

MILITANT ABOLITIONISM

The crusade against chattel slavery in the United States was one of the most profound revolutionary movements in the world's history. It was permeated by three major schools of thought, one of which insisted that the only proper and efficacious instrument for change was moral suasion; another held that moral suasion had to be buttressed by political action; and the third expressed a belief in the necessity for resistance in a physical sense, in direct, militant action. Members of the last school adopted, at times, the methods of the first two as well.¹

Among the earliest protests against American slavery may be found the kernel of this militancy: the righteousness of the cause for which slaves conspired and fought was acknowledged. In the famous Germantown Quaker Protest against slavery of 1688, the authors put this question: Suppose the slaves rebel here and now, as they have frequently done elsewhere at other times, "will these masters and mastrisses take the sword at hand and warr against these poor slaves, licke, we are able to believe, some will not refuse to doe; or have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?" Ten years later, again in Pennsylvania, this time Concord, another Quaker protest² against slavery, signed by Robert Pyle, asked a similar question: Suppose our slaves do rebel, and blood is shed? The Friend wondered "whether our blood will cry innocent whether it will not be said you might have let them alone."

The Grand Jury of Charles Town, South Carolina, made the

We present as a Public Grievance a certain book or Journal sign'd by Hugh Brian, directed to ye Honble, the Speaker, and the rest of the members of the Commons house Assembly in Charles Town, wch we have perused and find in general, contains sundry enthusiastic

Prophecys, of the destruction of Charles Town, and deliverance of the Negroes from their Servitude, and that by the Influence of ye said Hugh Brian, great bodys of Negroes have assembled to gether on pretence of religious worship, Contrary to ye laws, and destructive of ye Peace. . . .

Other whites, Jonathan Brian, William Gilbert, and Robert Ogle, were also declared to possess opinions inimical to the security of a slave society. Mr. Brian's work was suppressed but what punishment, if any, was meted out to the individuals is not known.³

Some of the literature produced just before and during the Revolutionary War contained, as one might expect, passages justifying, if not actually urging, attempts on the part of the Negroes to liberate themselves by violence. The writings of James Otis, for example, particularly his famous pamphlet published in Boston in 1764, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, excoriated the institution of slavery, and affirmed the Negro's inalienable right to freedom.⁴ The logical deduction was plain, and did not pass unnoticed, as John Adams testified:

Young as I was, and ignorant as I was, I shuddered at the doctrine he taught and I have all my life shuddered, and still shudder, at the consequences that may be drawn from such premises. Shall we say, that the rights of masters and servants clash, and can be decided only by force? I adore the ideal of gradual abolitions. But who shall decide how fast or how slowly these abolitions shall be made?⁵

Another popular pamphlet of this year, that by the Reverend Isaac Skillman, *An Oration upon the Beauties of Liberty, or the Essential Rights of the Americans* (published in Boston in 1772 and in its fourth printing by 1773), vehemently attacked the enslavement of the Negroes, demanded their immediate liberation, and affirmed, "Shall a man be deem'd a rebel that support his own rights? it is the first law of nature, and he must be a rebel to God, to the laws of nature, and his own conscience, who will not do it."⁶ Very much the same point was made by the Reverend Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, in a work first published in 1776.⁷

From then on the action of the American colonists in waging

war for political and economic freedom was often referred to by militant abolitionists in order to support their own views justifying or urging Negro rebellion. One of the earliest writings of this type was produced by a "Free Negro," who denounced slavery, denied the oft-repeated idea concerning his people's "inferiority," and demanded,⁸ "Do the rights of nature cease to be such, when a Negro is to enjoy them? Or does patriotism, in the heart of an African, rankle into treason?"

In this same period Thomas Paine wrote from Paris to an anonymous friend in Philadelphia concerning anti-slavery efforts then in progress. His concluding remarks were: "We must push this matter [Negro slavery] further on your side of the water. I wish that a few well instructed could be sent among their brethren in bondage; for until they are enabled to take their own part, nothing will be done."⁹

A physician, Dr. George Buchanan, delivered a very militant speech on July 4, 1791, at Baltimore, before a public meeting of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. In the course of it occur these passages, spoken six weeks before the outbreak of the great Haitian Revolution:

What then, if the fire of Liberty shall be kindled amongst them? What, if some enthusiast in this cause shall beat to arms, and call them to the standard of freedom? Would they fly in clouds, until their numbers become tremendous, and threaten the country with devastation and ruin? . . .

Led on by hopes of freedom, animated by the aspiring voice of their leader, they would soon find, that "a day, an hour of virtuous liberty, was worth a whole eternity of bondage."¹⁰

With the eruption of the Haitian Revolution many people felt called upon to declare their attitudes towards it, and some, who gloried in the American and French Revolutions, found it but consistent and logical to welcome that which occurred in the West Indies. Typical of this group was the Bostonian, J. P. Martin, who wrote in an article entitled "Rights of Black Men":

We believe that freedom is the natural right of all rational beings, and we know that the blacks have never voluntarily resigned that freedom. Then is not their cause as just as ours? . . . Let us be consistent, Americans, if we justify our own conduct in the late glorious revolution, let us justify those who, in a cause like ours, fight with equal bravery.¹¹

