 1828 he married Anne Webb and became a close companion to his new brother-in-law, Irish reformer Richard Davis Webb. Along with Webb and James Haughton, Allen became one of the most recognized Irish reformers. Dubbed the "Antieverythingarians" by the conservative Dublin *Evening Mail,* Allen and his associates supported Middle Eastern missionary work, peace, temperance, and British Indian reform, but would become best known as abolitionists. In 1840 Allen met William Lloyd Garrison when both were delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention. Allen became a strong proponent of Garrisonian abolitionism soon afterward. Douglass met and interacted with Allen and his fellow Irish activists in 1845 during his first trip to Ireland and Great Britain. Allen visited the United States in 1883, and was reportedly appalled by the unfair treatment of African Americans following the end of slavery and Reconstruction. Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, 1612–1865* (New York, 2007), 270, 273, 278–80, 286–89; Douglas C. Riach, "Richard Davis Webb and Antislavery in Ireland," in *Antislavery Reconsidered,* ed. Perry and Fellman, 149–59.

411.24 James Haughton] James Haughton (1785–1873) was one of Ireland's leading social reformers and temperance activists. After several business ventures

elsewhere, Haughton settled in Dublin in 1817, where he became a corn and flour factor in partnership with his brother William. Despite a Quaker education, Haughton joined the Unitarians in 1834 and supported the antislavery movement from an early period. He attended the World's Anti-Slavery Conventions in London in 1840 and 1843 as a delegate of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society. A lifelong proponent of reform, Haughton was one of the earliest disciples of the Irish temperance reformer Father Theobald Mathew. Following in Father Mathew's footsteps, Haughton devoted much energy to promoting total abstinence and advocating legislative restrictions on alcohol. He served as vice president of the United Kingdom Alliance, and penned a series of public letters on temperance, slavery, peace, capital punishment, British India, sanitary reform, and education. Initially he signed his letters "The Son of a Water Drinker," but eventually used his own name and continued to write until 1872. Haughton was also a friend and admirer of the Irish nationalist leader Daniel O'Connell. Together they advocated various plans for improving the condition of Ireland and repealing union with Britain. John F. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America* (Amherst, Mass., 2002), 52, 118–19; Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants," 889–912; *DNB,* 9:168.

411.28 the Jenningses] During his 1845–47 tour of England and Ireland, Douglass stayed in the home of Thomas and Ann Jennings and their eight children for at least a month. Four of the Jenningses' daughters, Charlotte, Helen, Isabel, and Jane, were active in the Cork Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. Isabel Jennings acted as co-secretary of the society, and later supported Douglass's newspaper with donations. Following his return to the United States, Douglass maintained correspondence with Isabel Jennings. Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists,* 158, 243–44; Patricia J. Ferreira, "Frederick Douglass in Ireland: The Dublin Edition of His *Narrative,*" *New Hibernia Review,* 5:57 (Spring 2001).

411.28 the Warings] Douglass probably refers to the family of Dublin abolitionist Maria Waring (1818–74), the sister-in-law of *Anti-Slavery Advocate* editor Richard D. Webb. Along with the Webbs, Waring was at the center of the antislavery movement in Ireland and a loyal supporter of Garrison, who once said of Waring, "There are few, very few, on my list of friends, for whom I cherish a more sincere regard." *Douglass Papers,* ser. 3, 1:65n; Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:289n, 384.

411.28 the Wrights] Douglass may be referring to one or both of two families with the surname Wright who lived in County Cork, Ireland. One, headed by William and Jane Wright, lived in Kilworth; the other, headed by George and Eliza Wright, lived in nearby Maryville. Both patriarchs were millers. Josephine Masterson, *County Cork, Ireland: A Collection of 1851 Census Records* (Baltimore, 1994), 62, 78.

411.30 the Neills] Douglass may be referring to the family of John R. Neill, a friend of Richard D. Webb and William Lloyd Garrison. One John R. Neill is listed as a watchmaker and jeweler in a contemporary Belfast directory. Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:428–29n.

411.30 the Workmans] Douglass may be referring to a family of Workmans in Belfast, Ireland. Some members of the family emigrated to America in the late eighteenth century, but others remained in Ireland, engaged in the family business of manufacture of fine linens. Thelma C. Anderson, *Workman Family History* (Salt Lake City, 1962), 719.

411.30 the McIntyres] Douglass probably refers to the family of Eliza McIntyre (?–1851), an active abolitionist from Belfast, Ireland, who up until her death served as secretary for the city's Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. An obituary in *Frederick Douglass' Paper* describes McIntyre as possessing "amiable disposition, gentle spirit, rare gifts, and disinterested benevolence." *FDP,* 20 November 1851.

411.30 the Nelsons] Isaac Nelson (1812–88), a Belfast Presbyterian minister, was an active member of the anti-Garrisonian British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Douglass befriended Nelson during his tour of Ireland in the mid-1840s. Nelson penned a letter of support for Douglass that appeared in the Irish edition of Douglass's *Narrative.* Merrill and Ruchames, *Garrison Letters,* 3:389–90; Ferreira, "Frederick Douglass in Ireland," 59.

411.30 Belfast] The second-largest city in Ireland, Belfast is also the economic and political capital of Northern Ireland. It is located on Ireland's eastern coast and at the mouth of the River Lagan. Normans established a fort at Belfast as early as the twelfth century, but it did not develop into a substantial town until the early seventeenth century, when the success of the local textile industry induced a period of rapid growth. The period from 1860 to World War I was marked by the development of shipbuilding and engineering industries; the city's population expanded from 87,000 in 1851 to 349,000 by 1901. Cannon, *Oxford Companion to British History,* 92; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:304.

411.31 Limerick] Limerick is the center of County Limerick, Ireland, near the beginning of the River Shannon in the midwest of the Irish Republic. It was occupied by the Norse in the ninth century, became the capital of the province of Munster around 1000, and was controlled by the English in the twelfth century. Primary exports are fish and produce. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1740.

411.31 Waterford] The political and economic center of County Waterford, Ireland, the city is famous for producing Waterford crystal, which has been manufactured there since 1783. Located in the southeast of Ireland, near the River Suir, Waterford was a center for shipbuilding in the nineteenth century. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3421.

411.31 Enniscorthy] Enniscorthy is located in County Wexford, Ireland, approximately thirteen miles from the city of Wexford in the southwest of the country. Located on the River Slaney, its industries include iron founding, tobacco production, iron milling, and bacon and ham curing. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:942.

412.16 Philip and Mary Carpenter] Philip Carpenter (1819–77) and Mary Carpenter (1807–77), the children of British reformer and Unitarian minister Lant Carpenter, were both social justice activists. The youngest in the family, Philip

trained at the University of Edinburgh and the University of London. Ordained as a Unitarian minister, he served congregations near Manchester and later Warrington. Also an avid naturalist, Philip Carpenter collected specimens and made a catalog of marine shells for the British Museum. In 1865 he moved to Montreal, Canada, where he pursued his scientific study of conchology, gaining respect for his knowledge and publications in the field. His eldest sister, Mary Carpenter, began operating a girls' school in Bristol in 1829 with the help of her mother, Anna Penn Carpenter. Finding the care of poor children her life's calling, in 1835 Mary formed the Working and Visiting Society and in 1852 opened her own reformatory for boys. In the 1850s and 1860s she lobbied for industrial schooling in Britain and opened two schools of her own. In her later years she traveled widely and lectured in Britain and India on education and penal reform. Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London, 1976), 18–30; Jennifer S. Uglow, ed., *The International Dictionary of Women's Biography* (New York, 1982), 94; *ACAB,* 1:531–32; *DNB,* 3:1068–70, 1071–72; *DAB,* 1:561.

412.23–25 "Train up…depart from it."] Prov. 22:6.

414.11 Fontainebleau] Located about forty miles southwest of Paris, the palace of Fontainebleau was constructed in the mid-sixteenth century by the French king Francis I. The palace was highly regarded by subsequent French monarchs and the Emperors Napoleon I and III on account of its extensive grounds and richly decorated interiors. John Murray (Firm), *A Handbook for Travellers in France: Part II,* 15th ed. (London, 1881), 13–17.

414.14 the Republic] Douglass refers to France's Third Republic, founded in 1870. Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times: From the Enlightenment to the Present,* 5th ed. (New York, 1995), 205–22.

414.25 Dijon] Douglass refers to the vineyards of the Côte d'Or surrounding Dijon in eastern France. That city was the capital of the independent duchy of Burgundy, which France annexed in the fourteenth century. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in France,* 21–26; Alex Lichine, *Wines of France* (New York, 1951), 96–100.

414.25 Bossuet] Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Roman Catholic bishop and orator, was born in Dijon, France. Considered one of the most gifted preachers of his time, Bossuet delivered hundreds of sermons, many of which were published and read widely across Europe. He acted as court preacher at the court of Louis XIV and came to advocate for the divine right of the monarch. During the final decades of his life Bossuet worked tirelessly to reconcile Protestantism and Catholicism within France. Andrew Lossky, *Louis XIV and the French Monarchy* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 194, 198, 284–85; *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2:548–51.

414.25 St. Bernard] Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) established a monastery at Clairvaux near Dijon, France, in 1115. He was the primary founder of the reformist Cistercian Order. He was chosen by Pope Eugenius III to preach the call for the Second Crusade, and he received considerable blame for its failure. A famed theologian and staunch defender of the Catholic Church against the encroachment of secular rulers, Bernard's treatises and books gained a wide readership across Europe. He was canonized in 1174. G. R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (New York, 2000), 3–21; M. Basil Pennington, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Canonization* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1977), vii–xiii.

414.29 Mirabeau] Gabriel-Honoré Mirabeau (1749–91), French author and statesman, was imprisoned for the attempted murder of his wife's lover in the Châteaux d'If in 1774. He was later transferred and held at the castle Douglass mentions, the Châteaux de Joux at Dijon, but gained release in the spring of 1776. Mirabeau's literary and political career was not harmed by this incarceration. During the French Revolution he secretly negotiated for the restoration of the monarchy, but failed to produce an agreement, and his reputation was damaged once his association with Louis XVI became public knowledge. Evarts S. Scudder, *Mirabeau* (London, 1935), 26–32; Barbara Luttrell, *Mirabeau* (Carbondale, Ill., 1990), 38–44.

414.31 black image of the Virgin Mary] One of the most famous of the black Madonnas is located in the Notre-Dame chapel in Dijon, France. Constructed in the third quarter of the twelfth century, this depiction of Mary is without the Christ child. It is believed that the face of the Madonna was blackened in the sixteenth century, as an earlier depiction shows a light complexion. Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), 189–90.

414.33 Lyons] France's second-largest city in the late nineteenth century, Lyons was a major manufacturing center, especially for silk products. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1814–15.

414.35 Heights of Fourvières] Crowned by churches and military fortifications, the Heights of Fourvière along the west bank of the Saône River possesses a commanding view of the city of Lyons and its neighboring countryside. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in France,* 53, 60.

415.7 Avignon] In the period 1305–78, seven popes resided in the French city of Avignon in the Rhone River valley. After Pope Urban VI restored Rome as the seat of the papacy, two more Avignon-based prelates contested the spiritual authority of their Roman rivals until 1423. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in France,* 129–35; Ferm, *Encyclopedia of Religion,* 49.

415.12 Eternal City] The sobriquet "Eternal City" has been attached to Rome since the first century BCE. Morris and Morris, *Dictionary of Word and Phrase,* 206.

415.31 inquisition] Aimed at combating heresy, the Inquisition was a special permanent tribunal established by Pope Gregory IX in the thirteenth century. He charged the Dominican Order with the duty of carrying out the Inquisition using legal practices common to the time. Judging only heresy, the Dominicans used local authorities to establish a tribunal to prosecute heretics. Pope Paul III established a system of tribunals that would later become known as the Roman Inquisition because

it revived penalties based on Roman law, including many horrendous forms of torture. Under Paul III's papacy the Congregation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was established, and a handbook appeared in 1578, spelling out that the penalties resulting from inquisition convictions were meant to promote the public good. As a result of the Vatican's domination of the central Italian states, the Roman Inquisition persisted there until the mid-1800s although it declined earlier elsewhere. *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 7:485–92.

415.35 Robert G. Ingersoll] Douglass alludes to Ingersoll's well-publicized atheist beliefs. John R. McKivigan, *Forgotten Firebrand: James Redpath and the Making of Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008), 148–50, 179.

415.35–36 Louis Napoleon] Napoleon III.

416.14–15 They believed literally…out right eyes] Douglass alludes to Matt. 5:29–30.

417.1 amphitheater] The most famous artifact of the history of Arles as the principal city of southern France in the time of the Roman Empire is an imposing oval-shaped amphitheater, two stories high and measuring 459 feet by 341 feet, built during the reign of Emperor Titus in the first century. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in France,* 155–59.

417.1 Coliseum] The Coliseum, or Flavian Amphitheater, in Rome.

417.21 Marseilles] France's major Mediterranean port, Marseilles is a seventy-five-mile train ride from Avignon. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1899.

417.33 jib-like main sails] A triangular-shaped staysail stretching from the outer edge of the jibboom to the foretop of the masthead in a large ship, forming the ship's principal sail.

418.7 Edmond Dantes] Douglass refers to the mulatto French novelist and dramatist Alexandre Dumas (1802–70). Edmond Dantes, the hero of Dumas's novel *The Count of Monte Cristo,* is portrayed as imprisoned in the real-life Château d'If prison off the coast of Marseilles. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in France,* 165.

418.14 the far-famed Riviera] The Riviera stretches along the coast between the southern ranges of the Alps and the Mediterranean Sea. Extending from La Spezia, Italy, to Hyères, France, the Riviera is famous for a mild climate, scenic beaches, and many resorts and hotels. It has been an important tourist destination since the mid-nineteenth century. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2623.

418.14 Genoa] Genoa, the principal commercial town and port in Italy at the time of Douglass's visit. Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; First Part, Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, the Island of Corsica, and Routes through France, Switzerland and Austria,* 7th ed. (Leipzig, 1886), 78, 90–102; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:1094, 2:1952.

418.15 Nice] Nice is a tourist destination and resort on the French Riviera, an attractive destination due to its mild climate. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 105; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:2180.

418.20 Christopher Columbus] The navigator and explorer Cristoforo Colombo (1451–1506) was the son of a weaver from a village near Genoa. John Murray (Firm), *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy,* 15th ed. (London, 1883), 88.

418.25 Wendell Phillips] Douglass makes minor errors in quoting the speech of Wendell Phillips on 10 May 1842 at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Douglass probably quotes the passage by Wendell Phillips from a recent biography of that abolitionist by George Lowell Austin. *Lib.,* 20 May 1842; Austin, *Wendell Phillips,* 422–23; Charles L. Hincke, "Wendell Phillips," *New England Magazine,* 48:489 (December 1912).

418.31 General Cass] In June 1836 President Andrew Jackson nominated his secretary of war, Lewis Cass (1782–1866), to serve as the U.S. minister to France. Cass resigned his cabinet post and served six years as minister beginning 4 October 1836. During his tenure in France, Cass penned a series of articles published collectively as *France, Its King, Court, and Government; and Three Hours at St. Cloud* (1841). In one of the articles he criticized the British government for stopping American ships suspected of illegally transporting African slaves. Cass argued that the British practice of impressment was a greater evil than the slave trade. He warned that the United States would be prepared to defend its maritime rights by military means if necessary. Willard Carl Klunder, *Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation* (Kent, Ohio, 1996), 94–95, 100–101.

418.32 Louis Philippe] The last king of France, Louis Philippe (1773–1850), ruled from 1830 to 1848. He was exiled during the reign of Napoleon I and spent those years traveling, including in the United States during 1796–97. A member of the cadet branch of the house of Bourbon, he succeeded to the throne in 1830 following the ousting of Charles X in the so-called July Revolution. He was known for avoiding outward appearances of wealth and lavishness. He abdicated to his grandson Philippe during the February 1848 revolution and fled to Great Britain. The National Assembly refused to accept Philippe as monarch and instead elected Louis Napoleon Bonaparte president. Louis Philippe died in Claremont, Surrey, England, on 26 August 1850. Louis Philippe, *Diary of My Travels in America,* trans. Stephen Becker (New York, 1977), 1–8; T. E. B. Howarth, *Citizen-King: The Life of Louis Philippe, King of the French* (London, 1961).

418.34–35 our well known ship of war the "Ohio,"] This seventy-four-gun U.S. Navy frigate was built in New York City and launched in 1820. Commodore Isaac Hull used the *Ohio* as his flagship while commanding the Mediterranean Squadron in the late 1830s. The *Ohio* saw considerable action in the Gulf of Mexico during the U.S. conflict with Mexico and then was sent to become the flagship of the Pacific Squadron in the war's later phases. The Navy retired the aging vessel in 1883. Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy: The Ships and Their Development* (New York, 1949), 308, 313–14.

418.38–419.7 "As I stood…myself an American."] From June 1839 until July 1841 Phillips toured Europe with his ailing wife, but no published accounts of his 1842 speeches contain the quotation in question. Oscar Sherwin, *Prophet of Liberty: The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips* (New York, 1958), 107–21.

419.20 Museum of Genoa] Genoa was a city with a wealth of art collections from old masters. Douglass probably refers to the three museums which collectively make up Genoa's Musei di Strada Nuova, which are all located on one street, Via Garibaldi. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 78, 90–102; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:1094, 2:1952.

419.21 Paganini] The internationally renowned violinist and composer Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) bequeathed his favorite instrument, a Guarneri del Gesu 1742, to his native Genoa, where it was exhibited at the Palazzo del Municipio. Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 20 vols. (London, 1980), 14:86–91.

419.34–35 "It is not…that is important."] Douglass paraphrases Ralph Waldo Emerson, who wrote: "It makes a great difference to the force of any sentence, whether there be a man behind it, or no," in his essay "Goethe, or the Writer" (1850). Emerson, *Collected Works,* 4:162.

420.12 Pisa] Located in the central Italian region of Tuscany, Pisa is an important commercial and industrial city. Pisa was a powerful independent maritime republic from the ninth through eleventh centuries but was overtaken by Genoa in 1284. Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen, *The Story of Pisa* (London, 1909), 189–96; Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 353; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2446.

420.16–17 Its grand…of the tourist] Pisans largely rebuilt their cathedral, or Duomo, after a fire in 1595 but retained the building's original eleventh-century Romanesque design. The most famous landmark of Pisa is the Leaning Tower, a 179-foot-high bell tower constructed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which started to tilt during its construction due to ground settling. Construction of the bell-shaped Baptistery of Pisa began in 1153 and continued intermittently for more than two centuries. It is located on the same square as the city's cathedral and leaning tower. Ross and Erichsen, *Story of Pisa,* 25, 107–08, 155–96.

420.23 Rome] Rome was formed from several unified villages about 500 BCE. Citizens built the city into a republic that survived for four centuries. Governed by a senate during the republic and later by emperors, Rome was the center of the vast Roman Empire until its division into East and West in the fourth century. As toleration for Christianity evolved within the empire, Rome became the center of religion and the prime location of the papacy. When the Italian kingdom formed in 1862, Rome was not included, but remained under the control of Napoleon III. Italian forces captured the city in 1871, following the fall of Napoleon and made it the national capital. Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; Second Part, Central Italy and Rome,* 9th ed. (Leipzig, 1886), 122–32; Emerson, "Scholarly Edition of the Grand Tour Diaries," 56–57n; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2639–40.

420.33 the grand hotels at Saratoga or Coney Island] The site of health spas since the early nineteenth century, Saratoga Springs, New York, attracted thousands of visitors each summer even before railroads connected the rural community to the major eastern cities in the 1830s. Saratoga Springs was famed for the lavish accommodations found at such establishments as the United States Hotel, the Grand Union, and Congress Hall. The first hotel at Coney Island, at the southernmost end of Brooklyn, New York, opened in 1829. The construction of a railroad from Manhattan in the 1870s allowed Coney Island to draw a wealthy clientele to expensive resort hotels at Manhattan Beach and Brighton Beach as well as a multitude of middle- and working-class visitors to its many other amusements. Hugh Bradley, *Such Was Saratoga* (New York, 1940), 54–66, 89–91, 115–62; John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Millions: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York, 1978), 29–33.

420.34 omnibuses] A four-wheeled public vehicle for carrying passengers.

420.37–38 laid nearly a…and Mary into Egypt] The Etruscan invasion of the area where Rome stands led to the unification of local villages into a city-state. Romans overthrew the invading Etruscans around 500 BCE, establishing a republic that lasted for four centuries. Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; Second Part,* 122–32; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2639–40.

421.17 Forum] The principal site for administrative, judicial, and religious activities in ancient Rome, the Forum was lined with temples, courts, statues, and commemorative arches. The Italian government began systematic efforts for excavation and preservation of the ruins of the Roman Forum in the 1870s. John Murray (Firm), *A Handbook of Rome and Its Environs,* 13th ed. (London, 1881), 80–89.

421.18 Cicero] Statesman, orator, and philosopher, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) delivered a series of speeches in the Roman Senate in 63 BCE against the insurrectionary conspiracy of the disgruntled patrician Lucius Sergius Cataline (108–62 BCE), who died in battle the following year. Cicero's orations against the Roman soldier and statesman Marcus Antonius (82–30 BCE) led to his murder by the latter. Torsten Petersson, *Cicero: A Biography* (New York, 1963), 196–200; Michael Avi Yonah and Israel Shatzman, *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Classical World* (1975; New York, 1996), 47, 114, 120–22.

421.19 Palatine] The Palatine Hill is located on the south side of the Roman Forum. Originally believed to have consisted of two summits of almost equal height, the Palatine was probably altered through the construction of buildings and fortifications along the hilltop. Baedeker, *Central Italy,* 314–15; Christian Huelsen, *The Forum and the Palatine* (New York, 1928), 59–65.