A delegate to the Kentucky Constitutional Convention of 1792, the Reverend David Rice, argued against the establishment of slavery, declaring it to be "a perpetual war, with an avowed purpose of never making peace," and an institution which would weaken the home front and strengthen an enemy. He pointed to the events then taking place in the West Indies, and declared:

There you may see the sable, let me say the brave sons of Africa, engaged in a noble conflict with their inveterate foes. There you may see thousands fired with a generous resentment of the greatest injuries, and bravely sacrificing their lives on the altar of liberty.¹²

A prominent resident of Connecticut went even further in a public speech delivered two years later, for he applied the case to the United States, itself. Warning of coming plots and rebellions, he went on:

And when hostilities are commenced, where shall they [the slaveholders] look for auxiliaries, in such an iniquitous warfare? Surely, no friend to freedom and justice will dare to lend them his aid . . . Who then can charge the negroes with injustice, or cruelty, when "they rise in all the vigour of insulted nature," and avenge their wrongs. What American will not admire their exertions, to accomplish their own deliverance?¹³

Like sentiments were occasionally printed in the press, as the *Hartford Connecticut Courant* in 1796 and 1797.¹⁴ In the latter year, too, a Massachusetts Negro, Prince Hall, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, a fighter against his people's enslavement, and a leader in the Masonic movement, expressed admiration for the militant activities of his brothers in Haiti.¹⁵

Early in the year 1804 a judge for the eastern district of Georgia, Jabez Brown, Jr., created a sensation by his "inflammatory" charge to the grand jury of Chatham. The jury refused to have this charge published and bitterly condemned the judge. A resident of Savannah wrote shortly afterwards that "Judge Bowen's charge related to the emancipation of the Negroes; and that he went to the length of declaring, that if the Legislature did not, their first session, pass a law liberating all slaves, he would put himself at the head of the Negroes and effect it, though at the expense of the lives of every white inhabitant of

the State." In May the Judge was dismissed from office and imprisoned on a charge of inciting servile insurrection, but early in June he was released into the custody of his father, on condition that he be sent out of the state. He was—to Rhode Island—but, "he still swears vengeance against the white people of this place."¹⁶

A white Missourian, one Humphrey Smith, was indicted by the Howard County grand jury in 1819 for inciting servile insurrection, but the outcome of this case is not clear.¹⁷ In October, 1822, four white men were arrested and convicted of having encouraged the Negroes involved in the Vesey plot. These residents of Charleston represented four different nationalities, Andrew S. Rhodes, English; William Allen, Scotch; Jacob Danders, German; and John Igneshias, Spanish. Only Allen's motives were suspect since he was accused by a free Negro named Scott of expecting to reap a financial reward from the successful rebels. The others, however, hated slavery, and their crime consisted in letting the Negroes know this and in telling them, as the German put it, "they had as much right to fight for their liberty as the white people." All were sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to twelve months and to fines from one hundred to one thousand dollars, which had to be paid prior to release from jail.¹⁸

In 1829 alone, there appeared three works produced by Negroes which contained more or less open calls for, or justifications of, outright revolt.

The least open of these is the remarkable book of poems, called *The Hope of Liberty*, written by George Moses Horton, a slave of Chatham County, North Carolina, and published by Joseph Gales, editor of a leading newspaper, the *Raleigh Register*.¹⁹ Occasional lines were fairly militant, as for example:

*Oh, Liberty, thou golden prize
So often sought by blood—
We crave thy sacred sun to rise,
The gift of Nature's God!
Bid slavery hide her haggard face,
And barbarism fly:
I scorn to see the sad disgrace
In which enslaved I lie.*

A truculent note of foreboding and militance was struck by the peculiar mystical pamphlet issued in February, 1829, by a New York Negro, Robert Alexander Young.²⁰ This appears especially in the prophecy of the coming of a Negro saviour who, by his invincibility, will lead his people to freedom.

David Walker's work, written in clear, unmistakable prose and containing no far-fetched allusions, appeared in the closing months of that year. Not much is known of this very interesting man, but these facts appear well-established: He was born, of a free mother, in Wilmington, North Carolina, on September 28, 1785.²¹ The enslavement of his fellow men disgusted and enraged him. In 1828 he had written:

If I remain in this bloody land, I will not live long, as true as God reigns, I will be avenged. This is not the place for me, no, I must leave this part of the country. It will be a great trial for me to live on the same soil where so many men are in slavery, certainly I cannot remain where I must hear their chains continually, and, where I must encounter the results of their hypocritical enslavers. Go I must.

Walker went to Boston where he earned his bread by dealing in old clothes. Here he became active in anti-slavery work, making at least one speech before the Colored Association of the city in December, 1828. He served as Boston agent for the fighting New York anti-slavery newspaper edited and published by Negroes, *Freedom's Journal*, and occasionally contributed to it.

In September, 1829, he published his *Appeal*,²² and from then until his mysterious death²³ sometime in 1830, supervised the distribution and reprinting of this booklet, which during the last year of his life went into its third edition.

It is certain that copies of this pamphlet were sent south with the object of getting them into the hands of slaves. And it reached them at a moment when they were displaying great unrest. Note of this is made by Governor John Forsyth, of Georgia, in a communication to the State legislature on December 21, 1829, in which he referred to a recent conspiracy in Georgetown, South Carolina, and "the late fires in Augusta and Savannah" set by the slaves.²⁴ These occurrences, said the Governor, added to the importance of a letter he had just

received from W. T. Williams, the Mayor of Savannah, "informing me that sixty pamphlets of a highly seditious and insurrectionary character had been seized by the police of the city." The description that follows identifies this as the work of Walker, and then appears the information that they had been "carried to Savannah by the Steward of some vessel (a white man), and delivered by him to a negro preacher for distribution."