421.20 palaces of the Caesars] The first Roman emperor, Augustus, constructed a palace on the Palatine Hill near the Forum. His successors also built residences on that hill until it eventually became a crowded complex of imperial homes, gardens, and temples. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 104–05.

421.21 Pantheon] A particularly well-preserved temple dedicated to the worship of all the gods, the Roman Pantheon dates back to the third consulate of Marcus Agrippa in 27 BCE. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 151–55.

421.22 Byron] George Gordon Noel Byron, sixth Baron Byron (1788–1824), British Romantic poet, authored many influential works, including *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18) and *Don Juan* (1819–24). Born in Scotland, he inherited the English estate and title of his great-uncle Lord Byron in 1798, when he was ten years

old. While at Trinity College in 1806, he published his first collection of poems. In 1809 he assumed his seat in the House of Lords and anonymously published the satire *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.* Byron gained wide popularity with the publication of his narrative poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.* Often quoted by Douglass, the generally autobiographic poem tells of the adventures of a disillusioned young man who seeks distraction in foreign lands. The narrative struck a chord with many disheartened by the lengthy series of revolutions and Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century. The title "childe" is derived from the medieval term for a young man eligible for knighthood. Following estrangement from his wife in 1816, Byron left Britain never to return. For the remainder of his life he traveled, settling in Italy and eventually Greece, where he died in April 1824. Fiona MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (New York, 2002); *DNB,* 584–607.

421.23–31 "Simple, erect, severe…Pride of Rome!"] Douglass quotes Canto IV, stanza 146, of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1818). Byron, *Complete Poetical Works,* 2:173.

422.2 stupendous Baths of Titus, Diocletian and Caracalla] Among the largest and best-preserved buildings of ancient Rome are its baths or thermae. In particular, the Baths of Diocletian, Caracalla, and Titus impressed nineteenth-century tourists because of the ruins' massive columns, statues of athletes, and accommodations for thousands of bathers at one time. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 128–35.

422.4 Gibbon] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 6 vols. (London, 1776–88).

422.9 Titus] Built to commemorate the conquest of Judea by the Emperor Titus, the Arch of Titus has a bas-relief depiction of the triumphal procession of the emperor, and his army bearing spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem. William Knight, *The Arch of Titus and the Spoils of the Temple* (London, 1867), 57; Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 99.

422.13 Jerusalem] The city of Jerusalem is located on a ridge to the west of the Dead Sea and the Jordan River in modern-day Israel. The city is a historically important city for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Following the rule of Herod the Great (73–4 BCE) Jerusalem was incorporated as a province of the Roman Empire. Under Roman rule, the city was administered by a series of prefects, but fell into decline. The Old City in the eastern area of Jerusalem was walled into four quadrants by order of the Ottoman sultan Sulayman I in the sixteenth century. Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (Leipzig, 1906), 19–22; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1442–43; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 3:760–61.

422.16–17 the profanation of their Temple, from its Holy of Holies] Soldiers acting under authority of the Roman emperor Titus destroyed the Second Temple at Jerusalem in 70 CE during the First Jewish Revolt. The Temple's destruction marked the end of organized Jewish resistance and was followed by the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and its walls. Michael Grant, *History of Rome* (New York, 1978), 347–48; Fred Skolnik, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* 2d ed., 22 vols. (Detroit, 2007), 19:743–44.

422.19 Column of Trajan, after which Napoleon's monument in Paris] Erected in 114 to honor the military triumphs of the Emperor Trajan in the Balkans, the Column of Trajan measured over 94 feet and served in classical times as a base for a massive statue of the emperor. Napoleon I erected a 143-foot column at Vendôme Place in Paris in imitation of the Column of Trajan. John Murray (Firm), *Handbook for Visitors to Paris; Containing a Description of the Most Remarkable Objects, in the City,* rev. ed. (London, 1882), 313–14; idem, *Handbook of Rome,* 92–95.

422.22–23 the great…it acts."] Douglass quotes Daniel Webster's address delivered on 17 June 1843 at the dedication of the monument on Bunker Hill in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Webster said: "But at the rising of the sun, and at the setting of the sun; in the blaze of noonday, and beneath the milder effulgence of lunar light; it looks, it speaks, it acts, to the full comprehension of every American mind, and the awakening of glowing enthusiasm in every American heart." Webster, *Writings and Speeches,* 1:262.

422.25 Temple of the Vestal Virgins] In a circular temple on the Roman Forum, an order of priestesses, popularly known as the Vestal Virgins, maintained an eternal fire to honor Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 81–82, 155–56; Yonah and Shatzman, *Encyclopedia of the Classical World,* 477.

422.26 Capitoline Hill] The original fortified citadel of Rome, the Capitoline Hill is the site of ruins dating mainly to the city's early history as a republic. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 100–104.

422.31 Tower of Babel] The Tower of Babel story appears in Genesis and features a city with a tower that may have been a fortress or temple. At the time of its construction, according to biblical sources, humans possessed a single common language and all migrated to the Shinar region. When residents came together to make bricks to build a city in the belief that the city would prevent their dispersal, God intervened for fear that such concentration would allow humans to do anything they desired. He made them each speak a different language and scattered them over the face of the Earth. Gen. 11:1–9; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 1:561–62.

422.33 fourteen obelisks from Egypt] A reference to the red granite obelisk originally brought from Egypt to Rome during the reign of the Emperor Caligula in the first century. This obelisk stood in the circus of Nero, but by order of Pope Sixtus V was removed to the Piazza of St. Peter in 1586. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 137, 139–40.

422.34 St. Peter's] The original basilica of St. Peter's was constructed at the order of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. The building received major renovation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the construction of its massive dome designed by Michelangelo Buonarroti. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 194–210.

423.11 indulgences] Beginning in the ninth century, the Roman Catholic Church granted indulgences to those paying a debt of temporal punishment after the guilt of a sin was forgiven. In the eleventh century the church began to tie grants of indulgence to monetary contributions in support of monasteries and later for schools,

churches, or hospitals. During the Middle Ages the church granted the most celebrated indulgences to crusaders and those who contributed heavily to the Crusades. The practice of granting indulgences led to criticism of the church for using them in order to raise funds. Following the findings of the Council of Trent in 1562–63, Pope Pius IV canceled indulgences requiring monetary payments in 1567. *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 7:436–41.

423.12 Luther] Martin Luther (1483–1546), German monk and theologian, instigated the Protestant Reformation in reaction to practices and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church that he found objectionable, such as the granting or sale of indulgences. Luther translated the Bible into vernacular German and authored many theological works, the most famous of which is the *Ninety-five Theses* (1517), attacking the practice of indulgences. Richard Marius, *Martin Luther: The Christian between God and Death* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

423.33 Pincian Hill and the Janiculum] The Pincian or Pincio, north of the Quirinal, rises to a height of 164 feet. The Janiculum, west of the Tiber, is the second-tallest hill in Rome but is outside the boundaries of the ancient city. Neither is considered among the Seven Hills of Rome. Baedeker, *Central Italy,* 181–82, 419; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2639.

423.38 Campagna] Campagna di Roma is the low-lying region that surrounds Rome. Popular during the Roman era, the region was largely abandoned because of the brackish water that bred malaria and other diseases. In the late nineteenth century it was reclaimed for farming. Baedeker, *Central Italy,* 427–28; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:514.

424.7 Vatican] Located within the boundaries of Rome, the Vatican is the seat of the Roman Catholic Church and home of the papacy. Although it lies within Italy, the Vatican is a sovereign state under political control of the pope. Baedeker, *Central Italy,* 373–74; Emerson, "Scholarly Edition of the Grand Tour Diaries," 57n.

424.16–17 even a President…Holiness, the Pope] In 1887 President Grover Cleveland sent Pope Leo XIII a bound copy of the U.S. Constitution as a present to recognize the latter's fiftieth anniversary as a priest. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1887,* 42 vols. (New York, 1862–1903), 27:716.

424.18 Solomon in all his glory] Douglass refers to Matt. 6:28–29.

424.29 Tiber] Stretching across the central region of Italy, the Tiber River flows 251 miles south across Tuscany, Umbria, and North Latium, then through Rome to empty into the Tyrrhenian Sea. Baedeker, *Central Italy,* 62, 78, 96, 106, 109, 175; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3159.

424.31 Paul] Paul was an early Christian apostle whose teachings formed the foundation of orthodox Christian theology. His life is chronicled in the biblical book of Acts, where he is described as being a Roman citizen at birth. Beginning life as a Jew, Paul was commissioned to spread the gospel among the gentiles. His travels took him to such places in the ancient world as Galatia, Macedonia, Greece, and Jerusalem. He was eventually arrested and imprisoned for allegedly urging Jews to abandon traditional practices, including circumcision. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:186–201.

424.37 Appian Way] Originally constructed in 312 BCE, the Via Appia extended from Rome to Capua. The Romans later extended this road through to the Adriatic coast. Yonah and Shatzman, *Encyclopedia of the Classical World,* 477.

425.1–3 the dome…legbone of Lazarus] Numerous Christian relics are located within St. Peter's Basilica and in more than 100 tombs in the Vatican Grotto below the basilica. Travel guides indicate Douglass might have encountered the head of St. Andrew, the bones of Popes Leo II and Leo III, and a relic of the true Cross. J. W. Cruickshank and A. M. Cruickshank, *Christian Rome,* rev. ed. (1906; London, 1911), 182–85.

425.11 the black statue of St. Peter] Douglass probably refers to the bronze statue of St. Peter, which stands to the right of the nave of St. Peter's Basilica. Devotees would first kiss the toe of the statue and then press their heads against the digit. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 201.

425.22–23 Scala Santa] According to this tradition, the Scala Santa in the Basilica of the Lateran in Rome consists of twenty-eight marble stairs from the house of Pontius Pilate, upon which Jesus walked after his judgment. Penitents ascended the marble stairs on their knees. Murray, *Handbook of Rome,* 219–20.

425.36 Vesuvius] The only active volcano in mainland Europe, Vesuvius stands on the eastern shore of the Bay of Naples in the south of Italy. Rising to around 4,000 feet, it alters in height with subsequent eruptions. The first recorded eruption took place in 79 CE. Eight more eruptions in the eighteenth century were followed by nine in the nineteenth century and three in the twentieth. Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; Third Part, Southern Italy and Sicily, with Excursions to the Lipari Islands, Malta, Sardinia, Tunis, and Corfu,* 9th ed. (Leipzig, 1887), 120–24; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3342.

426.4 Pompeii and Herculaneum] Pompeii was a prosperous Roman port city about five miles from Mount Vesuvius. An eruption of Vesuvius destroyed the nearby resort town of Herculaneum in 63 CE. Pompeii suffered the same fate from an eruption sixteen years later. The rediscovery and excavation of these two communities beginning in the seventeenth century spurred serious historical study of classical art and architecture. John Murray (Firm), *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy; Being a Guide for the Provinces Formerly Constituting the Continental Portion of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies,* 4th ed. (London, 1862), 207–50; Yonah and Shatzman, *Encyclopedia of the Classical World,* 231, 367–68.

426.9 Naples] Located in south-central Italy, Naples is a major seaport on the Mediterranean Sea. The picturesque city sits at the base of a number of hills that surround the Bay of Naples. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:2119.

426.11–12 Puteoli where St. Paul landed] Located seven miles southwest of Naples, the town of Pozzuoli, with only 12,000 inhabitants in the late nineteenth cen-

tury, had been a major port and resort city in Roman times under the name Puteoli. It also was the site where the Apostle Paul landed in Italy on his journey to Rome for trial by imperial officials. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy,* 298–99.

426.12 the tomb of Virgil] Located in the western outskirts of late-nineteenth-century Naples, the small tomb of Virgil had attracted reverential visits by admirers of the poet since late Roman times. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy,* 173–76.

426.12–13 the spot…villas of Cicero] Cicero had been born in Isola near Naples and at various times in his life resided at villas near modern-day Mola, Pozzuoli, and Monteleone, all in that locale. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy,* 15, 59, 304, 398.

426.13–14 islands of Capri and Ischia] The site of many health resorts in Douglass's day, the Isle of Capri, twenty miles south of Naples, became famous as the scene of the debaucheries of the Roman emperor Tiberius. Ischia is a volcanic island of twenty-six square miles located six miles off the Italian coast west of Naples. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy,* 263–69, 328–37.

426.16 Rev. J. C. Fletcher and wife] Probably James Cooley Fletcher (1823–1901), Presbyterian clergyman and missionary, born in Indianapolis. He graduated from Brown University in 1846. Following his ordination in 1851, Fletcher spent most of his career as a missionary in South America and Europe. He acted as an agent for the American Bible Society in Brazil in 1855 and 1856, after which he returned to the United States for several years. Returning to Brazil in 1862, he served as an agent of the American Sunday School Union, traveling some 2,000 miles up the Amazon River gathering natural specimens. From 1869 until 1873 he resided in Portugal, holding the positions of U.S. consul at Oporto and of acting chargé d'affaires in Lisbon during 1870. He met and married his second wife, Frederica Jane Smith, at the consulate at Oporto in 1872. The couple moved to Naples, Italy, in 1873, where Fletcher engaged in voluntary missionary activities until returning to the United States in 1890. Thereafter Fletcher resided in Los Angeles, where he served as president of the Los Angeles School of Art until his death in 1901. *ACAB,* 2:465–66; *NCAB,* 13:130.

426.39–427.4 an ethnological purpose…to higher endeavors] Douglass became intrigued with the ideas surrounding the nineteenth-century debate over the origins of man. He took exception to the notion of racial polygenesis that formed the core argument of the American School of Ethnology. Authors in this school, including Josiah Nott and George Gliddon, claimed that the races had separate origins and therefore African Americans were a distinct species. Douglass argued in a number of speeches in favor of the monogenist theory supporting a unified origin of the white and black races. He delivered the first of many important orations on the subject, "Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," at Hudson, Ohio, in July 1854. Douglass touched on the subject often, including a May 1863 address before the Brooklyn Academy of Music titled "The Present and Future of the Colored Race in America." His fascination with ethnology continued in the postwar years, as evinced in an 1869 oration titled "Our Composite Nationality," delivered in Boston, and in an 1884 article in which he used the common origin of all races to predict the eventual elevation of blacks in the United States. Charles A. Gardiner et al., "The Future of the Negro," *NAR,* 139:84–86 (July 1884); *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 2:497–525, 3:570–84, 4:240–59.

427.6 Port Said] The Douglasses departed Naples on 12 February 1887 on board the steamer *Ormuz* and arrived at Port Said on 16 February. The Egyptian seaport of Port Said lies at the Mediterranean Sea entrance to the Suez Canal and had a population of approximately 10,000 at the time of the Douglasses' visit. French architect Ferdinand de Lesseps selected the site for Port Said in 1859 and had breakwaters constructed to make it a safe harbor for oceangoing ships. FD Diary, reel 1, frames 26–27, FD Papers, DLC; John Murray (Firm), *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt; Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile through Egypt and Nubia,* 4th ed. (London, 1873), 244–46.

427.9 Stromboli] Part of the Lipari island group, Stromboli lies about forty-five miles north of Sicily in the Tuscan Sea and contains an active volcano on its western coast. Augustus J. C. Hare and St. Clair Baddeley, *Sicily* (New York, 1905), 62, 91.

427.10–11 the straits of Messina] Separating Sicily from the Italian mainland, the Strait of Messina is about twenty miles in length and varies in width from two to eleven miles. Hare and Baddeley, *Sicily,* 63–70.

427.11 Mt. Etna] An active volcano near the northeastern coast of the island of Sicily, the snow-covered summit of Mount Etna at a height of over 10,800 feet is visible from the Italian mainland. Hare and Baddeley, *Sicily,* 1, 86–92.

427.12–13 Suez Canal] Opened in 1869 after a decade of construction by a Franco-Egyptian company headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, the 100-mile-long Suez Canal allowed oceangoing ships direct passage from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The British government purchased the controlling interest in the canal company from the Egyptian khedive in 1875 and by the time of Douglass's tour had established a protectorate over the entire Egyptian nation. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt,* 231–47; D. A. Farnie, *East and West of Suez: The Suez Canal in History, 1854–1956* (New York, 1969), 55–80, 229–46, 282–324.

427.15 brought Australia within forty days of England] In 1877 the steamer *Lusitania* of the British Orient Line used the Suez Canal route to sail from London to Adelaide in forty days for each direction, cutting the previous average sailing time around the Cape of Good Hope in half. Farnie, *East and West of Suez,* 345.

427.17 Cape of Good Hope] The Cape of Good Hope is the southernmost point on the African continent. Prior to the opening of the Suez Canal, ships sailing east had to pass all the way around Africa and the Cape of Good Hope to reach such destinations as Australia or the East African coast. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:1132.

427.22 "Ormuz,"] Built in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1866, for the Orient Steam Navigation Company, the screw-driven steamer *Ormuz* was 465.5 feet long and 52.1

feet wide. American Shipmaster's Association, *Record of American and Foreign Shipping…1888* (New York, 1888), 673; Farnie, *East and West of Suez,* 346–59.

428.1 blooded horses] Thoroughbred or pedigreed horses.

428.1 It was the month of February] In his diary of his tour of Europe and the Near East, Douglass describes this event as occurring on 16 February 1887. FD Diary, reel 1, frames 28–29, FD Papers, DLC.

428.15–16 the motive…English policy] The British occupation of Egypt began in the summer of 1882, and Great Britain maintained varying degrees of control over the region for the next seventy-four years. Britain officially claimed that its interest in Egypt was to stabilize the region following the Egyptian Revolution of 1881, which challenged the authority of the traditional ruler, Khedive Ismail. The khedive initially requested British support following the financial collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s, and Britain joined with France in 1881 in asserting the necessity of retaining the khedive in order to maintain regional stability. With the increasing importance of the Suez Canal to world commerce, Britain found intervention necessary when the 1881 uprising threatened that stability. The British found that the economic and political weakness of Egypt required continued occupation. The move also provided a convenient stepping-stone for the British colonization of the Sudan and eventually India. H. L. Wesseling, *Divide and Rule: The Partition of Africa, 1880–1914* (Westport, Conn., 1996), 35–53; Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (New York, 1971), 1–16.

428.30 Backshish] A Persian term, popularly used throughout the Near East, to describe a tip, or small amount of money given for a service rendered, such as to a waiter, or a charitable donation given to a beggar.

429.3 Ismalia] The site of administrative headquarters for the Suez Canal, Ismailia was an Egyptian town of around 3,000 inhabitants in the 1880s, situated on Lake Timsah where the Sweet Water Canal and a railroad line from Cairo intersected the Suez Canal. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt,* 222, 240–41; Farnie, *East and West of Suez,* 125–27.

429.35 Bethlehem] Considered the historical birthplace of Jesus, this district of Israel's West Bank is one of the Christian world's most important shrines. Located on a hill on the western fringes of the Judean Wilderness, Bethlehem faces the Dead Sea. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria,* 101–02; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:337.

429.36 John the Baptist] An allusion to the ministry of John the Baptist, described in Matt. 3:1–12, Mark 1:2–8, Luke 3:2–20, John 1:19–36.

429.37 Mount of Olives] The Mount of Olives consists of three ridges located in the Central Mountain Range of Israel, which runs north to south from the Kidron Valley to the east of Jerusalem. Associated with both Christian and Jewish traditions, the site is mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments. Douglass references Matt. 21:1 or perhaps Matt. 24:1–25:36, which describes Jesus standing on the Mount of Olives, prophesying to his disciples. His extended teaching on the Mount of Olives is referred to as the Olivet Discourse. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:13–15.

429.39–430.1 The Hebrew prophets frequented dens and caves and desert places] Douglass refers to Heb. 11:38. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 3:100.

430.1 John saw his wonderful vision on the Isle of Patmos] Douglass refers to the beginning of the book of Revelations, when the apostle John received a prophecy of the end of the world. Rev. 1:9; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:694.

430.2–3 Jacob wrestled with an angel] Douglass refers to an incident in Genesis 32:24–32, in which Jacob wrestles with an angel throughout a night. Although the angel injures Jacob in the leg, Jacob emerges victorious. The angel blesses Jacob and renames him Israel, "for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 3:604–05.

430.3 The transfiguration] Matt. 17:1–2; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 6:640–41.

430.3–6 No wonder…of my people."] An allusion to the events of Exod. 2:12–15, 2:24–25, and particularly 3:7: "And the Lord said I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows." Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 2:700–08.

430.6–7 Paul was not…voice from heaven] Douglass refers to Acts 9:3–4, when Saul, on his bloody path to persecute followers of Jesus in the city of Damascus, has a revelation that his actions are wrong. He converted to Christianity, changed his name to Paul, and became the foremost missionary of the teachings of Christ. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 5:186–201.

430.9 Mahomet] Muhammad (c. 570–632), the Muslim Prophet, received his divine mission in his early forties, around the year 610. The Muslim scripture, the Koran, was revealed to him at that time, and he became the main conduit for the religion's modern rituals and practices, including Islam's monotheistic emphasis. Michael Cook, *Muhammad* (New York, 1983).

430.16 Goshen] Goshen is a region in the eastern Egyptian delta where many Hebrews lived during their time in Egypt. Jacob's family relocated to the "land of Goshen" when a famine struck Canaan. Gen. 46:26–34; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 2:1076–77.

430.17–18 the story of Jacob] Following the family's move to Goshen, famine led Jacob to send several of his sons to seek grain from the Pharaoh. Jacob's sons sold their younger brother Joseph into slavery. Gen. 46:1–34, 47:1–5; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 3:599–609.

430.33 the Nile] Stretching some 4,160 miles, the Nile is the world's longest river. It flows northward from its headwaters in remote Burundi in central Africa to the delta on the Mediterranean Sea in northeast Egypt. The river's waters support 98 percent of Egypt's agriculture. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:2187–88.