In January, 1830, the Mayor of Richmond, Virginia, reported the finding of a copy of the same pamphlet in the home of a recently deceased free Negro, and in the same year and city another free Negro, Thomas Lewis, was found to possess thirty copies of the fearful pamphlet.²⁵

A printer in Milledgeville, Georgia, Elijah H. Burritt, brother of Elihu, the famous "learned blacksmith," was accused in February, 1830, of introducing this work within the state²⁶ and "was finally forced to flee for his life in the middle of the night when a hostile mob attacked his dwelling."²⁷ Some copies were also discovered early in 1830 in New Orleans. In May, a Mr. James Smith of Boston (whether Negro or white is not stated) was convicted of circulating the *Appeal*, fined one thousand dollars and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in that city.²⁸

The pamphlet's appearance in Walker's native state, where slave disaffection was rife at the time, created much excitement. First mention of it came from Wilmington in August, 1830, when a free Negro brought a copy to the police. A slave, unnamed, who had acted as distributor of the disconcerting booklet, was arrested, but refused—although it is a good guess that very persuasive tactics were used—to implicate others or to tell how many he had distributed.²⁹ Spies were used in Fayetteville in order to discover whether the pamphlet had appeared there, but, said a report to the Governor of September 3, "altho this plan has been sometime in operation, it has yet developed nothing that ought to excite our alarm."³⁰

The stirring contents of Walker's *Appeal* justified the fears of the slavocracy. He used the Declaration of Independence with telling effect, flinging its immortal words into the teeth of those who upheld slavery. He denounced the colonizationists and affirmed the Negro's right to the title of American. He

excoriated the traitors among his own people, finding it difficult to find words damning enough with which to express his contempt for them. He waxed sarcastic and exuded bitterness as he contemplated the prevalent hypocrisy, with everyone *talking* about liberty and equality:

But we (coloured people) and our children are *brutes!!* and of course are, and *ought to be* Slaves to the American people and their children forever!! to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them, from one generation to another with our *blood* and our *tears!!!* [Rebel, he said, rebel and] if you commence, make sure work—do not trifle, for they do not trifle with you—they want us for their slaves, and think nothing of murdering us in order to subject us to that wretched condition—therefore, if there is an *attempt* made by us, kill or be killed.³¹

At only one point did David Walker leave the immediate and the practical, and this he did in order to utter the prophecy:

. . . for although the destruction of the oppressors God may not effect by the oppressed, yet the Lord our God will bring other destruction upon them—for not infrequently will he cause them to rise up one against another, to be split and divided, and to oppress each other, and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand.

The ensuing years witnessed a sharply accelerating growth in militant abolitionism as the struggle between pro- and anti-slavery forces became more acute. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison expressed his opinion on this subject and maintained it throughout his long devotion to the cause. He wrote *Le Roy Sunderland* on September 8 of that year that he did not advocate servile rebellion, since he believed in non-resistance to evil, but, "Of all men living, however, our slaves have the best reason to assert their rights by violent measures, inasmuch as they are more oppressed than others."³²

His newspaper, in line with its editor's belief in freedom of expression, did occasionally print material that bore no signs of non-resistance, as, for example, a poem "supposed to be sung by slaves in insurrection," contributed by "V" and published one month before the Turner uprising. Portions of this work went as follows:

*See, tyrants see; your empire shakes;
Your flaming roofs the wild wind fans;
Stung to the soul, the Negro wakes:
He slept, a brute—he wakes, a man!
His shackles fall,
Erect and tall
He glories in his new found might,
And wins with bloody hand his right.*

*Up, Afric, up; the land is free
It sees no slave to despot bow.
Our cry is Liberty—
On; strike for God and vengeance now
Fly, tyrants fly,
Or stay and die.
No chains to bear, no scourge we fear;
We conquer, or we perish here.³³*

Once a revolt started Garrison could not help wishing it success and the bitterness of his language condemning the hypocrisy of the slaveholders who habitually expressed sympathy with rebels in Greece or France or Belgium or Poland, but contempt for those on their very plantations, could not be exceeded. Thus, following the Turner uprising, Garrison, in his inimitable style, wrote:

Ye patriotic hypocrites! ye panegyrists of Frenchmen, Greeks, and Poles! ye fustian declaimers for liberty! ye valiant sticklers for equal rights among yourselves! ye haters of aristocracy! ye assailants of monarchy! ye republican nullifiers! ye treasonable disunionists! be dumb! Cast no reproach upon the conduct of the slaves, but let your lips and cheeks wear the blisters of condemnation!³⁴

A visitor to the city of Petersburg, Virginia, a Mr. Robinson, was indiscreet enough to remark in the course of a private talk, at the height of the terror evoked by Nat Turner in September, 1831, that, while he deprecated the rebellion yet he felt compelled to acknowledge that "black men have, in the abstract, a right to their freedom." When his opinion became known, a mob of over one hundred persons ("some of them . . . men of fortune") dragged him from his residence, lashed and stripped him and, in this condition, drove him from the town. A Mr.