431.11 the Shâdûf and the Sâkiyeh] A *shaduf* is a device consisting of a pole on a pivot with a bucket at one end to raise water; a *sakiyeh* is a water wheel with a number of buckets that raise water as the wheel turns. Both were often used in Egypt to gather river water for irrigation purposes.

431.27 Cairo] The capital of Egypt, Cairo was founded in 969 across the Nile River from the ancient capital, Memphis. The first railroad in Africa, built in 1855, linked Cairo and Alexandria, respectively the administrative and economic centers of Egypt. Karl Baedeker, *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers; Part First, Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai,* 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1885), 241–44; idem, *Egypt and the Sudân* (Leipzig, 1908), 64; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:495.

431.28 Citadel] Construction of Cairo's citadel was begun in 1176, reputedly using stones taken from the small pyramids at Giza. At the time of Douglass's visit, only the outer east wall and several towers remained. Among the structures within the Citadel is the Alabaster Mosque, completed in 1857. From a parapet on the southwest side of the mosque is a view of the Pyramids of Giza. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt,* 62, 264, 344, 355; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:495.

431.30 the Pyramids] The pyramids of Egypt were constructed as burial tombs for Egyptian rulers from the third to the sixth dynasties, between 2686 BCE and 2133 BCE. Most were built on the desert's fringe west of the Nile River near Memphis. Nineteenth-century conventions concerning the purpose of the pyramids varied. One suggested that the pyramid shape was merely a representation of a primitive mound. Another theory held that the shape of the burial pyramid aimed to represent in stone the symbol of the Egyptian sun god. Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudân,* 121–35; I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt,* rev. ed. (New York, 1985), 278–83.

431.33 sepulchral] Pertaining to a burial place or a burial; or something appropriate to a tomb.

431.36 the Libyan desert] Douglass perhaps refers to the eastern portion of the Sahara Desert, which extends into Egypt. La Verle Berry, "The Society and Its Environment," in *Libya: A Country Study,* ed. Helen Chapin Metz, 4th ed. (Washington, D.C., 1989), 64–69.

432.15–16 the great unexplained…wonders of Sakkara] Located fifteen miles south of Cairo, the plateau of Sakkarah with a village of the same name was one of the principal sites of the pyramids and other burial memorials of the ancient Egyptian rulers of Memphis. The famous Egyptian Sphinx, however, is located on the plateau of Giza about three miles southwest of Cairo. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt,* 173, 177–79, 193–96, 201–02.

432.18 Memphis] The ancient capital city of Lower Egypt, Memphis lies about ten miles south of modern Cairo beside the Nile River. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt,* 202–05.

432.18 Heliopolis] Near the site of the nineteenth-century village of Matareeah, about ten miles northeast of Cairo, the ancient Egyptian town of Ei-Re, or "Abode of the Sun," was called Heliopolis by the Greeks. In Douglass's time, tourists visited the site of Heliopolis to view its obelisks, a sphinx, and a temple of the sun. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt,* 157–61.

432.30–31 Two hundred millions of people follow Mahomet to-day] The accuracy of Douglass's demographic estimation cannot be verified, as scholarly sources supply considerably different statistics. The four most populated Muslim countries of the era, Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, together did not reach half the number Douglass cited. Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 291–95; Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East: State, Class, and Economic Development* (Boulder, Colo., 1990), 58; *Middle East Economic Handbook* (London, 1986), 31, 109, 131, 333; James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* 13 vols. (New York, 1917–27), 8:875–91; Lindsay Jones, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion,* 2d ed., 14 vols. (Detroit, 2005), 7:4628.

432.36 howling and dancing dervishes] Dervishes are Muslim mystics or Sufis who formed orders or brotherhoods beginning in the twelfth century. Many took vows of poverty. Some dervish orders were known for fantastic practices such as dancing, whirling, and howling. Yaacov Shimoni, *Political Dictionary of the Arab World* (New York, 1987), 149–50.

433.23 Crete] Located approximately 60 miles from the Greek mainland, the island of Crete is situated in the Mediterranean Sea. The largest of the Greek islands, it extends nearly 160 miles and marks the southern limit of the Aegean Sea. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:750.

433.25 Acropolis] This historic rock outcrop rises 260 feet above the city of Athens, Greece. The Acropolis features a relatively flat top, and originally functioned as a fortified citadel. Major structures on the Acropolis include the Parthenon, the Propylea, the temple of Athena Nike, and the Erechtheion. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:14.

433.25 Mars Hill] Commonly known as the Areopagus, the structure Douglass mentions is a rocky hill northwest of the Acropolis in Athens, Greece. In classical times it functioned as the site of the Court of Appeals for civil and criminal trials. During the Roman period, it was known as Mars Hill, after the Roman god of war. Philip Sanford Marden, *Greece and the Ægean Islands* (Boston, 1907), 107; Baedeker, *Greece,* 4th ed. (New York, 1995), 157–58; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:150.

433.26–29 to ascend Lycabettus…Theater of Dionysius] Mount Lycabettus, the highest hill within the city, is often climbed by tourists seeking to enjoy a view of all of Athens, including the ancient sites Douglass mentions. From this hill, one of two routes to Marathon is visible across a low-lying plain, which in ancient times was a commercial route for those landing on the region's east coast. Another landmark visible is the Academy, or garden, where the famous philosopher Plato regularly addressed his students. Douglass might have been imagining he could see the spot where the Greek statesman and orator Demosthenes stood, but he could certainly see the majestic temple known as the Parthenon, which is the most visible monument on the marble outcropping known as the Acropolis. On the other side of the Acropolis stands the temple of Athena Nike, sometimes known as the Temple of Wingless Victory. This temple once housed a statue of the winged Nike, who represents victory, but her wings were removed at some point to prevent "victory" from flying away.

Below the Acropolis, Douglass could also see the free-standing temple of Theseus, who according to Greek legend unified the region of Attica under Athens. The Theater of Dionysus, a large open-air theater at the base of the Acropolis, is also visible from Lycabettus. Ernest Arthur Gardner, *Ancient Athens* (London, 1902), 9–12, 24–25, 80–81, 123–25, 217–18; Stamati M. Polemis, *A Short Description of the Ancient Monuments and Museums of Athens* (Athens, 1927), 23.

434.9 Florence] Located on the Arno River, the city of Florence is in the Italian province of Tuscany. Initially the site of Etruscan settlement, it later became an important Roman town. The city became known for the production of fine silks, tapestries, and jewelry. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 380–85; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:1010–11.

434.12 Theodore Parker] Theodore Parker was among the "Secret Six" who supported John Brown's raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. Suffering from declining health, Parker traveled to the Caribbean and then Europe, where he hoped to improve his condition. Instead he died of tuberculosis in Florence, Italy, on 10 May 1860. Renehan, *Secret Six,* 37–46; *ANB,* 17:43–44.

434.13 Elizabeth Barrett Browning] English author Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–61) published her first poetry collection in 1826. Additional works included a translation of the Greek tragedy *Prometheus Bound.* Among her admirers was the poet Robert Browning, with whom she began corresponding in 1845. They married the following year, despite the objections of Barrett's family, and moved to Florence, Italy. Suffering from frequent bouts of ill health, Browning nevertheless gave birth to a son in 1849 and then published her most famous work, *Sonnets from the Portuguese,* in 1850. She died in Florence in 1861 and is buried there in a tomb shaped as a sarcophagus resting on six pedestals. Scott Wilson, *Resting Places: The Burial Sites of Over 7,000 Famous Persons* (Jefferson, N.C., 2001), 44; Beverly Taylor, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning," in *Victorian Women Poets,* ed. William B. Thesing (Detroit, 1999), 80–98; Magill, *Critical Survey of Poetry,* 1:393–404; Emerson, "Scholarly Edition of the Grand Tour Diaries," 119n.

434.27–28 It was in…speech in Roxbury] Once home to Brook Farm utopian community, Roxbury in the 1840s was a suburban community south of the city of Boston, Massachusetts. Theodore Parker preached mainly in his West Roxbury Unitarian Church from his April 1837 ordination until December 1845, when he accepted the pulpit of the newly organized Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston. Although Douglass spoke throughout Massachusetts as an itinerant abolitionist agent in the 1840s, no notices have survived of his addressing an audience in Parker's Roxbury congregation. *ANB,* 17:43–44.

435.4 Duomo] Famous for its 300-foot-high dome, Florence's cathedral, known as Il Duomo, was designed by Filippo Brunelleschi and built from 1294 to 1462. In 1588 the unfinished façade created by Giotto di Bondone was removed and replaced with marble. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 406, 436, 474; Emerson, "Scholarly Edition of the Grand Tour Diaries," 123n.

435.5 Arno] The Arno River bisects the city of Florence in much the same way as the Seine separates Paris. It flows from Florence to Pisa and empties into the Ligurian Sea. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:163, 1010, 3:2857.

435.6 Michael Angelo] Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni (1475–1564), renowned Italian Renaissance sculptor, architect, and painter, is best known for such important works as the paintings on the ceiling of St. Peter's Sistine Chapel. His most famous work, the marble statue of David, was completed in Florence in 1504. Linda Murray, *Michelangelo* (New York, 1980).

435.6 Dante] Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Florentine poet, was author of the epic *Divine Comedy.* In addition to his poetic works, Dante trained and worked as a pharmacist and was involved in Florentine politics. Rachel Jacoff, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Dante* (New York, 1993), 1–13.

435.6 Savonarola] Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98), Italian priest of the Dominican order, led Florence in the late fifteenth century. His famed opposition to the openness of the Renaissance led to book burnings and the destruction of art he deemed immoral. He emerged as political head of Florence in 1494 and led followers in the Bonfire of the Vanities, the aim of which was to destroy such items as mirrors, lewd or pagan books, cosmetics, and immoral works of art. Among works of art destroyed in Savonarola's bonfires were works by Michelangelo and Botticelli. He was excommunicated by Pope Alexander VI in 1497 and executed the following year. Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1970), 74–77, 287–88.

435.9 Venice] Located in northeastern Italy, Venice is known for its series of 150 or more canals, including the Grand Canal, which forms the city's main traffic artery. A center for tourism and shipbuilding, Venice was once the most important maritime city, with a population of some 200,000 in the fifteenth century. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 239–40, 260; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3331.

435.14 mountains of the Tyrol] The Tyrolean Alps, famed for their beauty, are located along the German border with Austria. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:3252.

435.14 Hofer] Andreas Hofer (1767–1810), Austrian patriot and guerrilla leader, led the Tyroleans against Napoleon in 1809. An innkeeper who traded in wine, horses, and grain, Hofer was elected to represent his home region in the Tyrolean assembly at the age of twenty-two. He led the military resistance against the French in the wars of 1796 and 1805, protecting Tyrol and the house of Habsburg from French domination. Hofer was less fortunate in 1809 when Austria again took up arms against France, and was executed at Napoleon I's order in 1810. Owen Connelly, ed., *Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799–1815* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 241–42.

435.22 Milan] At the heart of Lombardy and its capital, Milan is one of the richest manufacturing centers of Italy, with silk and woolen goods comprising its primary products. Several navigable water routes connect to Milan. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 121; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1979.

435.22 Lucerne] Located on Lake Lucerne in central Switzerland, Lucerne was mainly a summer resort town at the time Douglass visited. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* 28; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1798.

436.11 Senator John Sherman of Ohio] While traveling through Pittsburgh on his way to Ohio and Illinois in June 1888, Douglass told a newspaper reporter that blacks strongly supported the nomination of Senator John Sherman of Ohio as the Republican candidate for president. The New York *Times* quoted Douglass as saying, "Sherman unquestionably is their favorite, and is the man I want to see get the nomination." At the Republican national convention in Chicago that month, Sherman led the balloting on the first several roll calls. Douglass was among the Sherman supporters on the convention floor, and at one point he took the stage on Sherman's behalf. However, Benjamin Harrison won the nomination on the eighth ballot. New York *Times,* 14 June 1888; New York *Mail and Express,* 22 June 1888.

436.15 In the Convention at Chicago I did what I could] Douglass attended the Republican national convention of 1888 in Chicago as a spectator rather than a delegate. On the evening of 18 June 1888, Douglass addressed a reception for black delegates to the Republican national convention. Over 2,000 people attended this gathering at the Calvary Armory. According to the Chicago *Tribune,* "Douglass was received with cheers, every one rising and throwing hats and handkerchiefs in the air." On the convention's first official day, 19 June 1888, Douglass appeared on the back of the convention platform at Armory Hall, and the audience called loudly for him to speak. The temporary chairman of the convention, John M. Thurston of Nebraska, introduced Douglass as "a man who needs no introduction—our old friend, Fred Douglass." Douglass's short address received national attention and criticism from those who disliked his forthright defense of "bloody shirt" campaign rhetoric. Douglass supported the selection of Senator John Sherman of Ohio for president but accepted the convention's choice of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and campaigned vigorously for the Republican national ticket. Subject File, reel 10, frames 361, 376, FD Papers, DLC; New York *Times,* 14, 20 June 1888; Chicago *Daily Tribune,* 19, 20 June 1888; Chicago *Times,* 20 June 1888; Washington (D.C.) *Evening Star,* 20 June 1888; New York *Mail and Express,* 22 June 1888.

436.18 Russell A. Alger] Ohio-born Russell Alexander Alger (1836–1907) was orphaned at eleven years of age. He worked as a laborer and taught school before studying law in Akron, Ohio, where he was admitted to the bar in 1859. During the Civil War Alger served in the Union army, rising to the rank of colonel. Alger participated in battles at Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and in the Shenandoah Valley but resigned his commission in September 1864 after contracting typhoid fever. Following the war Alger settled in Detroit, Michigan, where he amassed a fortune in the lumber business. He was a founder of the Michigan branch of the Grand Army of the Republic and became its national commander in 1889. Alger was elected Republican governor of Michigan for one term (1885–87), and from 1897 to 1899 served as secretary of war in President McKinley's cabinet. The stigma of inefficiency in managing that office during the war with Spain caused Alger to resign on 18 July 1899. He represented Michigan in the U.S. Senate from 1902 until his death. *ANB,* 1: 288–89; *BDUSC* (online).

436.18 Allison of Iowa] William Boyd Allison (1829–1908) briefly attended Western Reserve College before opening a law office in Ashland, Ohio, in 1852. He was one of the founders of Ohio's Republican party in 1854. After losing a county political race, Allison headed west in 1857, settling in Dubuque, Iowa, where he again practiced law. Allison's political future was assured with the case of *Gelpke v. the City of Dubuque* (1862). Herman Gelpke brought suit against Dubuque for its failure to pay interest on the railroad bonds issued to promote the building of the Dubuque Pacific Railroad. The Iowa Supreme Court ruled in favor of the city, but the U.S. Supreme Court accepted Allison's arguments that a state supreme court's interpretation of its own constitution was subject to higher authority and ruled against the city. In 1860 Allison was elected to the House of Representatives as a Republican, where he introduced a bill providing federal land grants for his old friends, the railroads. In 1870, with the support of railroad magnates, Allison was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served as Iowa's political boss for thirty-five years. A master of political compromise, Allison served on the Senate's Committee on Appropriations and its Committee on Finance, influencing the major domestic legislation of the day. Allison made two bids for the Republican presidential nomination but lost to Benjamin Harrison in 1888 and William McKinley in 1896. Leland L. Sage, *William Boyd Allison: A Study in Practical Politics* (Iowa City, 1956); *ANB,* 1:365–67; *BDUSC* (online).

436.19 Gresham of Indiana] After studying law with a prominent Indiana Whig, Walter Quintin Gresham (1832–95) was admitted to the bar in April 1854. Following the collapse of the Whigs, Gresham flirted with the Know-Nothings before settling on the Republican party, where his prominence grew. Initially moderate on the slavery issue, he pushed for sectional compromise as a member of the Indiana General Assembly during debates held during the secession winter of 1861. Following distinguished Civil War service, Gresham received an appointment in 1869 as federal district judge for Indiana by President Ulysses S. Grant. In 1880 President Chester A. Arthur appointed Gresham postmaster general, charged with implementing the Pendleton Civil Service Act. Gresham later served Arthur as secretary of the Treasury. After becoming disenchanted with the Republican party's protectionist tariff stance, Gresham threw his support to Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland in 1884, and was rewarded with appointment as secretary of state in Cleveland's first administration. In that post, he was a strict opponent of reckless expansionism, a position epitomized in his opposition to the annexation of Hawaii. Charles W. Calhoun, *Gilded Age Cato: The Life of Walter Q. Gresham* (Lexington, Ky., 1988); *ANB,* 9:572–74.

436.19 Depew of New York] Chauncey Mitchell Depew (1834–1928), railroad president and U.S. senator, was born in Peekskill, New York, and attended Yale University. In 1858 Depew was admitted to the bar. In 1862 and 1863 he served in the

New York state legislature and became a leader of the Republican party caucus in his second session. In 1866 Depew signed on as an attorney for Cornelius Vanderbilt's railroads, beginning an association that would last for the rest of his life. By 1874 he was a director of the Vanderbilt system and in 1875 became its general counsel. In 1885 Depew advanced to the presidency of the New York Central Railroad. Though primarily a businessman, Depew was drawn to politics. In 1899 Depew stepped down from the presidency of the New York Central Railroad (but remained chairman of the board) to serve in the U.S. Senate. Although Depew was criticized as a hired lobbyist for the railroad and insurance industries, he completed his two Senate terms. Chauncey Depew, *My Memories of Eighty Years* (New York, 1924); *ANB,* 6:459–60; *BDUSC* (online).

436.37–437.35 "I have only…now before you."] The text of this impromptu speech before the Republican national convention on 19 June 1888 in Chicago's Armory Hall was reported with minor variants in newspapers all across the nation. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:388–90.

437.2 Mugwump party] The term "mugwump" describes a political bolter or maverick. It was the name given to Republicans who refused to support the presidential candidacy of James G. Blaine, a man they viewed as hopelessly corrupt, in the 1884 campaign. Indeed, these true Mugwumps went a step further and supported Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland. The first known use of the term "Mugwump" was in John Eliot's Indian Bible, published in 1663. It is derived from the Algonquian word *mugquomp,* which referred to a chief or another high-ranking individual. The term was popularized politically in 1884 by the New York *Sun* and became the common name for anti-Blaine Republicans. The term persisted in the United States and Great Britain as a label for political bolters but has most often been ascribed to independent Republicans. Safire, *New Political Dictionary,* 471–72; Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 2:1098.

437.11 the solid South] In the late nineteenth century, "Solid South" referred to the supposedly monolithic vote of the southern states for the Democratic party. During Reconstruction, southern whites detested the so-called northern "Carpetbaggers" and "Scalawags" who through the Republican party controlled most state governments. The Democratic party appealed to white southerners who harbored resentment after the Confederacy's defeat, and Democratic politicians came to rely on the former Confederate states for strong support. Ironically, the phrase "Solid South" was popularized by Confederate cavalry leader John Singleton Mosby, who startled many southerners when he supported Republican (and Union army veteran) Rutherford B. Hayes over Democrat Samuel Tilden in the 1876 election. In a widely publicized letter, Mosby wrote: "Suppose Hayes is elected with a solid South against him—what are you going to do then?" Mosby's usage, in the context of a southerner fighting the solidity of the South, gave the phrase an air of political excitement. After Mosby's letter was published, *Harper's Weekly* reported that "The Solid South is the Southern Democracy seeking domination of the United States through the machinery of the Democratic party." Republicans at the time were delighted that a red-blooded southerner like Mosby had used the term in a negative light toward his native region, and the New York *Tribune,* recognizing the danger of political conglomeration, stated that "The claim of a 'solid South' is likely to do the Democrats fully as much harm as good." Nevertheless, the South voted solidly Democratic well into the mid-twentieth century. Safire, *New Political Dictionary,* 730–31.

438.2 Charles S. Morris] Charles Satchell Morris (1865–c. 1952), Baptist minister and missionary, served as minister of the Myrtle Baptist Church in West Newton, Massachusetts (1896–99), and acted as a missionary in Liberia and South Africa before accepting the pastorate of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City (1902–08). More missionary work followed his New York pastorate, and in 1911 he began a lengthy tenure at a Baptist church in Norfolk, Virginia. Morris joined Douglass on a speaking tour on behalf of Benjamin Harrison's presidential campaign in 1888. *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:xxiv, 390; William H. Ferris, *The African Abroad or His Evolution in Western Civilization,* 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1913), 2:801–04; Adam Clayton Powell, *Adam by Adam: The Autobiography of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.* (New York, 1971), 46–47; Lewis R. Harlan et al., eds., *Booker T. Washington Papers,* 14 vols. (Urbana, Ill., 1972–89), 5:102; Joseph B. Earnest, "The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1914), 221.

438.3 I made speeches in five different States] Douglass spoke in numerous localities, including engagements in at least four states, in the months leading up to the 1888 presidential election, endorsing the platform of the Republican National Committee. His September travels took him to Indiana, where he and Charles Morris spoke on 22 September. On 25 September he addressed a large crowd at Grand Rapids, Michigan, moving on to speak at Pontiac the next day. On the following Saturday, 29 September, he spoke at Detroit. Returning to New England, Douglass and others addressed Republican rallies at Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut, both on 25 October. At the end of the month, he addressed a crowd at the Park Rink in Orange, New Jersey, on 29 October. Detroit *Tribune,* 26, 27 September 1888; Washington (D.C.) *Bee,* 29 September 1888; Hartford (Conn.) *Courant,* 24 October 1888; New Haven (Conn.) *Morning Journal and Courier,* 25 October 1888; New Haven (Conn.) *Evening Register,* 26 October 1888; New York *Daily Tribune,* 30 October 1888.

438.23–24 "What doth it…lose one's soul?"] A paraphrase of Mark 8:36.