Carter, who was the victim's host, was also compelled to leave. "Not the least disgraceful feature in the case was, that the civil authorities, though applied to, declined interfering."³⁵

At about this time James Forten, the well-to-do and courageous Philadelphia Negro reformer, congratulated Garrison for having withstood unflinchingly the campaign of intimidation let loose against him, particularly after Turner's attempt. Forten asserted that the cause of servile rebellion was in the South, not in Garrison's *Liberator*, and that the latest revolt would strengthen the anti-slavery movement by "bringing the evils of slavery more prominently before the public . . . Indeed we live in stiring [sic] times, and every day brings news of some fresh effort for liberty, either at home or abroad—onward, onward, is indeed the watchword."³⁶

Others were moved to write, print, and send into the South letters such as the following, dated Albany [N. Y. ?] September 15, 1831:

Sir—As our Constitution says that all men are created equal; and as God has made of one flesh all the nations of the earth; and as the Negroes are no worse when born than the Whites; and as there is no good prospect that a voluntary release of the slaves will be effected to any (great) degree, I hereby make known that for these and other reasons, I will, as an individual, use all honorable means to sever the iron band that unites the slave to their masters. And as long as this national ulcer (slavery) remains upon a part of the republic, a disunion is highly desirable. It is a disgrace to the United States. It is looked upon as such by most of Europe. What? a republic, boasting its equal rights, when a worse system of slavery is hardly (if at all) to be found. It is a shame.

Yours Respectfully,

Sherlock P. Gregory³⁷

An even more militant letter was sent, anonymously, from Boston, at about the same time, to the postmaster of Jerusalem, the seat of the Virginia county, Southampton, which had witnessed the Turner Rebellion. The length of this as yet unpublished letter—it comes to about 6,000 words—precludes its full quotation here.

The author states he is a Negro, and affirms the existence of an extensive secret organization of his fellows whose object is

the forcible liberation of their enslaved brethren. He declares that its agents were, and had been, touring the South and planting seeds of rebellion, and that men in the North—Negro and white—had contributed and would continue to contribute money and supplies for this work. "We prefer," he writes, "to see every person of colour headless and their heads on poles, if you please, than to see them servants to a debauched and effeminate [sic] race of whites. Oh, my blood boils, when I think of the indignities we have suffered, and I long for the scene of retribution." The letter closes with these words: "Till you hear from us in characters of blood, I remain your humble, attentive, watchful, and the Public's obedient servant, Nero."³⁸

In April, 1835, at a Boston anti-slavery meeting the question, "Would the slaves be justified in resorting to physical violence to obtain their freedom?" was submitted for discussion. The position generally adopted was very much like that held by Garrison.³⁹ The Reverend Samuel J. May and George Thompson, the British Abolitionist, declared that if any human being could justly employ violence it would be the slave in an endeavor to gain freedom, but both agreed that pacifism was right, in all cases, even for the slaves, and thus replied to the question in the negative. A Mr. Parker, of the Newton Theological Institution, came around to an agreement with this predominant feeling, although early in the discussion he had felt differently. He had permitted himself to say: "If the masses of the slaves would occasionally rise, like men and patriots, and assert their rights, would not these attempts hasten the day of total and complete emancipation?" He had, moreover, declared that to the vast majority of the slaves the message of true Christianity had not been brought, and the Bible remained a closed book. "As heathens, then, would they not be justified in revolting against their oppressors, especially as their object would be to obtain an immense good—liberty and the Bible?"

Only one man, a Mr. Weeks, expressed and maintained disagreement with the accepted philosophy, and even he opposed violence. He did this, however, merely on the ground of expediency, and argued that the Bible could be used as easily to sanction the rising of the slaves as not.⁴⁰

Following the slave plots of the summer of 1835 and the

accusations leveled against the Abolitionists, there appeared, as already noted, denials on their part of advocacy of rebellion. It is, nevertheless, interesting to observe that the disavowals were not considered complete or satisfactory by some connected with the movement. This appears, for example, in a letter from William Oakes to Samuel Sewell.

I have looked with great anxiety to see under the signatures of the most respectable & best known abolitionists in Boston, a statement of their principles, and especially a *full*, & not to be misunderstood denial in general & particular, of insurrectionary doctrines, or practices of any kind. Let it be fully understood that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Abolitionists do not believe in defensive war, much less in the "sacred right of insurrection."⁴¹

There was much thinking, talking, and writing among Abolitionists in 1837 concerning this perplexing question of non-resistance. It arose in the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held in Boston in January. A Negro, identified merely as a Mr. Johnson who had once been a slave, spoke at this meeting and informed the audience that he had read Walker's pamphlet. He went on to express similar convictions, remarking that the white people in the United States had fought for liberty and were revered as heroes for doing so. Moreover, said Mr. Johnson, in his sparkling style, even a bug will try to bite when stepped upon.

William Lloyd Garrison followed, and conceded that when Mr. Johnson pointed to the inconsistency of white Americans in denouncing slave rebellion and glorying in their own Revolution, his argument was unanswerable. Garrison also noted the fact that several of the state constitutions, as those of Maryland and Tennessee, contained the words, "The doctrine of non-resistance to oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind." Yet, he said, this was not his opinion and he could but reiterate his belief in the evil of violence and the duty of non-resistance.