438.38–39 There seems…principle of protection] The tariff issue was in many respects the defining issue of the 1888 campaign. Placing a duty on imported goods, a tariff raises revenues while shielding domestic products from foreign competition. Cheaper goods held off the American market forced users of these goods to pay higher prices. This strategy in turn artificially supported the prices of American goods. Those who supported the tariff claimed it to be synonymous with the American way of life. It shielded "infant industries" against the international capitalists and "pauper labor"

of Europe. To many American workers it promised food on the table and expansion of jobs, particularly for the large immigrant population. Others, however, viewed the tariff as a monopolist creator of extravagant wealth that fueled corruption in Washington. Democratic nominee and presidential incumbent Grover Cleveland was among the strongest opponents of the tariff. In April 1888 his bill to revise the tariffs, the Mills Bill, went to the House. This bill proposed modest reductions that many businessmen viewed as nonthreatening. The Republican nominee, Benjamin Harrison, steadfastly supported a high protective tariff throughout his political career. During the campaign, nearly all of Harrison's speeches stressed the importance of retaining the protective tariff. He was supported by such groups as the American Iron and Steel Association and the American Protective Tariff League. When Democrats countered that Harrison's status-quo support for the tariff was akin to supporting excessive profits for businessmen while ignoring the small wage earners, the Republicans retaliated, claiming that Cleveland's tariff reforms would squelch the labor movement by unleashing a flood of cheap foreign goods. In truth, both parties' positions on the tariff hardly differed at all. Cleveland, far from wanting to abolish protectionism, merely suggested more study and minor reforms. Harrison simply stood behind the established system. Neither candidate's stance would have significantly altered the tariff, but the Republicans campaigned more successfully than the Democrats, and Harrison won the presidency. Schlesinger, *Running for President,* 387–96.

439.8 lynch law] The term "lynching" refers to punishment or physical violence by self-appointed groups without regard to established legal procedures, often resulting in death. In American vocabulary the term can be traced to the Revolutionary era, when Charles Lynch (1736–96), a Bedford County, Virginia, justice of the peace, conducted a vigilante campaign against suspected Loyalists. In the following decades "lynch laws" were inflicted throughout the nation by popular tribunals bent on punishing "transgressors of community standards." In the post-Reconstruction South, whites lynched blacks who refused to show proper deference or disputed working conditions. Southern lynch mobs were often sadistic in the brutal methods they employed to execute victims. The brutality of the lynch mob became one of the defining images of bigotry and racial oppression in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century,* 3 vols. (New York, 2001), 2:238–39; *EAAH,* 2:307–14.

439.12 President Harrison] Benjamin Harrison (1833–1901), twenty-third president of the United States, was the grandson of President William Henry Harrison. Beginning his law career in Indiana in 1854, Harrison was a strong supporter of the Republican party from its inception. He served with distinction during the Civil War, earning promotion to brigadier general by war's end. Although he ran unsuccessfully for the Indiana governorship in the 1870s, by 1877 he had acquired enough political clout to be named leader of the state Republican party. He was instrumental in helping James Garfield gain the Republican nomination in 1880 and was elected to the U.S. Senate the following year. Losing his Senate seat when the Democrats swept Indiana

in 1887, Harrison decided to try for the presidency. Despite divisions within the party, Harrison won the nomination on the eighth ballot. Douglass and other prominent African Americans campaigned widely for Harrison, who received 233 electoral votes to the incumbent Grover Cleveland's 168. Harrison was nominated again in 1892, but lost to Cleveland. He returned to practice law in Indianapolis, where he died in 1901. Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence, Kans., 1987), 7–16, 127, 185–86; *ANB,* 10:198–201.

439.12–13 Minister Resident and Consul General to the Republic of Haïti] Douglass campaigned heavily for Benjamin Harrison in 1888. Seeking a reward, Douglass applied twice in 1889 for his old position as recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia. Instead President Harrison gave Douglass the post of minister resident and consul general to Haiti. In this capacity Douglass was given the diplomatic task of acquiring the Môle, a task that proved to be difficult on account of the political and diplomatic corruption he encountered. Myra Himelhoch, "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas," *JNH,* 56:161–80 (July 1971); Merline Pitre, "Frederick Douglass and American Diplomacy in the Caribbean," *Journal of Black Studies,* 13:457–75 (June 1983); Louis Martin Sears, "Frederick Douglass and the Mission to Haiti, 1889–1891," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 21:222–38 (May 1941).

439.23–24 Neither my character…New York Press] Douglass's appointment as minister to Haiti was not well received in the American press. Supporting editors in the black press protested that the position was beneath a man of Douglass's stature. Black editors who disapproved of Douglass's personal life or political choices argued that a younger man should have been selected for the post. The mainstream northern press also criticized his mission to Haiti, claiming that the Haitian people would prefer to deal with a white man. Especially unkind to Douglass and his mission in Haiti was the African American newspaperman T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the New York *Age,* who criticized the minister for supporting an interventionist agenda in Haiti. The mainstream press, such as the New York *Times,* blamed Douglass for the failure to acquire a naval station at Môle St. Nicholas. During his tenure as minister, the press often criticized Douglass for appearing too sympathetic to the people of Haiti. His assertion that the U.S. Navy supplied negative information about him to American newspapers may not have been unfounded. In an especially scathing attack on his ministry the *Times* noted: "It is the general belief about the Navy Department that the diplomatic career of Frederick Douglass at Port au Prince is rapidly drawing to a close." New York *Times,* 25 March, 4 June 1891; Himelhoch, "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas," 164–65, 169–70.

440.13 President Hyppolite] Louis Mondestin Florvil Hyppolite (1827–96), son of a former Haitian minister, served in the Haitian military under two administrations before participating in a successful insurrection against President Etienne Félicité (Lysius) Salomon in 1888. After the assassination of the leading rebel, Séïdé Télémaque, a bloody civil war erupted in which Hyppolite commanded the forces of the nation's north against François-Denis Légitime, who held the loyalty of the south

and the capital of Port-au-Prince. Hyppolite eventually won this contest and was sworn in as president of Haiti on 17 October 1889. An able leader and diplomat, Hyppolite ruled Haiti for seven years by sharing de facto power with several regional warlords. He is remembered for his improvements of the nation's public works. Hyppolite died while preparing to suppress a rebellion in the nation's south. Robert I. Rotberg, *Haiti: The Politics of Squalor* (Boston, 1971), 96, 98–99; Heinl and Heinl, *Written in Blood,* 244, 301–20; Roland I. Perusse, *Historical Dictionary of Haiti* (Metuchen, N.J., 1977), 54; *EAAH,* 2:135–38.

440.29–30 the acquisition…Naval station] In 1888 Haiti emerged from a revolution during which its latest dictator was overthrown. Two generals, the French pawn Légitime and the American protégé Hyppolite, vied for presidential succession. Légitime overtook the presidency. The United States, under the imperialist foreign policy of President Benjamin Harrison and Secretary of State James G. Blaine, saw a chance to compete with France for naval bases in the West Indies. The United States provided material aid to Hyppolite, and the general soon overthrew Légitime's forces. As recompense, the United States expected Hyppolite to lease to it the Môle St. Nicholas, a strategic key in West Indian waters. In 1889 Douglass, the new minister resident and consul general to Haiti, and co-negotiator Rear Admiral Bancroft Gherardi, were sent to Haiti to acquire a lease on the Môle. In Haiti, Douglass was greeted affably by Hyppolite, who promised full cooperation, but circumstances soon played against Douglass. The presence of U.S. officers reconnoitering the Môle, along with imperial barbs from the American press, aroused fresh Haitian nationalism that threatened Hyppolite's rule. In the midst of this political upheaval, Hyppolite's government refused to yield to U.S. diplomatic pressure, even as Douglass continued to be treated cordially. In addition, tensions between Douglass and Gherardi complicated the negotiation process. Any last chances for acquiring the Môle evaporated when a huge fleet of U.S. ships assembled at Port-au-Prince. Amidst this concentration, Haiti declined lease of the Môle. Douglass resigned his mission on 30 July 1891 and through numerous newspaper interviews exculpated himself of any blame for the mission's failure. Sears, "Frederick Douglass and the Mission to Haiti," 222–38; Himelhoch, "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas," 161–80.

441.24–25 the following articles…and October, 1891] Douglass reproduces his two articles appearing in the September and October 1891 issues of the *North American Review.* Douglass, "Haïti and the United States, I," 337–45; idem, "Haïti and the United States, II," 450–59.

442.37–38 Rear-Admiral Gherardi] Bancroft Gherardi (1832–1903) was born in Jackson, Louisiana, to an Italian immigrant father and the sister of historian and politician George Bancroft. He received a commission in the U.S. Navy in 1846 when his uncle was secretary of the Navy. After five years of service, he briefly attended the U.S. Naval Academy, graduating in 1852. Following several Civil War and postwar assignments, he rose to the rank of rear admiral and commanded the North Atlantic Squadron (1889–92). During the Haitian civil war of 1888–89, Gherardi advised the

United States not to recognize the legitimacy of the blockade against ports controlled by Louis M. F. Hyppolite. At this time, Gherardi held many discussions with Hyppolite and his principal advisers and came to believe that, out of gratitude for the U.S. policy toward the blockade, important concessions would be granted. In January 1891 the Harrison administration appointed Gherardi special commissioner to cooperate with Douglass in negotiating a treaty for the lease of the Môle St. Nicholas as a naval coaling station. The State Department's failure to provide Gherardi with the proper credentials, however, allowed the Haitians to drag out the negotiations. Heinl and Heinl, *Written in Blood,* 309–10, 312–20; Logan, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti,* 413–14, 423–23, 439–52; *EAAH,* 2:106–07; *ACAB,* 2: 633–34; *DAB,* 7:232.

444.14–15 The policy of obtaining such a station is not new] Long before Douglass's diplomatic involvement with Haiti, the United States attempted to annex the small Caribbean island. Its rich supply of resources and its geographic location had long made it desirable to the United States and to European powers. The first attempt began in 1854. The chief forces behind these efforts were southern leaders who wanted more slave territory and the desire for a U.S. naval station at Samana Bay. However, five presidential administrations had declined to annex Samana Bay over fear of arousing French and British opposition, and prominent antislavery leaders opposed annexation. The second attempt began in January 1866, when Secretary of State William H. Seward set his sights on obtaining St. Thomas and Samana Bay as U.S. naval bases. Along with Seward, Massachusetts land speculators William L. Cazneau and Warren Fabens attempted to persuade President Grant to annex the island. Grant believed that territorial expansion would increase U.S. prestige and provide a place of refuge for American blacks. Grant's chief opposition was Senator Charles Sumner. Sumner accused the executive branch of governmental overreach and believed that annexation would obliterate Haitian independence. As debate on the annexation treaty began on 29 June 1870, pro-administration Republicans removed Sumner from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This action made the breach between Grant and Sumner irreconcilable, and Grant yielded to his opposition in the spring of 1871. Sumner was further vindicated when the president of Haiti honored him with a medal in appreciation of his bold defense of Haitian independence. Harold T. Pinkett, "Efforts to Annex Santo Domingo to the United States, 1866–1871," *JNH,* 26:12–45 (January 1941); Jeannette P. Nichols, "The United States Congress and Imperialism, 1861–1897," *Journal of Economic History,* 21:526–38 (December 1961); James A. Padgett, "Diplomats to Haiti and Their Diplomacy," *JNH,* 25:265–330 (July 1940).

444.23 Samana] Samana Bay is located on the northeastern edge of the Dominican Republic near the Mona Passage, which joins the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea. Its deep harbor made it attractive as a potential naval base. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 3:2731.

445.8 On the 26th of January, 1891] Admiral Gherardi arrived in Port-au-Prince

on 25 January 1891 and met with Douglass almost immediately. Although it cannot be confirmed that the meeting took place, as Douglass recalls, on 26 January, this is most likely the correct date given the time of Gherardi's arrival and the haste he made in arranging the meeting with Douglass. Himelhoch, "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas," 174.

445.9–10 United States Legation] The U.S. legation in Haiti was established in 1862 with the appointment of Benjamin F. Whidden as the first U.S. commissioner and consul general. Smaller than a modern embassy, a legation was often designated to facilitate international relations and to house U.S. diplomatic officers in small countries. When diplomatic relations were firmly established between the United States and Haiti following the Civil War, the legation at Haiti generally accommodated the minister and several consular agents. During Douglass's tenure in Haiti, the legation consisted of a small office facility with a public room to greet visitors and a private room that served as his official office. Norma Brown, ed., *A Black Diplomat in Haiti: The Diplomatic Correspondence of U.S. Minister Frederick Douglass from Haiti, 1889–1891,* 2 vols. (Salisbury, N.C., 1977), 1:10–18; Padgett, "Diplomats to Haiti and Their Diplomacy," 270–77.

445.10 'Philadelphia.'] A cruiser, the *Philadelphia* was built by William Cramp and Sons at Philadelphia in 1888 and launched 7 September 1889. The *Philadelphia* was the flagship of Rear Admiral Bancroft Gherardi during his command of the North Atlantic Squadron and the negotiations for annexing Môle St. Nicholas. The cruiser was removed from service and sold at public auction in 1927. Mooney, *American Naval Fighting Ships,* 5:282–83.

445.23 Blaine] James G. Blaine, Benjamin Harrison's secretary of state.

445.23 Tracy] Benjamin Franklin Tracy (1830–1915) was Benjamin Harrison's secretary of the Navy. During the Reconstruction years Tracy served as a federal attorney for the Eastern District of New York and earned a seat on the New York Court of Appeals in 1881. Building on Alfred Thayer Mahan's theory from *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), Tracy convinced Harrison and Congress that a strong, technically advanced navy was necessary for the United States to defend itself against the great European and Asian imperial nations. During Tracy's four years as naval secretary, nineteen new state-of-the-art steel warships were commissioned. Of utmost importance to Tracy's expansionist policy was the acquisition of naval bases around the world. One of Tracy's prime targets for acquisition was Haiti's deepwater harbor at Môle St. Nicholas, which was to be used as a refueling location for steamships. B. Franklin Cooling, *Benjamin Franklin Tracy: Father of the Modern American Fighting Navy* (Hamden, Conn., 1973); *EAAH,* 3:243–44; *ANB,* 21:791–94.

446.24–25 Firmin, the Haïtien Minister of Foreign Affairs] Anténor Joseph Firmin (1850–1911), Haitian statesman and author, was born in Cap Haitien in northern Haiti. Firmin studied law and became the inspector of schools in Cap Haitien. In 1881 Firmin married Rosa Salnave, daughter of the former Haitian president Sylvain Salnave, and two years later the Haitian government sent Firmin to France on diplomatic assignment. In Paris he was admitted to the Anthropological Society, where he became perhaps the first black scholar to write a systematic work of anthropology. His research led to the publishing of *The Equality of the Human Races* in 1885, a direct response to racist anthropological works of the nineteenth century such as Count Arthur de Gobineau's four-volume *Inequality of Human Races.* Firmin rejected de Gobineau's racial classifications as nonscientific and absurd; he also questioned the biological premise of race. Firmin's work denied the notion of "pure races" and celebrated the inherent values of race mixtures. He returned to Haiti in the midst of the civil war of 1888. Firmin served under Hyppolite as minister of finance, commerce, and foreign relations. In 1891 he played a key role in negotiations with U.S. Minister to Haiti Frederick Douglass and Admiral Bancroft Gherardi to establish a U.S. naval base in Haiti's deepwater harbor at Môle St. Nicholas. Firmin stood against leasing the Môle to the United States, arguing that if the Haitian government unconditionally surrendered sovereign territory to any foreign power, nationalist sentiment would grip the population and incite rebellions. He was later recognized as having played a critical role in keeping the Môle St. Nicholas under Haitian control. Firmin was appointed minister to France in 1900, and two years later he returned to Haiti as the leader of an insurrection that was defeated by government forces at Port-au-Prince. After leading a second failed insurrection in 1910, Firmin died in nearby St. Thomas. *EAAH,* 2:19.

447.2–4 Our first conference…of January, 1891] Douglass's recollection is correct. The formal opening of the negotiations for the Môle St. Nicholas began on the afternoon of 28 January 1891 at Hyppolite's presidential palace. Present at the three-hour conference were Douglass, Rear Admiral Bancroft Gherardi, Lieutenant Huse (Gherardi's interpreter), Haitian Prime Minister Antenor Joseph Firmin, and President Hyppolite. Himelhoch, "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas," 174.

448.20 Légitime] François-Denis Légitime (1842–1935) was agricultural minister in the cabinet of Haitian President Louis Félicité (Lysius) Salomon. When the latter was overthrown in August 1888, Légitime attempted to succeed him. The supporters of Louis M. F. Hyppolite disputed the legitimacy of Légitime's election on 16 December 1888 as the fourteenth president of Haiti. At the start of the eight-month civil war that followed, Légitime held control of only the capital of Port-au-Prince and a portion of Haiti's south. The loyalty of the nation's navy to Légitime, however, allowed him to declare a blockade of ports commanded by Hyppolite. His regime even won recognition from the major European powers as the legitimate government of the whole country. Thanks in part to the United States' refusal to recognize Légitime's government or its blockade, Hyppolite's strength grew. By the time President Benjamin Harrison finally recognized the authority of Légitime's rule in June 1889, he controlled only the immediate area around Port-au-Prince. On 22 August 1889 Légitime conceded defeat and sailed into exile. Légitime lived in Paris for a time but returned to Haiti in 1896, remaining there until his death. Jacques-Nicholas Léger, *Haiti: Her History and Her Detractors* (1907; Westport, Conn.,

1970), 241–44; Heinl and Heinl, *Written in Blood,* 239–40, 229–301, 303–09; Logan, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti,* 397–99, 426–47.

450.7 Clyde steamer] One of the ships owned by the Clyde Steamship Line, based out of New York and operated by William P. Clyde. Pitre, "Frederick Douglass and American Diplomacy," 457–75.

450.8 Gonaïves] The port town of Gonaïves is on the west coast of Haiti. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 1:1131.

450.25 Kingston, Jamaica] The capital city of Jamaica, Kingston was settled following the destruction of Port Royal, a former haven for buccaneers and thieves, by an earthquake in 1692. Growth was rapid, and by 1703 Kingston was the chief seat of trade on the island. In 1872 it became the nation's capital. Brian Rajewski, ed., *Cities of the World: A Compilation of Current Information,* 4 vols. (London, 1999), 2:309; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:1567.

450.25–26 the desired letter of credence arrived] In his dispatch to Secretary of State James G. Blaine on 18 February 1891, Douglass reported the incident in which the Haitian foreign minister demanded additional credentials before initiating negotiations with Admiral Bancroft Gherardi for the desired naval base lease at Môle St. Nicholas. After nearly two months' delay, a letter from President Benjamin Harrison dated 9 April arrived in Haiti about 18 April 1891. The letter of credence authorized Gherardi to negotiate for the naval station. Brown, *Black Diplomat in Haiti,* 2:71–75, 100–104.

451.38 rood] A medieval term measuring a plot of land, or a roodland.

452.1–2 This sentiment originated…her national existence] Coming under French rule in 1697, Haiti prospered thanks to forestry and sugar-related industries. The abolition of slavery in France following the French Revolution in 1789 inspired Haiti's half-million black slaves to revolt. In a series of violent uprisings led by the ex-slave-turned-general in the French army, Toussaint L'Ouverture, slaves killed white planters and razed estates. By 1801 he controlled the entire island, and abolished slavery through a new constitution. In retaliation the French emperor, Napoleon, sent seventy warships and 25,000 men to Haiti to suppress the uprising. Although Toussaint L'Ouverture was captured and eventually died in a French prison, his successor, Jean Jacques Dessalines, continued the struggle. In 1803 the French army, decimated by disease, surrendered. Haiti declared its independence on 1 January 1804. Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 1–6; Timothy L. Gall, ed., *Worldmark Encyclopedia of the Nations,* 5 vols. (Detroit, 2004), 3:250–51.

452.19–21 It more than…destiny of Haïti] Douglass was well aware of the hawkish stance taken by the major New York City newspapers regarding U.S. acquisition of the Môle St. Nicholas. The New York *Times* was the most explicit in its assertion that U.S. control of the Môle was akin to dominance of the Haitian nation. The 25 February 1891 issue of the *Times* stated that Haitian president Florvil Hyppolite's refusal to cede the Môle was rooted in fear of losing power. Other New York papers only occasionally dedicated column space to the negotiations. In a 14 August article, the New York *Tribune,* like the *Times,* painted President Hyppolite as a scoundrel determined to preserve his powerful position. The *Tribune* inferred that the ceding of the Môle to the United States would essentially render Hyppolite's government powerless and put Haiti under U.S. control. New York *Times,* 25 February, 25 March, 9 April 1891; New York *Daily Tribune,* 14 April, 26 August 1891.

453.27 William P. Clyde & Co., of New York] Douglass alludes to the New York-based shipping company headed by magnate William P. Clyde. Founded in 1844 by Clyde's father, Thomas Clyde, the enterprise became the largest coastal steamship company in the United States. Expansion into rail lines in the United States and Panama increased the company's hold on transportation, and in the late 1880s Clyde viewed Haiti as the next logical extension of operations. Clyde sought the support of Douglass to promote the company's business interests in Haiti, most specifically through the Clyde Concession. The Clyde agent who contacted Douglass to help the company procure a concession from Haitian president Hyppolite was Captain E. C. Reed of South Carolina. Pitre, "Frederick Douglass and American Diplomacy," 469; *EAAH,* 1:307–08.

454.2 the Clyde concession] The Clyde Contract, or Clyde Concession, was a shipping concession proposed by the Clyde Steamship Line to Haitian president Louis Mondestin Florvil Hyppolite. Douglass supported this grant, which was to be a reward for the Clyde Line's services to Hyppolite's forces during his struggle to maintain power over rival François D. Légitime in 1888–89. The Clyde Line, with the backing of the U.S. Navy, ran in ten shiploads of supplies to Hyppolite's forces at the risk of shelling from Légitime's gunboats. Clyde claimed that because the supplies had been delivered under fire, and shipped at prewar freight rates that were significantly lower than they should have been, Hyppolite's government owed the Clyde Line a subsidy. The concession called for a subsidy of half a million dollars to establish a steamship line between New York and seven Haitian ports. It would also include a lease on Haiti's deepwater harbor at Môle St. Nicholas for ninety-nine years, allowing a U.S. naval base to be established there. Joan Dayan, "A Few Stories about Haiti, or, Stigma Revisited," *Research in African Literatures,* 35:169–72 (Summer 2004); Pitre, "Frederick Douglass and American Diplomacy," 469; *EAAH,* 1:307–08.

455.14 jocosely] Jokingly.

456.27–28 France, England and…give it recognition] European countries were not eager to officially recognize the postrevolutionary government of Haiti. As the historically dominant foreign power in Haitian affairs, France was not easily convinced to accept the presidency of Florvil Hyppolite. When a struggle for power in 1888 ended in the ousting of existing president Lysius Salomon, France gave aid to Hyppolite's challenger, the military leader François Légitime. Great Britain also provided silent support for Légitime. Fearing the port at Môle St. Nicholas would fall into French hands under a Légitime presidency, the United States cooperated with Hyppolite, in hopes that a U.S. naval station could be established in this strategic

location. After Hyppolite was confirmed as president of Haiti, however, ties between the Caribbean nation and European powers were mended. By November 1889, Haiti dispatched ministers plenipotentiary to France, Germany, Great Britain, and Spain. Brown, *Black Diplomat in Haiti,* 1:29–32; Himelhoch, "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Môle St. Nicolas," 161–62.

457.23 World's Columbian Exposition] The World's Columbian Exposition was held in 1893 in Chicago, Illinois, to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of America. Many of the leading cities in the United States competed to host the exposition. Chicago was chosen partly because it was a major railroad center, but also because it guaranteed to raise $10,000,000. The exposition continued in the tradition of the Philadelphia Centennial (1876), encompassing a vast, gardened layout with numerous separate buildings along Chicago's south lakefront area. The chief planners were Chicago architects Daniel H. Burnham and John W. Root; the designer in chief was Charles B. Atwood, and Frederick Law Olmsted was in charge of landscaping. The exposition marked the debut of the Ferris wheel, invented by Pittsburgh engineer G. W. G. Ferris. Those attending the exposition were also dazzled by another new wonder, electricity, presented for the first time in America. Douglass attended the fair as a representative of Haiti, but was angry because African American participation in the festivities was limited. *EAAH,* 3:370–72.

460.11–12 a city recently transformed] Under the direction of Alexander Robey ("Boss") Shepherd, the District of Columbia's Board of Public Works, an appointed body of the territorial government established in 1871, initiated a "comprehensive plan of improvements" to relieve the city of its rural vestiges. Highly criticized and the subject of two congressional investigations for its extravagance, shortsightedness, and corruption, the program nevertheless generated improvements in sewage, roadway, sidewalk, and building construction. The resultant threat of financial bankruptcy, however, undermined Congress's faith in territorial governance for the District, and on 20 June 1874 it was replaced by a presidentially appointed temporary commission, harbinger of the permanent Board of Commissioners created by Congress in 1878. The new arrangement stripped the District of self-government and denied its citizens of the franchise they had exercised since 1867. Green, *Washington,* 1:313–82; Whyte, *Uncivil War,* 114–78, 203–61; Tindall, *History of the City of Washington,* 247–76; Bryan, *History of the National Capital,* 2:586–90.

462.27–29 he delivered us…rebellion to oppose] An allusion to the letter of 26 June 1786 from Thomas Jefferson to Jean Nicholas Demeunier. Thomas Jefferson, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. Julian Boyd, 36 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1950–), 10:63.

462.36 When he tarried long on the mountain] Douglass conflates words and themes from the books of Genesis and Exodus, providing a parallel to the pre-Emancipation situation in the trying of Jehovah's people through the seeming failures, desertion, and inscrutability of their leaders. Jacob, for example, could restore his brother Laban's trust only by withdrawing with him to offer proofs, on which occasion they "tarried all night in the mount." During the forty days and nights that Moses spent on Mount Sinai, receiving the laws of God, the people of Israel chided and murmured against Moses and reverted to distrust. Gen. 31:54; Exod. 19:19–20.

462.36–37 we were the cause of the war] In his "Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Negroes" on 14 August 1862, Lincoln stated: "but for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of Slavery and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence." Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 5:372.

463.3 General Frémont] John Charles Frémont.

463.4 commander of the Army of the Potomac] General George B. McClellan.

463.28 loved Cæsar less than Rome] Douglass paraphrases *Julius Caesar,* sc. 9, lines 1408–09.

464.6–7 slavery abolished in the District of Columbia] Lincoln signed the bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia on 16 April 1862. Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 2:737–39.

464.8–9 slave-trader hanged like any other pirate or murderer] The son of a respected seagoing family from Maine, Captain Nathaniel P. Gordon (?–1862) was the first and only person to be executed under U.S. law for participation in the slave trade. In 1848 he commanded the *Juliet,* a ship suspected of carrying slaves, but inspectors could not find sufficient evidence for conviction. Little more is known of Gordon until 1860, when he and two mates, William Warren and David Hall, were brought to trial in New York on 18 June after the capture of his ship, the *Erie,* on a slave run. Gordon was prosecuted under the act of 10 May 1820, which declared the slave trade to be piracy and decreed death to anyone working or traveling on an American ship engaged in the transportation or trade of prospective slaves. Although Gordon maintained that he had sold the *Erie* to Spaniards on the Congo River and had been on board merely as a passenger, the testimony of four crewmen against him enabled the prosecution to dispose of this and other alibis, and on 30 November he was sentenced to death by hanging. Gordon appealed to Lincoln, with much public support, for commutation of the sentence to life in prison. Lincoln, however, granted only a stay of execution of two weeks so that Gordon could prepare himself for death. Gordon was hanged at the Tombs, a New York City prison, on 21 February 1862. The *Erie*'s mates were convicted of misdemeanors, with jail sentences of eight to ten months and fines under $500. On 20 May, three months after Gordon's execution, the Lincoln administration and the British government negotiated a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade. Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837–1862* (Berkeley, 1963), 25, 88–90, 199–202; Lincoln, *Collected Works,* 5:128–29; Carl Sifakis, *Encyclopedia of American Crime,* 2d ed., 2 vols. (New York, 2001), 1:289.

464.16 slavery forever impossible in the United States] The Emancipation Proclamation.

464.23–24 word of deliverance which we have heard read to-day] Douglass

attended and spoke at meetings celebrating the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation that were held on 1–2 January 1863 in Boston's Tremont Temple and Twelfth Baptist Church. *Lib.,* 2 January 1863; *DM,* 4:796–97 (February 1863); Holland, *Frederick Douglass,* 294–95; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass,* 199–201; idem, *Negro in the Civil War,* 171–74.

466.1 should have its pound of flesh] An allusion to *Merchant of Venice,* sc. 18, line 2105.

466.11 wounded in the house of his friends] Zech. 13:6.

466.33–36 "A spade…what you will."] An adaptation of the opening and refrain from Thomas Hood's "The Lay of the Laborer." Thomas Hood, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Hood* (Boston, 1857), 132–35.

467.12 Lincoln was met by a tremendous crisis] Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated on 4 March 1861; the first military confrontation of the Civil War occurred at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, on 12 April 1861. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary,* 15, 299–300.

467.15–16 the Union was practically dissolved;] Within a few weeks of Abraham Lincoln's electoral victory in 1860, South Carolina seceded, its legislature having passed the ordinance of secession on 20 December 1860 by a vote of 169 to 0. In the remaining months before Lincoln's inauguration on 4 March 1861, six other states left the Union: Mississippi (9 January), Florida (10 January), Georgia (19 January), Louisiana (26 January), and Texas (1 February). Ransom, *Conflict and Compromise,* 164–65; Stampp, *And the War Came,* 5–7, 13, 136; Hinks and McKivigan, *Antislavery and Abolition,* 604–06.

467.20–21 His predecessor in office] James Buchanan.

467.32 "Let the Union slide."] Nathaniel P. Banks of Maine, speaker of the House of Representatives of the 34th Congress, was purported to have expressed this sentiment in 1855. New York *Times,* 25 December 1855; Joshua R. Giddings, *History of the Rebellion: Its Authors and Causes* (New York, 1864).

467.33 Union maintained by the sword] On 9 November 1860, an editorial in the New York *Tribune* stated: "We never hope to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets." Robert S. Harper, *Lincoln and the Press* (New York, 1951), 101.

469.2–3 from a speech…of colored people] Although the anniversary of the emancipation from slavery in the British colonies is 1 August, Douglass's address in Elmira, New York, was actually delivered during the afternoon of 3 August 1880 as part of the city's day-long combined celebration of West Indian Emancipation and the Emancipation Proclamation. The day's activities began at dawn with a gun salute followed by prayer meetings at the African Union Methodist Protestant Church and the A.M.E. Zion Church at 10:00 a.m., another gun salute at 11:00 a.m., and a procession from Temperance Hall to Hoffman's Grove, the site of Douglass's address. Fifteen delegations, including the Colored Veterans of the Civil War, the Elmira Colored Y.M.C.A., and the Masons, marched with Douglass to the grove. The Reverend M. E. Collins opened the program with a prayer. John W. Jones, the presiding officer, called the assembly to order and introduced William H. Lester, who delivered a dramatic reading of the Emancipation Proclamation. Jones then introduced Douglass, who spoke for two hours, ending the afternoon's exercises. The Elmira *Advertiser* observed that "his oration was long, and delivered from manuscript; the speaker utters his sentences deliberately, and his hearers never tire." Douglass had earlier declined an invitation to lecture in Elmira that evening, claiming that a two-hour outdoor address was all he could manage in a single day because "my forty years of speaking have left me less strong than younger men." Having spent the previous night in Elmira, Douglass left that city by train immediately following his speech to deliver a campaign address in Rochester the next day. Douglass to Charles J. Langdon, 9 August 1880, CtHnf; Elmira (N.Y.) *Advertiser,* 23, 30, 31 July, 3 August 1880; Washington (D.C.) *People's Advocate,* 7 August 1880; Holland, *Colored Orator,* 348.

469.5 president of the day] John W. Jones (1817–1890), a former slave from Leesburg, Virginia, presided over the celebration as president of the day. Jones escaped from slavery in 1844 and came to Elmira on 5 July of the same year. In 1847 he was appointed sexton of the First Baptist Church, a post he held for forty-three years. Throughout the 1850s Jones also served as a leading agent for the Underground Railroad in Elmira, aiding over 800 fugitive slaves traveling between Philadelphia and St. Catharines, Canada. A prominent and much-loved figure in the city, Jones died at his farm on 26 December 1900. Elmira (N.Y.) *Advertiser,* 3 August 1880; Clay W. Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp: A History of the Military Prison at Elmira, N.Y., July 6, 1864, to July 10, 1865* (New York, 1912), 140–50.

470.13 the British throne] William IV (1765–1837), formerly the Duke of Clarence, reigned as king of Great Britain from 26 June 1830 to his death on 20 June 1837, when he was succeeded by Princess Victoria. Although he had earlier led the West Indian planters' opposition to William Wilberforce's 1791 abolition bill, as king William IV was content to leave matters of slavery emancipation, reform, and other political affairs to his administrators. Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (New York, 2007), 164; *DNB,* 21:325–31.

470.15–16 eight hundred thousand people] According to the report from contemporary observers Reverend James Armstrong Thome and Joseph Horace Kimball, 793,680 slaves were fully emancipated by 1 August 1838. However, only the 34,145 slaves residing in Antigua and Bermuda, or 4.3 percent of the eventual total freed, were emancipated in 1834. James A. Thome and Joseph H. Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies: A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbados, and Jamaica in the Year 1837,* 2d ed. (New York, 1839), xiv.

470.38 witnessed the scene] In order to maintain social control over the emancipated slaves in the British West Indies, colonial administrators ordered churches to open their doors to the black public on 1 August 1834. In Montego Bay and Falmouth approximately 3,000 and 1,600 former slaves, respectively, attended religious ceremonies. In their report *Emancipation in West Indies,* Reverend James Armstrong

Thome and Joseph Horace Kimball provide numerous accounts of the response to the abolition of slavery in the island of Antigua. As one eyewitness describes it, on the stroke of midnight a black congregation "broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, 'Glory,' 'alleluia;' they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands." Thome and Kimball describe other, similar scenes of prayer and rejoicing from ex-slaves during this day of emancipation, although other forms of celebration, including drumming, dancing, drinking, and torchlight processions, were reported in Jamaica and Trinidad. Thome and Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies,* 114–17; J. R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge, La., 2007), 17–25.

471.5–8 "When a deed…East to West."] Douglass quotes the first lines of James Russell Lowell's poem "The Present Crisis." Lowell, *Poetical Works,* 1:185.

472.5–6 William Knibb] Born in Kettering, England, William Knibb (1803–43) was a printer's apprentice before he became affiliated with the London-based Baptist Missionary Society. Along with Thomas Burchell, Knibb was sent as a missionary to the black population of Jamaica in 1824, eventually heading the mission post at Falmouth. Harassed even before the Jamaician slave insurrection of 1831–32, Knibb and Burchell were persecuted during and shortly after it by Jamaician authorities and white colonists who held them responsible for this so-called Baptist War. Both men were arrested and tried for inciting slave insurrection but were acquitted because evidence against them had been fabricated. Nevertheless, proslavery mobs, composed partly of militia, destroyed the chapels, manses, and personal effects of both men. The missionaries fled the island in spring 1832. Knibb went to England, where he lectured extensively on behalf of West Indian emancipation for the Anti-Slavery Agency. By 1834 the two men were able to return to Jamaica, where they spent the rest of their lives expanding their missionary operations, working with the freed people, and speaking out against the abuses of the apprenticeship system and the imposition of the planter class. Knibb attended the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London. [William Knibb], *Facts and Documents Connected with the Late Insurrection in Jamaica* (London, 1832); John H. Hinton, *Memoir of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica* (London, 1847); Philip Wright, *Knibb "The Notorious": Slaves' Missionary, 1803–1845* (London, 1973).

473.37–38 Frémont's order, freeing the slaves of the rebels in Missouri] On 30 August 1861, John Charles Frémont, commanding general of the Western Department, issued a proclamation from his headquarters in St. Louis that instituted martial law in Missouri, threatened to execute those found guilty of bearing arms against the federal government, and declared free the slaves of all persons in Missouri who were aiding the Confederacy. In a letter of 11 September 1861, President Lincoln ordered Frémont to amend the portion of his proclamation concerning slaves so that it would conform to the Confiscation Act of 6 August 1861. That act deprived the owners of slaves being used to aid the rebellion of their claim to the labor of such slaves but did not alter the legal status of the bondsmen themselves. Lincoln to [John C.] Frémont, 2, 11 September 1861, in Lincoln, *Collected Works,* ed. Basler, 4:506–07, 517–18; *OR,* ser. 1, 3:466–67; Gerteis, *Contraband to Freedman,* 16.

474.1 proposition to arm colored men] In March 1863 Congress passed the Enrollment Act, enabling northern states to conscript "all able-bodied male citizens," including black men. This was followed on 22 May by the War Department's General Order 143: creation of the U.S. Colored Troops, which established the Bureau for Colored Troops, under the control of the adjutant general, to administer black military units. Michael T. Meier, "Lorenzo Thomas and the Recruitment of Blacks in the Mississippi Valley, 1863–1865," in *Black Soldiers in Blue,* ed. Smith, 249–75; John David Smith, "Let Us All Be Grateful That We Have Colored Troops That Will Fight," in ibid., 1–77.

474.13 William Edward Forster] William Edward Forster (1818–86), a woolen manufacturer and reformer from Bradford, England, was educated in Quaker schools. As an active lecturer in Bradford and Leeds after the early 1840s, he urged the adoption of free-trade principles, a compromise with British Chartists, the reform of Parliament, and the worldwide abolition of slavery. In 1859 he narrowly missed election to Parliament as a Liberal but two years later secured a seat that he held until his death. Over his long legislative career, Forster became increasingly more conservative, as illustrated by his later stands on educational reform and on the suppression of the Land League in Ireland. *DNB,* 7:465–71.

474.14 permitted "Alabamas" to escape from British ports] In desperate need of modern warships, the Confederacy entered into secret agreements with a number of British and French shipbuilding firms. To avoid violations of neutrality laws, all contracts were made with private citizens rather than with the Confederate government, and armaments were not installed until after the sales had been completed and the vessels had left the shipyards. In 1862 the cruisers *Florida* and *Alabama* were permitted out of Britain under those conditions and soon afterward commenced careers as commerce raiders. The protests of the Lincoln administration, as well as fears that the precedent being established could someday be used against Britain itself, caused the Palmerston government to change its policy by 1863. D. P. Crook, *The North, the South, and the Powers, 1861–1865* (New York, 1974), 258–62, 292, 322–30; Lynn M. Case and Warren F. Spencer, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia, 1970), 427–80; Adams, *Britain and the Civil War,* 2:116–51.

475.12–14 Curran once said…the British soil."] An often-repeated remark by John Philpot Curran (1750–1817), which he made while defending a fellow Irishman from libel. Curran was a well-known Irish orator, politician, and lawyer. In his legal work he frequently argued on behalf of "lost causes." He was recognized for his ready wit and sharp tongue. Curran attended Trinity College, Dublin, before entering Middle Temple, London, to study law. Entering the Irish bar in 1775, he mostly practiced chancery law and later served as a king's counsel and in the Irish House of

Commons. Curran also fought in five duels, as both the challenged and the challenger. *DNB,* 5:332–40.

475.28–29 fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are virtually nullified] Redeemers in the southern states opposed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments' enfranchisement of African Americans by limiting black voting power and indirectly keeping Republicans from holding governmental positions. In Georgia a poll tax was established, which restricted much of the state's underclass black population from voting, while in Mississippi, Alabama, and other southern states gerrymandering techniques were executed to weaken the remaining black vote. Additionally, Mississippi rid itself of Republican officials by establishing strict bond requirements, while North Carolina and Alabama even managed to restore the localized form of government they maintained during the antebellum era by transferring power to select county officials. By the mid-1870s such actions effectively discouraged many northerners from continuing federal protection of southern blacks. Foner, *Reconstruction,* 422, 586–87, 590–91.

476.26–29 swindled out of…life and starvation] Following the Civil War, ex-slaves in the South were often abused by white landowners, who contractually mortgaged their crops at inflated fees of from $5 to $10 per acre. Black farmers of cotton crops were particularly mistreated, since the ginning process required for the cotton was controlled by white landlords who monopolized the market and forced tenants to accept their high production fees. Additionally, white southern storekeepers tended to price products at over twice their market value and charged high interest rates on outstanding balances. As a result of such white-imposed credit systems, most rural blacks in the South remained in debt-ridden poverty throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (New York, 1977), 159–70; Painter, *Exodusters,* 54–68.

477.18–19 When the Hebrews…from the Egyptians] The Bible states that, upon their emancipation, the Hebrews were "spoiled" by their erstwhile masters, and received from the Egyptians everything they required. The emancipation of the Hebrews from Egypt forms the core of what is known as the Exodus event found in the Old Testament book of the same name. It was during this time that Moses became the leader of the Hebrew people, ultimately leading them to Canaan, "the promised land." Although the Exodus event was once believed to have been a historical event, modern historians doubt in varying degrees the story's accuracy. Most agree that, at the very least, the general historicity of the Exodus event explains most reasonably the other known facts of that era and region. Conclusive dating of the Exodus event based on extrabiblical sources is impossible, though a plausible period from 1260 to 1220 BCE has been established. Exod. 3:1–19; *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 2:700–08.

477.20–21 serfs of Russia…make a living] Alexander II's Emancipation Manifesto of 5 March 1861 freed most classes of Russian serfs, those laboring on private estates and in domestic households. All emancipated serfs were granted the full rights of citizens, including the ability to marry, own property, and own and operate businesses. Serfs owned by wealthy landlords were given allotments of land, while household serfs were not. State-owned serfs remained in bondage until 1866. Bruce F. Adams, "The Emancipation of the Russian Serfs, 1861," in *Events That Changed the World in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Frank W. Thackeray and John E. Findling (Westport, Conn., 1996), 93–111; N. M. Druzhinin, "The Emancipation Legislation," in *Emancipation of the Russian Serfs,* ed. Terence Emmons (New York, 1963), 19–25.

478.8–11 Jews…in all countries] Full Jewish emancipation was achieved during the mid-nineteenth century in most countries except tsarist Russia. In uneven developments throughout Western and Central Europe between 1830 and 1880, Jews were no longer restricted in rights of residence, real estate acquisition, and choice of profession. Hilary L. Rubinstein et al., *The Jews in the Modern World: A History since 1750* (London, 2002), 14–44.

478.30 You cannot make an empty sack stand on end] Variants of this aphorism, which has seventeenth-century Italian antecedents, appeared in Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* in 1740, 1750, and 1758. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 39 vols. (1959–), 2:248, 3:446, 7:348.

479.25 We shall reap as we sow] Douglass paraphrases Gal. 6:7.

480.1–2 colored schools in…the white schools] The city's first black public school was established in 1864, and by 1868 all Washington districts except the fifth contained respectably furnished schools for African American children. Teacher performance at these schools had been deemed more than satisfactory. Blacks participated energetically in the development and growth of the school system, which was in most respects structurally equivalent to the public school system serving whites. Henry Barnard, *Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of the Public Schools in the District of Columbia, Submitted to the Senate, June 1868, and to the House, with Additions, June 13, 1870* (Washington, D.C., 1871), 274–76; Emmett D. Preston, Jr., "The Development of Negro Education in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro Education,* 9:601–03 (October 1940).