This appeared to be the dominant sentiment of the meeting. Indeed, a Negro Abolitionist of Boston, the Reverend Hosea Easton, offered the following resolution, meant in a complimentary sense, and it was adopted—though its statement of fact is open to grave doubt: "Resolved, That the spirit of insurrec-

tion and insubordination of the slave population of this country, is restrained more by the influence of the free colored people thereof, than by all the oppressive legislative enactments of the slave-holding states."⁴²

The determined resistance to mob attack offered by the anti-slavery editor, Elijah Lovejoy, and his friends (Lovejoy himself being killed at Alton, Illinois, November 7, 1837), and the fact that the Abolitionist societies did not deprecate the resistance then offered aroused considerable comment. The famous radical ladies from South Carolina, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, wrote a joint letter to Theodore Weld referring to the use of violence in this episode and to the absence of an expression of regret over this on the part of the American Anti-Slavery Society.⁴³ "Surely to be consistent," said these earnest young women, "abolitionists sh'd go South and help the slaves to obtain their freedom at the point of the bayonet."

Charles Marriott, a Hicksite Quaker whose anti-slavery agitation was to lead to his disownment, wrote an illuminating letter, headed "private," to Garrison in December. Marriott declared:

I & some other of my friends called soon after [the Lovejoy tragedy] at the A.S. office to urge the necessity of disavowing this resort to arms—all the satisfaction we could obtain was that Abolitionists were divided on the subject of defensive war, and that they could not say what they did not believe in. A division on this point, seems almost inevitable. *Fighting & pacific* Abolitionists! Your Mass. Society has done nobly, as also has Benja. Lundy, Wm. Goodell, H. C. Wright, and some other individuals, but from the spirit manifested by not a few abolitionists, Slavery is not likely to be terminated by a *moral conflict only*.⁴⁴

A communication from Putnam, Ohio, of a little later date revealed growing uncertainty as to the wisdom of pacifism and appealed to Garrison for philosophic ammunition to hurl at the doubters.⁴⁵ The subject of force was discussed at the town's lyceum, and it was discovered that while about half the inhabitants of the community opposed slavery, only some three or four individuals were non-resistants.

The same question was discussed in 1837 in a Negro newspaper, the *Colored American*, published in New York City, in a series of articles by William Whipper. Mr. Whipper's essay took a pacifist stand, yet it is interesting to observe that the

editor, Samuel E. Cornish, in introducing the series, wrote: "But we honestly confess that we have yet to learn what virtue there would be in using moral weapons, in defense against kidnappers or a midnight incendiary with a torch in his hand."⁴⁶

An early militant Abolitionist who actually discussed details of a plan for putting his ideas into practice was Jabez D. Hammond of Cherry Valley, New York. In the spring of 1839 he told Gerrit Smith (who did not then agree) of this belief in the justice of the use of force in this case, and suggested the establishment of military schools for young Negroes in Canada and Mexico. "I believe that young men thus educated . . . would be the most successful Southern missionaries."⁴⁷

By 1841, however, Gerrit Smith had moved to the point of urging slaves to flee and to take whatever they needed and to blast away all obstacles in order to succeed in their effort at self-liberation. The organization which heard his words, the American Anti-Slavery Society, while not committing itself to an approval of them, did feel impelled to go on record as declaring that its members would not aid in suppressing Negro insurrection.⁴⁸

David Ruggles, a leading New York Negro Abolitionist, headed an open letter announcing an anti-slavery convention with the motto, "Know ye not who would be free, Themselves must strike the first blow!" In the text of the letter itself were these words: "Our condition is everywhere identical. Rise, brethren, rise! Strike for freedom, or die slaves!"⁴⁹

An exceedingly severe note of bitterness enters the writings of the great Theodore Weld at about this time. Thus, in a letter to his wife in the midst of a severe economic depression in the South, and threats of war against Great Britain (which, should they materialize might culminate, he thought, in freedom of the Negroes), Weld wrote:

The slaveholders of the present generation, if cloven down by God's judgments, cannot plead that they were *unwarned*. Warnings, reproofs, and the foreshadows of coming retribution have for years frightened the very air, and should sudden destruction come upon them at last, well may the God of the oppressed cry out against them, "because I have called and ye have refused. . . . Therefore will I laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh."⁵⁰

The rebellion in October, 1841, of the slaves aboard the domestic slavetrader, *Creole*, while en route from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to New Orleans, the sterling character displayed by the Negroes, their success in getting the ship to Bermuda, and the resulting international complications brought the question of pacifism among Abolitionists once more to the fore.

One of the country's most eminent fighters against slavery, the Ohio Congressman, Joshua R. Giddings, made his position clear in a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives in 1842 opposing the treatment of the rebellious slaves as common criminals. The resolution maintained that slavery existed only by positive, local law, not by a Federal statute. Once the ship, therefore, had reached the high seas and left the jurisdiction of any slave state, the Negroes were no longer slaves, and they had but reasserted a natural right in rebelling against those who pretended to own them. In attempting to secure their freedom, said Congressman Giddings, the Negroes did what was commendable and proper. For daring to introduce such a resolution Mr. Giddings was censured by his colleagues, by a vote of 126 to 69, and immediately resigned. But, and this marked an important milestone in the Abolitionist movement, the determined gentleman was promptly re-elected by his constituents.⁵¹

The year 1843 is marked by the flaming speech made by one of the best known Negroes of that day, the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, before a Negro convention held in Buffalo, New York. Garnet had been born a slave in Kent County, Maryland, in 1815, and had, with his parents, escaped to New Hope, Pennsylvania, in 1824. That same year, however, his sister was retaken by slave-catchers. The Garnets moved to New York City in 1825. And here Garnet studied at elementary and high schools, and met and was greatly influenced by the Negro radical, the Reverend Theodore S. Wright. Together with Alexander Crummell, he then attended a school at Canaan, New Hampshire. Both, however, were driven out by a mob, at which time Garnet seems to have lost any faith he may have had in the efficacy of non-resistance, for he used a shotgun in his own defense.