480.7 bull-dozer's whip] A bull-dose, or bull-doze, was a severe flogging or forceful coercion. Later the word was used for a heavy pistol or for one who used such a weapon. During Reconstruction the term "Bulldozers" was one of a number of the nicknames applied to terrorist groups aiming at the violent overthrow of Republican state governments in the South. Roller and Twyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History,* 159; Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 1:461–62.

480.12–14 To-day the negro…millions in Louisiana] The figure for Georgia can be verified: state records in 1879 listed the aggregate taxed property of blacks as $5,182,398. *Report of the Comptroller General of Georgia,* 153–57.

481.4 On the day…James A. Garfield] President James A. Garfield was interred at Cleveland's Lake View Cemetery on 26 September 1881. He had been shot on the

morning of 2 July 1881 as he and several cabinet members waited to board a train at the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad terminal in Washington, D.C. The assassin, a disgruntled office seeker named Charles Guiteau, entered the station and fired two shots at the president. One passed through his coat sleeve, but the second entered Garfield's abdomen, mortally wounding him. The president was taken to the White House, where he was attended by several doctors. In early September he was moved to the New Jersey shore to escape the capital's late summer heat. On 19 September he died from complications of the wound. Funeral services were held at the Capitol on 23 September, before the body was moved to Ohio for burial. New York *Times,* 3 July, 23 September 1881; Doenecke, *Presidencies of Garfield and Arthur,* 53–54.

481.4–5 Lake View cemetery, Cleveland, Ohio] Cleveland's Lake View Cemetery was Ohio's first rural cemetery. It was founded in 1869 by Jeptha H. Wade and others who believed that Cleveland should have a garden cemetery outside the city limits, which would focus on natural beauty and have an atmosphere suggesting a park. Lake View was established east of Cleveland and had a view of Lake Erie. Since Cleveland already had specifically designated Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish cemeteries, Lake View was designated as nonsectarian. Some of the dignitaries interred at Lake View include John D. Rockefeller and President James A. Garfield. Marian J. Morton, *Cleveland's Lake View Cemetery* (Charleston, S.C., 2004), 7–8.

481.8 Fifteenth street Presbyterian church] The Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., was originally located in a schoolhouse owned by John F. Cook on H Street near 14th Northwest. It was established in 1842 and was known as the First Colored Presbyterian Church of Washington. Forty people originally worshiped there, but in 1853 they were joined by members from surrounding churches such as the First, Second, and Fourth Presbyterian Churches. This increase enabled the members to build a small frame church on Fifteenth Street, between I and K Streets. The first pastor was John F. Cook, who was officially installed as minister in 1855. Following his pastorate, there were several temporary ministers who served two or three years at most. From 1878 to 1885, Reverend Francis J. Grimké preached there, and the church had a spiritual awakening. The Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church became well known before and after the Civil War as a place of public assembly and referendum. The building was sold in 1918, and the church was relocated to a larger structure on R and Fifteenth Streets. H. W. Crew, *Centennial History of the City of Washington, D.C.* (Dayton, Ohio, 1892), 565; John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," *JNH,* 7:80–81 (January 1922).

481.12–13 made the following…and touching event] Douglass delivered this eulogy for the assassinated President James A. Garfield at a memorial service on 26 September 1881 in Washington, D.C. Washington (D.C.) *National Republican,* 27 September 1881; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 5:35–37.

483.1 John Mercer Langston] John Mercer Langston (1829–97), educator, lawyer, diplomat, and U.S. congressman, was born in Louisa County, Virginia, to a white planter and his mistress, an emancipated slave of black and American Indian ancestry.

Orphaned at an early age but possessed of a substantial inheritance, Langston grew up in Ohio, graduated from Oberlin College (1849), and, in 1854, gained admission to the Ohio bar under a precedent allowing certain rights to "a colored man who is nearer white than mulatto or half-breed." A year later he won the office of town clerk in Brownhelm and with it the distinction of being one of the first blacks to hold public office in the United States. He later held elective posts in Oberlin. During the late 1840s and the 1850s he and his older brother Charles were active in the black convention movement in Ohio. At first a colonizationist, Langston shifted his emphasis to campaigning for black education and suffrage. He also spoke at temperance and antislavery functions and helped to found and finance the black Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was president from 1858 to 1861. Long sympathetic to the strategy of direct resistance advocated by David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet, Langston supported rescues of captured fugitive slaves and recruited volunteers for John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry. During the Civil War he recruited black troops, opposed discrimination in the army, headed the National Equal Rights League, and successfully defended Edmonia Lewis, later a noted black sculptor, in a celebrated poisoning case at Oberlin College. Langston was inspector general of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868 and a leading proponent of loyalty to the Republican party at conventions of the Colored National Labor Union in 1869 and 1871. From 1869 until 1876 he was a professor of law and dean at Howard University. Appointed minister to Haiti in 1877, Langston held diplomatic posts until 1885, when he returned to Virginia as president of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute in Petersburg. In 1888 he won a disputed congressional election in Virginia's Fourth District, defeating a white Democrat and a white Republican in a race that was ultimately decided by the House of Representatives. Douglass opposed Langston's candidacy as tending to split the Republican ranks. John Mercer Langston, *From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capital* (Hartford, Conn., 1894); Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 176; Geoffrey Blodgett, "John Mercer Langston and the Case of Edmonia Lewis: Oberlin, 1862," *JNH,* 53:201–18 (July 1968); William Cheek, "A Negro Runs for Congress: John Mercer Langston and the Virginia Campaign of 1888," *JNH,* 52:14–34 (January 1967); ibid., "John Mercer Langston: Black Protest Leader and Abolitionist," *CWH,* 16:101–20 (June 1970); *DANB,* 382–84; *DAB,* 10:597–98.

483.2 Port au Prince] The capital of Haiti and its chief seaport, Port-au-Prince is located in the southwestern part of the country, at the end of the Gulf of Gonaives. It was founded in 1749 by French sugar planters in the area originally called Saint Dominique, renamed Haiti in 1804. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer,* 2:2489–90.

483.3 Liberia] Assisted by the American Colonization Society, free black American settlers arrived in 1822 in what would be called the Republic of Liberia. Over the next twenty-five years, new settlements were established along the coast; the most prominent was Moesurado, founded in 1822, which became Monrovia, the new nation's capital. The settlers, who became known as "Americo-Liberians," declared the national independence of Liberia in 1847. Indigenous people in the territory were

composed of several different tribes, including the Kru and Grebo. Emigration to Liberia from the United States continued well into the 1870s; many of the new settlers were "recaptives," Africans rescued from the now illegal slave ships. Despite their belief that Africa was a "Promised Land," Americo-Liberians carried over many American customs and social standards. Both the Americo-Liberians and many of the recaptives considered themselves both American and superior to the indigenous tribal Africans. The government of Liberia was ostensibly democratic and was modeled after that of the United States. The True Whig party, led by Americo-Liberians, dominated Liberian politics, often offering the only candidates for office, until 12 April 1980, when a military coup d'état took control of the nation. Liebenow, *Liberia,* 11–29, 88–92, 184–96; Robert Rinehart, "Historical Setting," in *Liberia,* ed. Nelson, 1–32; Irving Kaplan et al., "The Society and Its Environment," in ibid., 70–72.

483.10 Professor Greener] Philadelphia-born Richard T. Greener (1844–1922) was the first African American to graduate from Harvard College, graduating in 1870. Greener then read law and was admitted to the bar in South Carolina in 1876. He taught at Howard University's Law Department and then became dean (1879–80). He came into conflict with Frederick Douglass, who then served as a Howard University trustee, over the issue of western migration for African Americans. As secretary of the Exodus Committee, Greener advocated migration to Kansas, but Douglass strongly opposed the Exoduster Movement. Following the disbanding of Howard University's law school in 1880, Greener worked as a lawyer and campaigned for the Republican party in 1884. In 1885 he secured appointment as chief examiner for the New York City Civil Service Board, maintaining that post until 1889. In 1898 he was appointed the first U.S. consul to Vladivostok, Russia, remaining there until 1905. Greener later settled in Chicago, where he worked for an insurance company, and became active in the Niagara Movement. Allison Blakely, "Richard T. Greener and the 'Talented Tenth's' Dilemma," *JNH,* 59:305–21 (October 1974); *ANB,* 9:535–37; *DAB,* 7:578–79.

483.13–14 Rev. W. W. Hicks] Born in Wales, William Watkin Hicks (c. 1836–?) immigrated to central Pennsylvania with his parents in 1848. He began a career in the Methodist Episcopal church in 1861 as a missionary to India. After returning to America in 1863 because of illness, Hicks was called to minister at churches in Frederick, Maryland, and then in Brooklyn. In 1868 he moved south and held ministerial positions in Charleston, Macon, and Savannah before moving to Jacksonville, Florida, around 1875, where he won a seat in the state legislature as a Liberal Republican. While there Hicks also served as the superintendent of public instruction from 1875 to 1876. Hicks joined Douglass during speaking engagements at least twice. The first occasion was in New York City for a Republican campaign stop on 25 October 1880. Then on 26 September 1881 Hicks spoke with Senator John M. Langston and Douglass at a memorial meeting for President Garfield. Following Garfield's assassination, Hicks, now a Presbyterian minister in Washington, D.C., became the spiritual adviser to the assassin, Charles J. Guiteau, for his trial and execution. Macon (Ga.) *Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal & Messenger,* 18 June 1871, 26 January 1875; Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean,* 27 September 1881; Atchison (Kans.) *Globe,* 14 July 1882; *Douglass Papers,* ser. 1, 4:581, 5:xvii; Warren Almand, ed., *Florida State University Studies,* Series: *Florida Educators* (Tallahassee, 1959), 65–73.

483.14 President Arthur] Chester Alan Arthur (1830–86) was born in East Fairfield, Vermont. In 1848 he graduated from Union College, Schenectady, New York, whereupon he became the principal of an academy in Vermont. Arthur then studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1854. During the Civil War Arthur served as the quartermaster general with the rank of brigadier general for the state of New York. After the war President Grant appointed him collector of the port of New York from 1871 to 1878. He was chosen as the running mate of Republican James A. Garfield in 1880 and became vice president on 4 March 1881. Arthur was sworn in as the twenty-first president of the United States on 20 September 1881, following the death of President Garfield. *ACAB,* 1:99–106; *DAB,* 1:373–76; *ANB,* 1:646–48; *BDUSC* (online).

Appendix A. The Rev. David Thomas, D.D., On Frederick Douglass And His Work

A book not only reveals but often contains its author. It is a kind of incarnation of himself, a body in which he lives and works, long after the brain that thought it and the pen that wrote it have mouldered into dust. In it may be seen, not merely his passing opinions and floating feelings, but his thinking intellect and throbbing heart. A book may be *less* but never *greater* than its author. A small man, however learned, can never produce a great book. A truly great book is the spontaneous outflow of a great soul, it has not the polish of art, but the bloom of nature. A book is not to be judged by the number of its pages, the consecutiveness of its reasoning, or the rhythms of its periods, but by the amount of creative life that impregnates its sentences, and breathes in its pages.

This Volume is small in bulk, but overflowing with vitality. The Author (with whom I became acquainted soon after my advent to London, and who addressed a crowded audience in the Church at Stockwell of which I was minister) gave me an impression which continues fresh to this hour, not only of his unique history, but of his extraordinary ability and genius. In memory I see him now as he appeared on the platform some thirty-six years ago. He was then a runaway slave. In stature tall, and somewhat attenuated, with a head indicative of large brain force, his dark countenance radiating with humour and genius, his large eyes, now flashing with the fire of indignation against tyranny, and now beaming with tender sympathy for his oppressed race.

As an *orator* I have never heard his superior from that day to this. His voice was clear and strong, capable of every modulation, and of conveying all classes of sentiment, from the most terrific to the most gentle. His attitudes were natural, and therefore electrically commanding. He dramatised those awful memories of wrong that were at that time burning in his soul. Ten such men in our House of Commons would make quasi-patriots and hireling statesmen quail, give the genuine lovers of right courage and effect a moral revolution. Ten such men in our London pulpits would send charlatanic pulpiteers to their "own place;" all the little *Isms* would take their wing at the thunders of their voice, whilst candid enquirers would get firmly rooted in sound ethical convictions.

Having read every line of this book, and being assured that it is re-published in this country with the *Author's consent*, I have heartily acceded to the request of the enterprising Publisher to write this brief note. To me, the book itself supplies the interest of "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*," and recalls tragic adventures equal to the boldest

creations of romance. It will, I trow, run as widely and live as long as "*Robinson Crusoe*" and kindred works, but exert at the same time a more potent and beneficent influence.

The book is an autobiography, in which a great man tells out the heartrending wrongs which he has endured, and the agonizing and tremendous struggles which he put forth for freedom and justice. The Author's life was so mixed up with the most tragical period in American history, that this autobiography reveals, in aspects new and grand, the labours of the anti-slavery reformers, such as the illustrious Lloyd Garrison, and his noble colleagues; the characters of Presidents Lincoln and Garfield; and the origin, the progress, and the issues of the great Civil War between the North and the South.

It also reveals the possibilities of a human soul to change external circumstances. Here is a man, born and bred in slavery, subject for twenty-one long years to the most terrible oppression and ruthless cruelty, bleeding under the lash of the slaveholder, incarcerated in dungeons, subject to daily insults even from the conventional sainthood of the Churches, as well as from white men everywhere, and what does he do? He breaks through all, like Samson through the "withs" that bound him, until he becomes one of the first men in the State, an associate of leading Senators, a most distinguished citizen, the "Marshal of Columbia," wearing the title of "*Honourable*". Men need never, ought not ever, to be the creature of circumstances. He degrades his manhood when he yields to externalities. Heaven has endowed him with the power to use the most unpropitious external conditions, as the skilful mariner uses hostile waves and winds, to carry him on to his destination. In truth, to a great soul, as in the case of Frederick Douglass, the most unfavourable circumstances may be turned into triumphant chariots, to bear our manhood on to its ideal power and grandeur.

Mr. Lobb, in publishing this volume, does a work of true patriotism and philanthropy. I trust that it will find its way not only to every railway stall and every circulating library, but into every British home. All who, through this work, come in contact with Frederick Douglass, will be impressed with the dignity of human nature, and feel refreshed and encouraged. They will find a *man* here: an existence, alas! somewhat rare.

Amongst millions of bipeds there are not many real men. Jeremiah was commissioned by the Almighty to "run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and to search the broad places" in order to find a "*man*." The city had at that time, not been desolated by war, nor had its inhabitants, so far as is known, been thinned by any catastrophe; its streets resounded with the tread of a crowded population, its broad market-places were thronged with those who bought and sold in "order to get gain," but amidst this dense concourse of human animals—feeding, thinking, bartering, all acting with more or less energy, and some flaunting as local magnates,—to find a *man* was a difficult work. A *man* amongst a teeming population of human animals was a rare object. The grand mission of Christianity, as I understand it, is to

convert the fleshly into the spiritual, the selfish into the generous, and thus all human animals into men. This book contains a *man*—not a man's portrait, but a man's self—breathing and thinking, weeping and rejoicing, praying and lecturing, hurling fulminations at the wrong, and smiling benedictions on the right. Truly Frederick Douglass is a grand man.

"Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, this was a man."
Shakespeare.

DAVID THOMAS.

EREWYN, UPPER TULSE HILL,
Feb. 24*th*, 1882.

Appendix B. Introductory Note by the Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P.

132, PICCADILLY, LONDON,
March 8, 1882.

To MR. JOHN LOBB,

DEAR SIR,

I am glad to hear that you are about to publish AN ENGLISH EDITION OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, in his youth a slave in the State of Maryland, now holding an honourable office in the District of Columbia, in the United States of America.

I have read the Book with great interest. It shows what may be done, and has been done, by a man born under the most adverse circumstances;—done, not for himself alone, but for his race, and for his country. It shows also, how a great nation, persisting in a great crime, cannot escape the penalty inseparable from crime.

History has probably no more striking example of the manner in which an offence of the highest guilt may be followed by the most terrible punishment, than is to be found in the events which make the history of the United States, from the year 1860 to the year 1865.

The Book which you are about to offer to English Readers is one which will stimulate the individual to noble effort and to virtue; whilst it will act as a lesson and a warning to every nation whose policy is based upon injustice and wrong.

I hope it may find its way into many thousands of English homes.

I am, with great respect,

Yours sincerely,
JOHN BRIGHT.

Appendix C. Reader Responses 1881–93

The following are contemporary published reviews of *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* located by the editors. Those lengthy passages excerpted from *Life* have been abridged. Deleted passages are indicated by ellipses and by bracketed notations of their page and line numbers in the Yale edition.

LITERARY. [Anon.]. Trenton *Sentinel*, 29 October 1881.

An excellent autobiography. Mr. Douglass has written much concerning himself, but nothing so full, complete and interesting as this. The introduction, by Geo. L. Ruffin, of Boston, is a deserved and graceful tribute to Mr. Douglass' worth and services. The mechanical execution is all that could be desired. Price, cloth, $2.50. For sale by John T. Ray, Trenton, N.J.

FRED. DOUGLASS' LIFE. A REMARKABLE VOLUME OF ADVENTURE AND REMINISCENCE. THE CAREER OF THE NEGRO PATRIOT AND MARTYR, AS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF—THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY AS A SLAVE KNEW IT. Erasmus. Philadelphia *Press*, 26 December 1881. Also reprinted in Washington, D.C. *National Republican*, 31 December 1881.

NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—Every once in a while we hear of the extraordinary success of a subscription book, yet I never knew a person who had ever bought one. Indeed I do not know how people buy them who want them unless they happen to run across an agent. Sometimes a subscription book finds its way into a bookstore, but as a general thing they cannot be purchased in the ordinary way. They are seldom sent to a paper for review, in truth the publishers prefer that they should not be reviewed. Some time ago I sent THE PRESS a few extracts from Frederick Douglass' account of his escape from slavery. That interesting paper was a chapter printed in the *Century Magazine*, in advance of publication, from "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass," by himself. This volume was published a short time after by a Hartford subscription book house, and I have been trying ever since to get a copy, and have only just succeeded. It took as much wire-pulling and correspondence as to get a Government position. No one had it but the agents, and no bookseller knew who the agents were. I have just finished reading this autobiography, and a remarkable one it is. Certainly Frederick Douglass is one of the most extraordinary men of his time. Born in slavery, of a despised race, allowed to run wild as a child, starved and beaten as a man, he managed to learn to read and write, this by the greatest stealth, and finally to so educate himself that after his escape from slavery he took rank among the orators of the day, and attained a position his "old master"

might have envied. After reading the biographies of most of the great men, I have come to the conclusion that obstacles in the path are the best incentives to those who would climb the hill of fame. If Douglass had been born in the North, a free man, he would probably never have risen above some humble position; but where every step he made cost him a blow, he determined to conquer, and he did. The story of his life is told in the simplest and most straightforward manner. I have never read a book on the subject of slavery, not even "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that made that institution appear so awful. Douglass does not seem to be straining after a sensation. There is no attempt at word painting. He gives the facts just as they were, and they need no coloring to make them more terrible.

Who his father was Douglass never knew, and his mother he only saw once, I believe. Then she walked twelve miles and back in the night to see him for a few minutes. His grandmother, who seemed to have a better position than usually fell to the lot of slaves, took care of him until he was seven years old; then he was sent to the "old master's." This "old master" was Captain Aaron Anthony, who was the "chief clerk and butler" on the home plantation of Colonel Lloyd, the owner of the "great house." Douglass belonged to Colonel Lloyd, an immensely wealthy man, who owned a thousand slaves, and lived in Oriental splendor on the eastern shore of Maryland. The description of the manner of living at this mansion reads like a romance. Fifteen noiseless slaves glided about the dining room waiting upon the guests, or fanning them with large fans as they ate. A "Yankee" tutor taught the young people, who spent their leisure in every sort of enjoyment. Colonel Lloyd was a kind husband and father, but he would have none but brutes as overseers of his slaves, and would even take the whip in his own hand and beat his most devoted and faithful servants. Douglass was accustomed to see men and women beaten in the most cruel manner from his earliest childhood. The first woman he ever saw beaten was his own cousin, who was tied up with her arms over her head, and lashed until her back was cut to the bone and the floor was red with her blood. The crime for which she suffered this terrible punishment was having spoken to a young negro with whom she was in love, but of whom her owner did not approve. As a child Douglass escaped severe floggings, but when he grew up and displayed what was considered too independent a spirit, he was beaten as cruelly as any other slave, and more so than most because he resisted. He did not shirk his work, and as he was a big, strong fellow, he accomplished a great deal, and made himself valuable to his master. When he was hired out he brought good wages home to the master, but even this did not make him show any solicitude for his health or well-being. The man who employed him was the worst sort of a brute, yet Douglass tells us that he went to church and prayed with the loudest. When Douglass was working one day, he fell twice to the ground from exhaustion and real illness. Instead of letting him rest, his employer hit him over the head with a stick of wood and kicked him with all his might. I should think a selfish motive, if nothing else, would have made him more considerate. You wouldn't want to maim a horse if he was temporarily laid up, and

why any more a man? But slavery days are over, and these stories are now things of history. Let us hope that history will not repeat itself in this instance. There is no doubt but that Douglass was an "ugly customer." He was ever really with a knock-down blow or a bitter word. It is hardly surprising that he did not feel very amiably towards the people who kept his race in bondage, maltreating innocent children and degrading defenceless women. Perhaps if he had been less of a fighter he would not have accomplished the great object of his life. The story of Douglass' escape from slavery has already been told in THE PRESS. After establishing himself at New Bedford, he was drawn into the current of anti-slavery demonstration then flowing from Massachusetts all over the country. As a runaway slave, his words carried great weight. He visited England more than once in the interest of the cause, and was warmly received by some of the best people in the country. He was very intimate with the Howitt's, and visited their house for some time. Here he met Hans Christian Anderson, but as he spoke no Swedish and the poet spoke no English, their acquaintance did not become very intimate.

There is no more interesting part of Douglass's book than that which describes his connection with John Brown. When they first met in Rochester Brown was a respectable and prosperous merchant, who owned a large brick store on one of the principal streets. After seeing the store Douglass expected that the house would be proportionately fine. On the contrary, it was a small wooden building on a back street, and the inside was plainer than the exterior. Its furniture "would have satisfied a Spartan," and there was an "air of plainness about it that almost suggested destitution." The first meal Douglass ate there was called "tea," but it consisted of "beef soup, cabbage and potatoes." The table was "innocent of paint, veneering, varnish or table-cloth," and the mother and daughters cooked the meals and did the waiting. The master of this household "fulfilled St. Paul's idea of the head of the family. His wife believed in him, and his children observed him with reverence." Douglas describes Brown as his face is known to us through the illustrated papers of those stormy days: "In person he was lean [213.6–18] neither seeking nor shunning observation."

After tea Brown cautiously approached the subject that was nearest his heart—the freeing of the slaves—and he laid his plan before Douglass. It was a bold one, and one that would send him down the pages of history either as a murderer or a martyr. He was ready to take his life in his hand, and all the money he had saved by living in the most economical manner was to be devoted to the cause. "I can but be killed," he said. There is nothing in our history better known than the John Brown raid, and there are few of us who do not respect the misguided man whose body "lies a-mouldering in the grave" while "his soul goes marching on."

Of course Douglass met Mrs. H.B. Stowe whose "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was one of the strongest weapons with which the anti-slavery fight was fought. Mrs. Stowe invited him to her house to talk over a plan for the bettering the condition of the colored people. She wanted a college at first but Douglass convinced her that shops

to teach them how to earn their living would be of greater practical value. Another person whom Douglass admired and loved was Abraham Lincoln, and well he might. "I shall never forget my first interview with this great man," he writes; "I was accompaned to the [271.26–272.4] without reserve or a doubt." The fairmindedness and humanity of Abraham Lincoln's character were never better shown than in this interview with Douglass. The latter came on behalf of the colored troops. He wanted more favors for them. He was not satisfied with the entering of the wedge, but he wanted to drive it up to the head with one blow. First, he wanted them paid the same as the white soldiers; second, he wanted a Southern prisoner of war hanged for every colored prisoner of war hanged in the South, and, third, he wanted them to be rewarded by promotion for bravery the same as the white men. If Mr. Lincoln had granted his requests Jefferson Davis would have been the next President of the United States, and there would have been a national riot, exceeding in its horrors the one in New York. I will give Mr. Lincoln's reply, as Douglass reports it:

"He began by saying that [272.29–273.14] War should commend to him."

I have given up my entire letter to this book, but as your readers will probably never meet it or know anything more of its contents, and as it is really an important chapter in the history of the anti-slavery movement and of the war, it is well worth the space.

ERASMUS

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF A SLAVE. E.L.W. London *Sunday Magazine*, (1882), 11.

SLAVERY in the British dominions was swept away by an outburst of generous and humane feeling. In the United States the same institution was destroyed amid the blood and fire of a tremendous revolutionary convulsion. Easy-going people are now too ready to assume that slavery is a thing of the past, and that to dwell upon its miseries and wrong at this time of day is to rake up an old story which had better be forgotten. There could not be a greater mistake. Those who take the trouble to inquire, or indeed to observe the statements contained in publications of the day, know too well that slavery still exists, and not only so, but that in the interior of Africa and on the African coast the slave-trade goes on in all its enormity. Thousands of men, women, and children are every year captured, sold, driven long distances, chained, beaten, starved, and dying "like flies" by the wayside and on board ship. Slavery is not yet an extinct institution, and it is well that British people should retain a vivid realisation of what slavery means, in order that sentiments of common humanity and compassion may move them to sustain that honourable crusade against this accursed system to which it is the distinction of the British Government to have committed itself. It is therefore no mere old-world narrative, calculated only to harrow the feelings and lead to no practical result, which we find in the pages of the volume which has prompted us to write these lines.

The autobiography of Frederick Douglass, who was once well known in

England as a "fugitive slave" and a lecturer on the subject of slavery, and who for many years past has occupied an honourable position as a public man in the United States, has lately been published in America and in this country. A more thrilling, tragic, and romantic narrative has seldom been given to the world. The record is brought down to the present year, and it thus includes not only a sketch of an individual career of quite exceptional interest, but also of the course of a great national movement and upheaval, abounding in heroic and terrible episodes, and in illustrations, on a stupendous scale, of the awful penalties of national wrong-doing and of the inexorable certainty with which the wheels of Divine Providence "grind small," although they may, as so often happens, "grind slowly." "Yes," we cannot but say to ourselves as we read these pages, "the cry of the negro in America as certainly and as truly went up into the ears of God as did the cry of the Israelites in Egypt; and the sea of blood through which the slaves of the United States passed to freedom told of the wrath of the Lord against the oppressor not less distinctly and emphatically than did the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in that great catastrophe which called forth Miriam's impassioned song of thanksgiving and of victory."

The child-life of Frederick Douglass, as described in his reminiscences, affords pathetic pictures of sorrows and wrongs, such as, no doubt, millions of slave children had to endure, but which, as we read of them now, seem as if they must have belonged to a far-off age and to a country upon which the light of Christianity had not dawned, instead of belonging, as they do, to our own time and to a social condition professedly, and indeed actually, penetrated by many Christian influences. He was born about the year 1817, on one of the great slave-holding plantations of the Southern States. There were about a thousand slaves on the estate; and however various the outward lot of these might be, from that of the sleek and pampered household servants to that of the hard-driven, ill-fed, overtasked field labourers, all alike were subject to the appalling degradation of being regarded and treated as *property*, and as such were just as absolutely at the disposal of their owner as the cattle, horses, and dogs of the establishment.

Frederick Douglass's first recollections are of a cabin which served as a rough shelter for himself and a number of other children, placed with him under the charge of an old slave woman, whom he was taught to regard as his grandmother. His mother was a "field hand," and it was only by a walk of many miles, after her day's labour was done, that she was able to snatch an occasional visit to her little child. Brief and rare as those interviews were, the child caught from them some glimpses of a mother's heart, and the impression made was indelible. He recalls the image of his mother still, and remembers her as "tall and finely proportioned, of dark, glossy complexion, with regular features," and as having been "remarkably sedate and dignified." She was the only slave of the district who could read, and her son's impression, still fondly cherished, is that she was a woman richly endowed by nature, and of tender maternal affections. Her visits, however, broke off abruptly, and her child seems to have learned, in some dimly remembered way, that death had

brought her a merciful and comparatively early release from the bitter ignominy and sorrows of her lot. He knew nothing of his father; for under the brutal system of slavery, there was no recognition of fathers. Children were generally separated from their mothers at an early age, often from the birth or nearly so, and were reared as if they were the young of domestic animals.

There is something of heaven about us all in our infancy, and even the poor slave-child had some alleviations in its lot. The old grandmother was kind and affectionate; the simple wants of healthy childhood were easily satisfied, and the little cabin was a palace, and the sunshine and the woods and the birds and the squirrels, and the numberless sights and sounds of nature, free to all, made a paradise which the little slave could enjoy. But with the fuller dawn of intelligence and consciousness, black shadows soon came. The little children used to whisper to each other such hints as they caught up about a certain "old massa," to whom in due time they would be consigned, and about their impending and inevitable destiny as slaves. What terror, and anguish, and apprehension, and tears these thoughts cost some of the quicker and more imaginative of the children; how the idea of slavery brooded like an awful nightmare over those young hearts; Mr. Douglass's narrative helps us painfully to realise. At length the day came when the child had to leave his kind old guardian. He was transferred to the care of a woman, "Aunt Katy," of a very different stamp, who lived on the plantation to which he was regarded as belonging. She was bad-tempered, capricious, and cruel, and under her care, if care it could be called, the poor child suffered great hardships. He was half starved, scantily covered by a single garment, often kicked and cuffed, and altogether neglected. He had opportunities now of seeing something of the actual miseries and diabolical cruelties of the slave system. The autobiography supplies many illustrations; a brief reference to one of them is all that we can find space for here. Early one morning the little fellow was awakened by loud screams and voices in the room adjacent to the one in which he slept. Peeping through a crevice he saw a slave girl—"tall, light-coloured, and well formed"—with her arms tightly fastened by a rope around the wrists to a beam above her head, while her owner, the "old master," who had been the terror of his childish imagination, stood beside her, administering, with fierce vindictiveness and many opprobrious epithets, a brutal flogging. The child trembled as he watched the heavy cowhide lash descending again and again upon the bare delicate flesh of the girl's back and shoulders, bringing blood and screams at every blow. The vile wretch who was guilty of this inhuman deed was prompted by the basest motives, and took this method of trying to put a stop to meetings between the young girl and a fellow-slave, to whom she was honourably attached. Alas! this was but a typical instance of experiences with which every slave soon grew familiar, and we dare not blacken these pages by more than hinting at the revolting cruelties and crimes which were constantly committed on every slave estate.

Describing the food, clothing, and general condition of the slaves, with whom he was daily associated in the labours of the field, Mr. Douglass explodes altogether

the reports which used to be given by interested or misinformed persons about the happy and contented condition of slavery, and the thoughtful care for their material comforts which made the lot of the slave enviable as compared with that of most of the peasantry of Europe. Besides the brooding shadow of an all-pervading and irresponsible tyranny, of the most absolute and cruel kind, this autobiography tells us of "the close-fisted stinginess that fed the poor slave on coarse corn meal and tainted meat, that clothed him in trashy tow-linen, that hurried him on to toil through the field in all weathers, and that scarcely gave even the young slave-mother time to nurse her infant in the fence-corner." As to his own experiences, as a boy, Mr. Douglass considers that his lot was not a hard one as compared with that of many; but he graphically describes the miseries which he endured from insufficient food and clothing. The pigs had leaves and the horses had straw, but beds for the slave children were never thought of. As for food, he says: "Our corn meal mush, which [57.15–22] left the trough really satisfied."

No wonder that Mr. Douglass should say, that as a child he used to wish he had never been born, and would often sadly contrast his condition with that of the blackbirds, whose wild sweet song made him fancy them so happy. He adds, "There are thoughtful days in [57.31–36] old, as I am now."

At about this time an unexpected change took place, which Mr. Douglass says he regards as one of the most interesting and fortunate events of his life. He was transferred from the plantation on which he had spent his earlier years to the City of Baltimore, having been handed over in fact to his master's daughter and son-in-law, to serve as a companion and guardian of their little son, a year or two younger than himself. The news of the transfer gave him great delight. He had heard wonderful tales of Baltimore, and in the change from the depressing surroundings of the familiar plantation-life there was the opening up at any rate of a dimly discerned region of possibilities and hopes. The three days before his departure were accordingly the three happiest days he had ever known, and there is a pathetic significance in the statement that he spent the greater part of them in the creek, "washing off the plantation scurf," and trying thus to prepare himself for the hitherto unknown luxury of wearing a pair of trousers! He was received by his new master and mistress, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Auld, with kindness; he fell in love at first sight with the rosy-cheeked, curly-headed boy who was to be his special charge; and he found himself at once in something more nearly approaching to a home than he had known since he had left the humble cabin of his grandmother. Here, too, however, the iron was soon to enter into his soul.

Under the comparatively favourable circumstances of his new position, the boy's naturally bright intellect evidently began to unfold rapidly. One sign of this was the growth of a strong desire to learn to read. His mistress was kind and was also inexperienced, having never been a slaveholder; she therefore readily consented to teach the boy at his request, and was delighted to find that he made rapid progress. This, however, was a happiness for Frederick Douglass of very short duration. The

young wife naturally told her husband of her surprising success with her pupil; "Master Hugh was astounded beyond measure, and probably for the first time proceeded to unfold to his wife the true philosophy of the slave system, and the peculiar rules necessary in the nature of the case to be observed in the management of human chattels." The philosophy and rules referred to were thus summed up. Teaching a "nigger" to read was in the first place unlawful, and in the second place unsafe; for, said he, "if you give a nigger [62.28–34] be running away with himself." And so the pleasant reading-lessons came to an end, but not the determination of the slave boy to master that invaluable art. He listened to his master's cold and cutting words, and grasped their significance with an intelligence and resolution beyond his years. Mr. Douglass writes: "'Very well,' thought I, 'knowledge unfits a child to be a slave.' I instinctively assented to the proposition, and from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."

How steep and difficult that pathway was, the pages of this autobiography proceed to tell. But the task of learning to read was achieved, and by yet more strenuous efforts the accomplishment of writing was also added. One of the bitterest experiences connected with this effort was the opposition which the slave lad had to encounter from the very mistress who had taught him his letters. She, having been convinced by her husband's logic, had become in fact more violent in her opposition than her instructor in the law and philosophy of slavery; and what is more, as time passed on, she presented, in her own temper and conduct, a melancholy illustration of the power of the institution of slavery to work havoc in the heart and life of the slaveholder, even when that slaveholder is apparently a sweet, kindly, and pious woman. The predictions of Mr. Auld, the boy's master, as to the dangerous consequences of teaching a slave to read, were, it must be owned, speedily verified. The boy got hold of a volume called "The Columbian Orator," a favourite school-book in those days, which seems to have been almost identical with the "Enfield's Speaker" of our own school-days in this country. His imagination and feelings were greatly roused by the eloquent orations on liberty, the rights of man, and other subjects which he found in that book, and which he eagerly stored in his memory. As light flowed in, he realised more and more fully the wrong that had been done in making him a slave. The sense of that wrong accompanied him like his shadow; he became silent and gloomy, brooding with fierce resentment over his unhappy lot, and chafing angrily against the system and the men responsible for it.

In his desolation and misery he learned from a white Methodist minister, whose teaching was afterwards developed and continued by a good coloured man named Lawson, that in God he would find the friend and protector for which his lonely and sorrowful heart was longing, and through prayer and faith he realised the truth of this message. The religion, which he thus found, was an unspeakable relief and comfort to him. He says: "I loved all mankind, slaveholders not excepted, though I abhorred slavery more than ever." His religious communion with old "Uncle Lawson," however, awakened the wrath and suspicion of his master, who had been

so afraid of his learning to read, and who must have perceived that the poor boy was becoming more and more "dangerously" enlightened. The threat of a flogging, however, did not prevent Frederick Douglass from seeking the spiritual sympathy and counsel he so much valued, and he continued his visits to Lawson as often as possible. About this time he heard the word "abolition," and by dint of perseverance found out its meaning, as understood by that noble band of philanthropists in America, who made it their watchword through many many long years of darkness and trial. He picked up, too, the information that if he could only get away somewhere to the north he might gain his liberty, and the purpose to escape, notwithstanding all difficulties, was formed in his breast. But, boy as he was, he was shrewd enough to see that he must bide his time, and that it would be desirable that he should be bigger and stronger, and know how to write, and many other things, before he could successfully grapple with the difficulty of achieving his freedom. He had indeed many terrible experiences to go through before that day should come, although, happily for him, he could not foresee them.

The first step in this new and sad episode of his life was his removal from Baltimore. Although nominally the property of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Auld, he still legally belonged to his "old master," Captain Anthony, as he was called. After he had been in Baltimore about four years, Captain Anthony died, and as he died intestate, his "property" in flesh and blood, as well as other chattels, had to be divided between his son Anthony, a confirmed drunkard and profligate, and his daughter Lucretia, the wife of Captain Thomas Auld, who was the brother of Frederick Douglass's master in Baltimore. The terror and misery which such a "division of property" often occasioned among unhappy slaves is powerfully described in the autobiography. Referring to his own case, Mr. Douglass says: "The thought of becoming the [76.31–39] should come into his possession." Fortunately, Frederick escaped the cruel lot which seemed to threaten him, and by a family arrangement, to his great relief, returned after six months' absence to Baltimore.

The uncertainties of a slave's position were, however, again speedily illustrated; and a variety of circumstances, including the deaths of Andrew Anthony and "Miss" Lucretia, brought him into the possession of Captain Thomas Auld and his second wife, who lived at St. Michael's, on Chesapeake Bay, not far from the plantation on which Douglass was born. The boy's position at Baltimore had become more uncomfortable than formerly, for his master, Hugh Auld, had given way to brandy and bad company, while his once pious and affectionate mistress had been soured and spoiled by slavery and social isolation. Even this, however, was better than the miseries of his new position, for Thomas Auld was wretchedly and cruelly stingy and his wife was cold and hard. Their unfortunate slaves were almost starved and were compelled to steal food in order to live. Thomas Auld was also intensely selfish, weak, and cowardly; in short, "incapable of a noble action." In August, 1833, six months after Frederick Douglass passed into his hands, "Master Thomas" attended a Methodist camp-meeting in the neighbour-

hood, and "came out with a profession of religion." Alas! his "conversion" seemed to make him worse instead of better, for in truth it would appear that it only turned Thomas Auld into a hypocrite. The slaves generally had very little confidence in the piety of their masters, and such instances as this, which were only too common, abundantly confirmed their scepticism. Any hopes that may have been raised in Frederick Douglass's breast by news that his master had "got through" were very speedily dashed to pieces; for there was a look upon his master's face which seemed to say in answer to the slave lad's wistful glances, "I will teach you, young man, that though I have parted with my sins, I have not parted with my sense. I shall hold my slaves and go to heaven too." Although Thomas Auld made great professions of piety, and hymns and prayers were constantly heard in his house, his slave testifies, "If religion had any effect at all on him, it made him more cruel and hateful in all his ways." There was no amelioration in the lot of the poor creatures dependent upon him; "no more nor better meal [86.2–6] stand on the camping ground." Notwithstanding the rule of the Methodist Church that no holder of slaves should be admitted to membership, no difficulty seems to have been made on this score with "Master Thomas," and he was advanced to a leading position in the Church, and welcomed the preachers who visited the district to his table and his home.

Soon after Thomas Auld's "conversion," Frederick Douglass was invited to join with one or two others in forming a Sunday-school of coloured children. He joyfully fell in with the proposal; but on the occasion of the second meeting of the school, just as the teachers had got to work, "in rushed a mob, headed by two class-leaders, Mr. Wright Fairbanks and Mr. Garrison West, and with them Master Thomas. They were armed with sticks and other missiles, and drove us off, commanding us never to meet for such a purpose again." Another exemplification of the character of Auld's religion was afforded by his treatment of an unfortunate slave woman who was lame, and who was consequently a burden to him. "I have seen him," says Mr. Douglass, "tie up this lame and [87.39–88.8] already raw with repeated blows."

We will not pursue this harrowing story into further detail. Through many terrible experiences, and several narrow escapes with his life, the youth grew up to manhood, a striking example of the victory which a strong nature is sometimes capable of achieving over the most adverse circumstances. Not only did his physical frame grow into manliness and vigour, but his intellectual life began to give signs of its capacity of rich development, and his inborn love of liberty and hatred of oppression became a burning fire which was to illuminate a noble career. At twenty-one years of age he made his escape to the north, taking the train in the disguise of a sailor. On the 4th of September, 1838, after an anxious and perilous journey, he arrived in New York. With unconquerable perseverance, great sagacity, and through many severe trials, he grappled with the difficulties of his position, obtained an honest livelihood, made many friends, and became one of the foremost and most powerful advocates of the abolition movement. He has been permitted to see the

emancipation of his race, and to exult in the downfall in the United States of the institution which can never be better described than as "the sum of all human villainy."

The whole book is full of interest.

E.L.W.

[Untitled]. [Anon.]. Cleveland *Leader*, [n.d.], reprinted in Trenton *Sentinel*, 21 January 1882. Also reprinted in Washington, D.C. *People's Advocate*, 25 February 1882.

This book will gain instant recognition as one of the healthiest and most important works ever contributed to American literature. It will take its place as a volume indispensable in the complete records of our national history. The life struggle it portrays will be erected as a standard of emulation to the youth and manhood of America, who, without such examples, might well doubt the possibility of climbing so high from a condition so low. And scarcely less important to the work and the lesson it has to teach, it possesses advantages quite unparalleled for holding interest, and stamping upon all classes of minds its inherent principles of freedom and manhood. The narrative of Douglass's days of slavery and escape from bondage is hardly less interesting than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," while the truth loses nothing in comparison with the ideality of that work, and it carries its subject through a wider range of accomplishment to a rank sufficiently exalted to win all admiration. It is needless to speak of the literary style of the book; the accomplishments of the writer are known to all who read. Americans will be proud of this donation to their literature, and thankful to Mr. Douglass that he has made it himself.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS. [Anon.]. Trenton *Sentinel*, 21 January 1882. Also reprinted in Washington, D.C. *People's Advocate*, 25 February 1882.

We would invite attention to the advertisement of the Park Publishing Co., of Hartford, Conn., who have recently issued the Autobiography of Frederick Douglass. Our readers are all more or less acquainted with the history of Mr. Douglass and should make themselves familiar with this book.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS. [Anon.]. New York *Critic*, 28 January 1882.

An autobiography published in the lifetime of the author is rare enough to be remarked upon. Ordinarily men do not care to put themselves in a position where they will certainly be compelled to listen to a good deal of comment delivered with perfect freedom, possibly not tempered with good nature—to a good deal of criticism sure to be searching and not unlikely to be severe. An author may, like George Eliot, read or not, as he pleases, the reviews of his books on any other subject than his own life; but reviews of that, if he be in the flesh, he must read, whether he likes it or not, for they may require replies which the public, as well as his own reputation, has a right to demand. Here is reason enough why a man should wait till there is five

feet of good solid earth over him before he provokes the world to talk about him by taking it into his confidence. The work before us is not indeed very likely to give rise to controversies, because, from the nature of the case, great allowances will be made, and provocations will be generally met, perhaps, with a good-natured 'It is not worth while.' But this, probably, did not occur to Mr. Douglass; and while his readers will be amused at his natural and almost child-like self-complacency, they will not fail to admire, often, his frankness and boldness.