From there Garnet went to Oneida Institute at Whitesboro, New York, and studied under Beriah Green. Completing his work, he taught in Troy from 1840 to 1842, and later became pastor of the Negro Presbyterian Church in that city. He was holding that position when he delivered "An address to the slaves of the United States of America" before a convention of colored citizens in Buffalo.

Henry Highland Garnet's speech advanced ideas beyond which the Abolitionist movement was never to go. He said to his brethren, "If you must bleed, let it all come at once." He reminded them of their martyrs, men like Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, and affirmed, "It is your solemn and imperative duty to use every means, both moral, intellectual, and physical, that promises success." He was specific:

Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties! Now is the day and the hour! Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been; you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. *Rather die freemen than live to be slaves.*

Should these sentiments be broadcast throughout the land as coinciding with those of the convention itself? This question was debated, with the comparative newcomer to the ranks of the Negro Abolitionists, Frederick Douglass, taking, at this stage of his career, the negative, and carrying the convention with him. But this was done by a vote of 19 to 18, the closeness of which is indicative of the fact that militancy developed earlier and was more widespread among the Negro Abolitionists—so many of whom had themselves felt the lash—than among their white fellow-workers.⁵²

Desperation rather than philosophic conviction sometimes led to the expression of militant views. The difficulties of the struggle and the weakness and splits that plagued the Abolitionists led some among them to doubt that verbal or even political action would bring essential improvement. This mood was expressed by William Birney in a letter to his father, James, dated Cincinnati, June 14, 1843: "When I witness these ill-considered movements on the part of the friends of the Slave,

I do feel that our hope is not in man or in political action but in the flames of insurrection, or of foreign war."⁵³

It has been asserted that in 1844 a Negro, the Reverend Moses Dickson, of Cincinnati, together with eleven other Negroes, founded an "international Order of Twelve of the Knights and Daughters of Tabor" for the purpose of accomplishing the overthrow of slavery in any and every way possible. In 1846 the same individual is supposed to have started another secret organization, called the Knights of Liberty, which used St. Louis as its headquarters and aided hundreds of slaves to flee, but whether it was active in aiding or provoking conspiracies and rebellions is not clear.⁵⁴

A comment made early in 1844 by the Presidential candidate of the political Abolitionists, in defending his position, is indicative of a developing school of thought. James G. Birney asked, rhetorically, whether it was not a fact that all just men rejoice "when they hear that the oppressed of any land have achieved their liberty, at whatever cost to their tyrants?"⁵⁵ And while this former slaveholder did not actually express the deduction that logically followed from his words, the conclusion could hardly have been made more plain even if specifically drawn.

From the wing of the non-political Abolitionists during the same year came the blast against the Constitution delivered by the Bostonian, Francis Jackson, on the Fourth of July. Mr. Jackson publicly renounced his allegiance to this expression of the fundamental law, and he did so particularly because of its fourth article guaranteeing Federal aid for the suppression of domestic violence

which [as he saw it], pledges to the South the military force of the country, to protect the masters against their insurgent slaves, and binds us, and our children, to shoot down our fellow-countrymen, who may rise, in emulation of our revolutionary fathers, to vindicate their inalienable "rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—this clause of the Constitution, I say distinctly, I never will support.⁵⁶

Mr. Jackson's position was adopted at a convention of the New England Workingmen's Association held in January, 1846, at Lynn, Massachusetts. These laborers resolved, "That while

we are willing to pledge ourselves to use all means in our power, consistent with our principles, to put down wars, insurrections and mobs, and to protect all men from the evils of the same, we will not take up arms to sustain the Southern slave-holders in robbing one-fifth of our countrymen of their labor." They urged, moreover, that "our brethren speak out in thunder tones, both as association and individuals, and let it no longer be said that Northern laborers, while they are contending for their rights, are a standing army to keep three million of their brethren and sisters in bondage at the point of the bayonet."⁵⁷

An individual who was soon to put his philosophic convictions into practice and thereby attract the attention of the world and help precipitate the Second American Revolution, John Brown, had by this period arrived at those convictions. In the year 1847 Frederick Douglass visited Brown in his humble Springfield, Massachusetts, home. The two men spoke of means wherewith to eradicate slavery. Brown, with perfect confidence in the discreetness and integrity of Douglass, did not hesitate to tell him that, in his opinion, nothing but force could overthrow the institution of human bondage. And he told him, too, of his plan for the most effectual use of force, the employment of small units of men, Negro and white, to penetrate the slave area, establish themselves in the Appalachian Mountains and there serve as bases from which marauding expeditions against nearby slave plantations might set out, and to which slaves might flee.⁵⁸

Douglass thought the plan had "much to commend it," but was not yet convinced that moral suasion might not convert the nation as a whole, even the slaveholders, to the anti-slavery viewpoint.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Brown's arguments, that slavery was a state of war, and that the owners of human property would never voluntarily relinquish it, impressed Douglass so that, as he said, "My utterances became more and more tinged by the color of this man's strong impressions."