Ordinary rules cannot properly be applied to the biography of such a man, written by himself and published in his life-time. The world may be glad that he can write his life at all, and quite content to receive it when it suits him, whether before his death or afterward. As his career is unparalleled, so his character is not to be measured in precisely the way that the characters of other men are measured. A man who was born a slave; who never had an acknowledged father; who only at rare intervals was permitted to see his mother; whose childhood was more desolate than nature dares allot to the young of any wild animal; whose youth was a period of almost unspeakable misfortune, of hunger, and cold, and nakedness, of scourgings, of beatings well nigh unto death, and of a despair to which death would have come as a mercy;—but a man over whose life, when manhood was reached, came a marvellous change; who rose presently to be an orator so gifted that even enemies listened with delight; who came to have his share, neither obscure nor unimportant, in a great social movement which only the greatest civil war the world has ever known could bring to an end; and who came, at length, before he was an old man, to fill offices of dignity and trust in the capital of his country;—the story of the career of such a man as this may be written when and how he pleases, and the world may accept it without carping and without criticism, and be glad to get it. If free thought and free speech are not mere phrases and really belong to any body, they belong to Frederick Douglass. They are not denied in fable even to the beasts; surely a slave may earn them beyond all challenge if he achieves such a life as this one made for himself. Had he been of another complexion, the ages would count him among their heroes. Perhaps they will yet.

It is a pity that a work so unique, so altogether different from anything in autobiographical literature, has so poor a setting. It is not absolutely bad in type and paper; but in its binding, its scant margins, its press-work, and its illustrations it could hardly be worse. One must have a cultivated imagination to suppose that the impression on the cover is meant for the Goddess of Liberty and the American eagle, and not for a young woman preparing a dish of corn-meal and water for a large and evidently hungry spring-chicken. The illustrations within the covers are of that style of art belonging to the dime novel, suggesting to one who may casually open it that the book had better not be read, or, if read, cannot possibly be true. Had they been omitted altogether—excepting the portrait of Douglass, as a frontispiece—the book would have been attractive enough if left solely to the merit of the narrative.

AMERICAN LITERATURE. [Anon.]. London *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, 25 February 1882.

When the autobiography of Frederick Douglass was first published, it attained a considerable and very natural popularity. Slavery was still existing, and still excited the strong popular abhorrence with which it has always been regarded in this country; and declamations against it appealed with even greater force to the commoner and meaner than to the nobler and more generous qualities and feelings of Englishmen. In the first place, the profound ignorance which we shared with the great majority of Northern citizens enabled writers like Mrs. Stowe and the author of *The White Slave* to colour their pictures as highly as they pleased, in order to suit them to the taste of their readers, with very little regard to the strict limits of truth and accuracy. Again, the jealousy and resentment which the arrogance and boastfulness of the Northern populace had excited found vent in contemptuous reproaches which made no distinction between North and South, which thanked God that we were not like those slave-holding Republicans who boasted with uncommonly little reason of the victories gained over us at New Orleans and Bunker's Hill. Even those whose taste and better knowledge were revolted by the violence of Mr. Douglass's language felt no inclination to criticize the temper or the style of one who had every excuse that the lack of education and the sense of bitter personal wrong could afford. No such excuse, however, can be made for the republication of such a work at the present moment. Republished with all its misrepresentations uncorrected, with all its vulgar abuse unmitigated, and directed now against the conquered and the unfortunate, it is simply an offensive libel. Those who are too young to remember the feelings with which the elder among us watched the American Civil War may hardly share the disgust with which we read the language applied to the countrymen of Lee and Stonewall Jackson. For Mr. Douglass every excuse is to be made. He is not more bitter, more vulgar, more reckless, than Mrs. Stowe, or Sumner, or Thaddeus Stevens, or any of the Republican leaders of the last twenty years. He learnt his style in the school of Abolitionist fanaticism, and naturally he has not unlearned it. But that such a work should have a prospect of popularity at the present day, that it should be possible to ascribe to the Southern people generally, as Mr. Douglass does, the cruelties and vices which even in the case of a few he grossly exaggerates, and that it should pay to sell such a work at a low price, is not creditable either to the good sense or good feeling of the Northern people, and does not augur well for the future of the Union. It is clear that the worst passions and prejudices that brought about the Civil War still linger in the North, and that a large proportion of the victorious section still hate the conquered South with the insane hatred that a certain Irish faction bears to England. American politics will never be clearly understood or fairly interpreted by those who neglect or refuse to take this element of Northern character and feeling into account….

REVIEW. LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS. (WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.) [Anon.]. London *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, March 1882.

THIS is a very interesting work, and treats of a burning question during a very exciting epoch. It is hardly necessary to tell our readers that Frederick Douglass is an ESCAPED SLAVE, and that he has acted a stirring part in the great drama, whose last Act was written in characters of blood and flame which resulted in the immediate and unconditional freedom of five millions of slaves. He still lives and holds high office under the United States Government. Mr. George L. Ruffin, of Boston, who writes an introduction to the volume before us, thus speaks of his hero:—

"Our Pantheon contains many that [3.16–5.30] the examination of general history."

In his opening chapter, Mr. Douglass gives us an insight into that terrible feature in Slave-life which prevented a man from knowing his own father. He says:—

"Of my father I know [24.36–25.4] one drop of African blood."

AN OVERSEER'S REVENGE.

A SLAVE-GIRL, possessing the rare quality of personal beauty, was courted by a young negro. Yet the overseer wished to discourage the match, and sternly forbade it. But the lovers met contrary to orders and this is how the white man punished the offending girl. It is described by an eyewitness whose veracity is unimpeachable.

"But to the case in [39.39–40.20] won't do so no more.'"

But when the whipping was over, poor Esther "did do so" again, and the consequence was that this cruel punishment was repeated many times; and it was not only for making love that the miserable slaves were tortured in this dreadful fashion.

"They were whipped for over-sleeping [46.6–11] a blow from the overseer."

VALUE OF A SLAVE'S LIFE.

"One of the commonest sayings [55.7–15] this there was no redress."

CITY LIFE *versus* PLANTATION LIFE.

At a comparatively early age Douglass was removed from the plantation to the City of Baltimore, there he was kindly treated *for a slave*. At first his mistress taught him to read, but this was soon stopped by the master, who sternly forbade her, saying, "It was unsafe to teach him, as learning would spoil the best nigger in the world." But it was too late, for the boy had tasted of the *pierian spring*, and no power on earth could prevent him from drinking more deeply of its forbidden waters. He picked up scraps of knowledge from little white street boys; made a little collection of torn leaves from old Bibles which he found in the gutters, washed them clean, and then read them eagerly. Thus he imbibed a few ideas of religion, and his mind developed as his body grew into the stalwart form of a strong and healthy negro. He worked in a ship-builder's yard at Baltimore, and for three years or more led a fairly happy life. But death, which so often destroys all the visions of happiness in a slave's life, now caused Douglass to be sent back to his old work on the plantation, and here he was badly off indeed. His master did not like his city ways, and determined to send him off to a poor

but *religious* (?) man, a noted Slave-breaker, who very soon found some pretext for giving him

HIS FIRST FLOGGING.

"He ordered me to take [94.31–97.28] man transformed to a brute!"

After six months of this treatment his strength gave way, and he fell down fainting at his work. This is how Covey proceeded to rouse him from his fainting fit:—

"He gave me a savage [100.33–101.9] the headache, I'll cure you.'"

Disgusted with this treatment, he ran away to his real master, but this scoundrel sent him back to finish the twelve months for which he was hired to Covey. He was saved from further punishment by his strength and courage, for when the "breaker" flew at him on his return, and attempted to cut him up with a cow-hide, the worm turned. A fierce battle for two hours, resulted in Covey's discomfiture, and he never laid hands on him again.

A futile attempt to escape resulted in imprisonment and being set to work at ship-caulking in Baltimore. But the white apprentices would not work with him, and one day four of them set upon him, and in the presence of fifty white men, pounded him to a jelly and gouged his eye nearly out.

After this better times came, and he was allowed to work by piece, *giving his master every cent that he earned*. His soul rebelled at this, and he began to plan his escape—for as he himself remarks, "It is often when a Slave is well-off, that he longs most for freedom," according to that law that seems to wish ever to scale a higher peak when one has been already conquered. When a slave is really downtrodden, and is ever writhing under the lash, his manhood is flogged out of him, and he is too cowed and broken to think of flight.

HE ESCAPES FROM BONDAGE.

On the 3rd September, 1838, being about 21 years old, Frederick Douglass made his escape from Slavery. There was little romance in the manner by which he accomplished this great event of his life. A staunch sailor friend lent him a United States pass, by means of which he passed swiftly *by rail* from the land of bondage to the free air of the North.

In New York some benevolent Quaker gentlemen put him on the "Underground Railroad," and passed him on to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he was safe. Here, dropping his old name of Frederick Bailey, he assumed that of Frederick Douglass, which he still bears and has borne for 44 years, and which he has made truly famous.

In New Bedford he worked hard and well with his strong hands, and supported his wife, whom he had married in New York. She was a free-coloured woman, and his early love.

HIS FIRST APPEARANCE IN PUBLIC.

In 1841 a Grand Anti-Slavery Convention was held in Nantucket, under the auspices of William Lloyd Garrison and his friends. Douglass was brought to this great gathering by Mr. Coffin, and induced to speak in public for the first time.

He was nervous, but natural in the recital of the wrongs which he had himself experienced, and the effect on the audience was strong and genuine. The principal effect, however, was produced by Garrison, who, worked up to fever point by the truthful narration of this living and experimental witness of the horrors of Slavery, poured forth so grand an oration, that he appears to have transformed the thousand auditors of his voice into so many personifications of himself. "The orator swaying a thousand heads and hearts at once, and by the simple majesty of his all-controlling thought, converted his hearers into the express image of his own soul."

DOUGLASS EXCHANGES THE SAW FOR THE PEN.

After the Convention of 1841, Douglass gave up manual labour, and took up the pen. He joined the Anti-Slavery cause, and devoted himself with all the energy of his strong nature to the task of setting free his fellow bondsmen. His power of speaking and writing was extraordinary, but this is now well known and admitted; though, at first, men would not believe that a half-educated slave could write such stirring leaders in the Abolitionist journals.

His life as a free-man, toiling for those he had left behind him in the house of bondage, is comprised in the second part of the interesting volume now before us. The history of his life after 1841, belongs to the history of the Anti-Slavery cause in America, until the accursed tree of Slavery was felled—and it has often been told in our pages. We must pass over this portion of our hero's life in a very few lines, though we trust that enough has been said to show our readers that a treat is in store for them in the perusal of this unpretending, but fascinating book. The life of an earnest, strong, God-fearing Christian man is laid open before us in his own simple and touching words; and we venture to think that none can rise from the perusal of this history of a brave and honest worker in the cause of freedom, without feeling strengthened and encouraged in the great fight against evil, which all have to wage in some way or other.

DOUGLASS MEETS CLARKSON.

In 1845, Douglass visited England, and was heartily welcomed by Abolitionists there. He saw many great men of that day, but we can only record his meeting with Thomas Clarkson.

"When we were presented to [188.18–28] the edge of the grave."

DOUGLASS' VIEWS ON THE COLOURED VOTE AND THE FUTURE OF THE RACE.

"And now, while I am [298.26–39] master-class to the new situation."

Space precludes our dwelling at length upon any of the great questions treated of in Mr. Douglass' most instructive volume. We must refer our readers to the book itself for a description of his editorial career, his visits to England, his connection with the brave, but rash and unfortunate John Brown, which indeed, necessitated the flight of Douglass, first to Canada and then to England.

The great secession war, and the ultimate freedom of the Slaves are well

described, and a high tribute is paid to the noble character of President Lincoln, who fell a martyr to the cause of Abolition.

Then we have a picture of the author's subsequent political career, and of the sad condition to which many of the coloured people were reduced by the tyranny of their former masters, together with his efforts on their behalf. He tells us of his mission to San Domingo; his election as elector for the State of New York—an office unknown to us; his appointment by President Hayes to the office of Marshal of the District of Columbia, together with a graphic description of a visit paid to his old master and owner, Thomas Auld, from whom he had been legally purchased years before by English friends, and who naively told him, that if he had been in his place, he would have run away as he did!

He tells us why he opposed the Exodus of coloured men, from their homes in the South to the Northern States; but we cannot now enter upon that vexed question, and we are glad to note that whilst opposing their coming, he exerted himself to his utmost to befriend those who came. He also speaks in warm terms of their great friend, the noble-hearted, generous Quaker philanthropist, Elizabeth Comstock.

In the review of his long and active life, which contains eloquent eulogies on many a friend and valiant fellow-soldier in the great battle for freedom, both male and female. He says in conclusion:—

"It will be seen in [372.35–374.7] than it is to me."

We are all debtors to Frederick Douglass for this simple and manly history of an earnest and good life, and we heartily wish him many years more of usefulness, happiness, and prosperity, in that great country of which he is now a free and justly honoured citizen.

NEW PUBLICATIONS. [Anon.]. (Paramus, N.J.?) *Catholic World*, vol. 35, May 1882.

In the first part of this very interesting volume incidents are narrated which read like those of a past age. One can hardly believe that there could be a living witness to the deeds recorded against individual slaveholders. Yet not only is there undeniable testimony of the utter baseness to which were reduced many examples of master and slave in the olden time, but the witness himself actually passed through the terrible ordeal. He knows from personal experience how sharp and cruel was the master's lash; and the recital of his youthful adventures as a slave-boy in Talbot County, Maryland, is both interesting and instructive. The daily life and condition of the slave cannot but give interest to a story told by the actor in the scenes which he describes; and the historical facts stated cannot but prove of high value in the formation of a just opinion of the real status of the actual system of slavery as it existed in the South.

In the amiable character of Mrs. Auld, who first taught the child-slave his alphabet, we are presented with a picture said to have been by no means uncommon in those days. On the other hand, the brutality to which man, claiming to be civilized,

may be reduced by a system is strongly portrayed in the cases of Gore and Covey. The incidents attending the escape of Douglass are fully narrated, with names of persons and places given, so as to make a very complete account of an event of much consequence both to himself and his race.

Not without importance is the second part of the volume, containing a record of the anti-slavery agitation, the men who led therein, the author's visits to England, his meeting with O'Connell, and the expression of his great admiration for that pre-eminent man.

His estimate of the great Emancipator we give in his own words:

"Until I heard this man [184.35–185.28] spirit to succor and relieve" (p. 242). It is much to the credit of Mr. Douglass that he gratefully appreciates the vast influence exercised by the Liberator against slavery.

The style of the book is creditable, but not such as to warrant the statement made in the introduction: "He has surmounted the disadvantage of not having an university education" (p. viii.) This disadvantage can be surmounted, if at all, only by men of genius belonging to an order far higher than that to which Mr. Douglass will aspire.

As to the future of his race, the author makes it appear that there are very good grounds to look for their rapid advancement. And one of his grounds for this hope is worthy of consideration: "My hope for the future of my race is further supported by the rapid decline of an emotional, shouting, and thoughtless religion. Scarcely in any direction can there be found a less favorable field for mind or morals than where such a religion prevails…. Instead of adding to faith virtue, its tendency is to substitute faith for virtue, and is a deadly enemy to our progress." These words necessarily refer to that form of Protestantism (known as Methodism) most prevalent amongst the colored population.

On the whole, the book is not only worthy of perusal but of much value for its contents, relating as they do to a most important period in the history of the Republic, and revealing in a peculiarly clear light some of those deeply-hidden causes from which has sprung the present transition-state of the nation.

[Untitled]. [Anon.]. (Philadelphia) *Christian Recorder*, 11 May 1882.

THE RECENTLY published life of Frederick Douglass is being read with avidity by the English public. The March Anti-Slavery Reporter, devotes one-third of its pages to a review of it. The result cannot be other than most salutary in deciding the fate of caste.

[Untitled]. [Anon.]. (Philadelphia) *Christian Recorder*, 1 June 1882.

WE WERE on the eve of saying Frederick Douglass ought to feel proud of the notice taken of his last autobiography by such a man as R. Lant Carpenter of Bridport, England. But we refrained, remembering that no Scotch Douglass had haughtier steel in him than this Douglass of America.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS. ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE OF ALL LIVING MEN.—A NICE TRIBUTE. [Anon.]. Detroit *Plaindealer*, 10 February 1893. Also reprinted in idem., 17 February 1893.

The Autobiography of the Honorable Frederick Douglass should be in the home of every Afro-American in this country. The Plaindealer is enabled to offer this great work in connection with the paper for the price of the book alone.

To any one sending us $2.50 cash we will forward them The Plaindealer one year and a copy of this excellent race book.

The book alone sells for $2.50 and this special offer is only good until March 15.

If you have already paid your subscription your paper will be extended another year.

Take advantage of this. Good only until March 15.

[Untitled]. [Anon.]. Chicago *Inter Ocean*, [n.d.]. Reprinted in Detroit *Plaindealer*, 10, 17 February 1893.

To say that Frederick Douglass is one of the most remarkable living men is to state the truth mildly. For forty-five years he has been before the American people, and to-day an old, gray-headed man, full of honor, sums up the events of his life in a volume of 752 pages, and every chapter more profoundly interesting than the best romance. For twenty-three years a slave; then a fugitive, protected by no law, and a member of a hated and despised race, shut out by public opinion from every personal right. Life indeed seems hopeless to such a wanderer, yet Fred Douglass was a man, and he overcame all his besetments, and year by year arose, until to-day he stands as the peer of the best among the Nation's grand men. By nature, and not by the refinements of education, did Douglass reach out for honors. The writer of this knew him more than forty years ago and listened to his impassioned appeals for his down-trodden race; upon one occasion, in 1852, at a meeting in one of the great halls in Philadelphia, Douglass spoke for two hours to an audience which filled every seat and packed the aisles. Ten o'clock came and he stopped amid the cries "Go on! go on!" He stopped and said: "I don't often have a chance to talk to such an audience of friends. You who are standing are certainly wearied. We will take a five-minute recess and allow any to retire." The time was up and he spoke for another hour and a quarter, and not a man or woman left the audience. We mentioned the incident as illustrating the power of the man who then had but recently purchased his own freedom, and had comparatively begun the education which has fitted him for the high posts of honor to which he has since been called, and to be the counselor and adviser of the wisest statesmen of his time. As a biography none ever before written has in it more of inspiration for every young man, whether his skin be white or black. Last week we noticed Dr. Venable's book, "First Be a Man," and it was just that maxim that made Frederick Douglass. That motherless boy (slave children were often not honored with a father), driven to the fields of Tuckahoe, and worked from daylight

to dark, does not give out any large hope of manhood. But nevertheless the manhood was there, and brutality and persecution and starvation could not obliterate it. The story of slavery he recites to a multitude of younger readers will be a revelation, and will serve to awaken a new interest in this poor, despised race, which for generations has been the unpaid chattels of the white man. That the pictures of slavery are as true as if drawn by a camera none can doubt, and in keeping with the forgiving spirit of the black man—no spirit of revenge crops out in any line. No race so long misused and abused ever so fully demonstrated in their acts the prayer of Christ—"Forgive them, they know not what they do"—as the black race during the late war. Had their places been filled by Italians or Chinese or Frenchmen or Englishmen or even Americans, hundreds of plantations and villages of the South would have witnessed horrible scenes of disorder and bloodshed. It was not because the black man did not understand fully the situation. He did. We note this same spirit of forgiveness in the story of Mr. Douglass. But no brief notice in the space allowed can do justice to the book. Its illustrations are pointed. It is written, as we have observed, in the best spirit, and its elegant literary style is well nigh faultless. The volume, truthful in its history, and covering one of the most eventful periods of history, enriches the best biographical literature, and deserves, as it will doubtless receive, a wide reading.

LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS [Heman Lincoln Wayland]. [Philadelphia *National Baptist*], [n.d.], Subject File, reel 10, frame 421, FD Papers, DLC.

The life which this book presents is a stronger argument for the manhood and the capacity of the colored man than any ethnological or humanitarian process of reasoning. Mr. Douglass, beginning a slave in Tuckahoe, Talbot Co., on the eastern shore of Maryland, at a time when it was a penitentiary crime to teach a negro his letters, bought and sold and flogged, running away a little past the age of twenty, with a price set on his head, finds himself to-day at the age of seventy-five, honored, having held the offices of United States Marshal, Register of Deeds, Commissioner to San Domingo, Minister Resident and Consul General to Hayti, and Haytian commissioner to the World's Columbian Exposition. Long ago, the Hon. John G. Palfrey, member of Congress from the Middlesex District, Mass., said of him, on the floor of Congress, "He writes and speaks the English language in a manner of which any member of this house might be proud."

While Mr. Douglass has himself passed thro this honorable experience, he has the no less keen gratification of seeing the members of a once enslaved race now emancipated and enfranchised; it is true they have not yet reached the enjoyment of all the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution; but this will come.

The editor of this paper gratefully acknowledges the personal reference made by Mr. Douglass to the slight aid which it was the privilege of the editor, then a tutor in the University of Rochester, to give to Mr. Douglass forty years ago. And the editor remembers with sincere gratification that when he called upon Mr. Douglass at

the office of the United States Marshal in Washington, Mr. Douglass said to his son, "My son, this is Mr. W., who was a friend to your father at a time when he greatly needed friends."

The entire book will be read with the deepest interest both on account of the personal element and also on account of the relation of the author to great public questions and events.