The House of Representatives heard strange words in 1848—words such as even he who now uttered them, Joshua R. Giddings, had not hitherto used. That Ohio Congressman praised Captain Drayton of the *Pearl* who, for attempting to carry to freedom a group of Washington slaves, had been caught and

jailed. Mr. Giddings thought it right for an American Representative to visit such a man in his cell and to congratulate him personally on his courage. This raised a whirlwind of protest. Mr. Haskell of Tennessee asked his interesting colleague whether he actually felt it to be proper for a slave to flee from his master. Mr. Giddings said "yes," and more than yes, for he declared "that it was not only the right of the oppressed to obtain their liberty if they could do so, even by slaying their oppressors, but it was their unquestionable duty, even to the taking of the life of every man who opposed them."⁶⁰

As the weeks and months wore on these thoughts were becoming less and less strange and more and more frequently expressed. Frederick Douglass, by 1849, was moving towards Garnet's position which he had, six years before, opposed. In Faneuil Hall, Boston, this striking individual, who bore the marks of enslavement upon his back, and whose four sisters and one brother were still in chains, denounced the oppression of his people, cited the revolutionary heritage of America, and declared:

In view of these things I should welcome the intelligence tomorrow, should it come, that the slaves had risen in the South, and the sable arms which had been engaged in beautifying and adorning the South were engaged in spreading death and destruction there.⁶¹

Meanwhile, the same year the Liberty Party resolved that it was preferable to send the slaves compasses and pistols rather than Bibles.⁶²

During the next decade such militant ideas were so frequently expressed that one is justified in declaring that, among anti-slavery folk, they became commonplace. It is a moot question whether the hitherto dominant pacifist or non-resistance wing in the movement (so far, at least, as its articulate members were concerned) was not overshadowed and outweighed, in the decade of crisis, by activists and believers in resistance.

A convention of Negro adherents of the Free Soil Party which met in Boston in 1852 heard the Reverend J. B. Smith of Rhode Island, whose own father had been killed while attempting to flee, declare:

He believed that resistance to tyrants was obedience to God, and hence, to his mind, the only drawback to the matchless Uncle Tom of

Mrs. Stowe was his virtue of submission to tyranny—an exhibition of grace which he (the speaker) did not covet.⁶³

In the same year, another Negro, Martin R. Delany, ended a letter to Garrison with these lines:

*Were I a slave, I would be free,
I would not live to live a slave;
But boldly strike for LIBERTY—
For FREEDOM or a Martyr's grave.*⁶⁴

The New York Abolitionist and correspondent of Gerrit Smith, Jabez D. Hammond, whose militancy was observed as early as 1839, retained the same views and let Mr. Smith hear them again in 1852. He affirmed the righteousness of the forcible overthrow of slavery and maintained, with great optimism, that, "An organized army of 10,000 men with an able commander, and arms munitions of war and provisions for 50,000 men would march through the Southern States and liberate every slave there in six months."⁶⁵

At about this time the Reverend George W. Perkins wrote an article entitled, "Can Slaves Rightfully Resist and Fight?" in which he warned that quick emancipation alone would spare future bloodshed. And, while himself inclining towards the non-resistant school, he confessed, as did Garrison, that,

*If it was right in 1776 to resist, fight, and kill to secure liberty, it is right to do the same in 1852. If three millions of whites might rightfully resist the powers ordained by God, then three millions of blacks may rightfully do the same.*⁶⁶

The Reverend J. W. Loguen, the Syracuse Negro who gained fame for his public defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and his prominence in the Jerry Rescue in 1851, wrote Garrison a letter early in 1854 concerning his own attitude, which seemed to be most prevalent among Negroes, generally:

I want you to set me down as a *Liberator* man. Whether you will call me so or not, I am with you in heart. I may not be in hands and head—for my hands will fight a slaveholder—which I suppose THE LIBERATOR and some of its good friends would not do. . . . I am a fugitive slave, and you know that we have strange notions about many things.⁶⁷

Charles Francis Adams, also, at this time, made an interesting

generalization when he asserted that while personally he opposed rebellion on the part of the slaves, yet he believed that, "Probably few of them [Abolitionists] entertain any doubt of the abstract *right* of the slave to free himself from the condition in which he is kept against his own consent, in any manner practicable."⁶⁸

Among a series of conventions of free Negroes called for the purpose of battling Jim-Crowism and aiding the Abolitionist movement was one held in Philadelphia in the spring of 1854. This convention adopted a most radical resolution declaring that "those who, without crime, are outlawed by any Government can owe no allegiance to its enactments;—that we advise all oppressed to adopt the motto, 'Liberty or Death.'⁶⁹

A widely read work issued simultaneously in 1855 by four publishers—in London, Boston, New York, and Cleveland—opened with sentences modeled after those of the manifesto of 1776, but specifically applied to the American Negro:

When in any State, the oppression of the laboring portion of the community amounts to an entire deprivation of their civil and personal rights; when it assumes to control their wills, and to punish with bodily tortures the least infraction of its mandates, it is obvious that the class so overwhelmed with injustice, are necessarily, unless prevented by ignorance from knowing their rights and their wrongs, the enemies of the government. To them, insurrection and rebellion are primary, original duties.⁷⁰

The Kansas war stimulated the spread and acceptance of these ideas, so that while in 1849 only a rather restricted group like the Liberty Party would resolve that pistols were more important to the southern slaves than Bibles, by the years of the Kansas excitement a minister who earnestly strove to say what he felt people wanted to hear, Henry Ward Beecher, was sending pistols into the troubled territory and calling them his Bibles. Gerrit Smith, too, exemplifies the trend. "Hitherto," he declared, "I have opposed the bloody abolition of slavery. But now, when it begins to march its conquering bands into the Free States, I and ten thousand other peace men are not only ready to have it repulsed with violence, but pursued even unto death, with violence."⁷¹

The influential Frederick Douglass also committed himself to the same side at this time. While affirming that it was still one's duty to use "persuasion and argument" and any other instrumentality that offered promise of ending slavery without violence,

we yet feel that its peaceful annihilation is almost hopeless . . . and contend that the slave's right to revolt is perfect, and only wants the occurrence of favorable circumstances to become a duty. . . . We cannot but shudder as we call to mind the horrors that have marked servile insurrections—we would avert them if we could; but shall the millions for ever submit to robbery, to murder, to ignorance, and every unnamed evil which an irresponsible tyrant can devise, because the overthrow of that tyrant would be productive of horrors? We say not. The recoil, when it comes, will be in exact proportion to the wrongs inflicted; terrible as it will be, we accept and hope for it.⁷²

John Henry Hill, a slave who had escaped from Richmond in 1853, expressed the opinion of one who had himself worn the chains. "Our Pappers," he wrote, "contain long details of insurrectionary movements among the slaves at the South. . . . I beleve that Prayers affects great good, but I beleve that the fire and sword would affect more good in this case."⁷³

At a time when old John Brown had fully matured his plans for an invasion of the slave area, another Abolitionist, Lysander Spooner of Boston, developed, quite independently, put into writing, and finally into print, a proposal strikingly similar to the ideas of Brown. Spooner printed a long circular, one side of which contained an appeal "To the Non-Slaveholders of the South" calling upon them to overthrow the domination of the Bourbons and thus assure their own well-being and advancement, as well as the liberation of the slaves. The other side contained "A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery" which envisaged the sending of money and arms to the slaves, the inciting of rebellion, the use of arson, flogging, and kidnapping to destroy the property and morale of the slaveholders, the formation throughout the nation of Leagues of Freedom, the members of which, finally, were to descend upon the slave-holding area, declare freedom for all, and, if necessary, wage a war of liberation. Moreover, said Spooner, should such a war be necessary, the property of the slave-owners was to be confiscated and

given to the slaves as some compensation for their years of unrequited toil, and in order to make certain that their rights as free men would be retained after the war.⁷⁴

Some copies of this amazing document were distributed,⁷⁵ but John Brown learned of it, and upon his informing Spooner that continued publicity and distribution would injure the possibilities of the successful carrying out of his own plan (of which Spooner heard for the first time) its distribution was stopped.⁷⁶

Spooner sent copies of his circular (in manuscript form) to several anti-slavery leaders and received and preserved the answers from nine of them. Only one, J. R. French, writing from Painesville, Ohio, utterly and completely repudiated the idea. He felt it to be "*Quixotic* in the extreme" and found it hard to believe that a "sober man of reason," as he knew lawyer Spooner to be, would have "any faith in such a scheme," fit for "the crased [sic] brain of S. S. Foster."⁷⁷

Three others, Lewis Tappan, Hinton Rowan Helper, and Francis Jackson, felt that they could not go along with Mr. Spooner. Lewis Tappan acknowledged that the Negroes had every right to their freedom, and would be as justified in obtaining it by violence as any people, including those who engineered the American Revolution, but, as for himself, he was "a Christian, and a peace-maker, and abjure all resort to deadly weapons to secure our rights."⁷⁸

Francis Jackson, a seventy-year-old veteran of the crusade, told Spooner he could not "accept your 'Plan,' or join your 'League.'" He had, he wrote, been laboring with the Garrisonians for twenty-five years and was "loaded down to the gunwales with their apparatus" and believed their "doctrine of Non-Resistance is true." Yet, he declared, "I shall neither encourage, [n]or discourage you, because I know your motives are true to your own light, and conviction of duty," and ended, "I have but little strength left, but if I had ever so much, I could not ask, or encourage others to go, where I was not ready and willing to go myself."⁷⁹

Hinton Rowan Helper preceded the salutation of his letter with the words, "*Immature—Impractical—Impolitic*" which, he went on, succinctly expressed his "candid criticism of the circular in regard to which you did me the honor to request

my opinion." He urged that it be not distributed, "or, to say the least, that you will withhold it from the public until after the next Presidential campaign."⁸⁰ His closing paragraphs are interesting enough to warrant full quotation:

For several months past I have had it in contemplation to issue a circular especially designed to reach the South in the right way; and if I am not failed or prejudiced in my aims and efforts, I think I shall, in connection with other Southerners, who are willing and anxious to cooperate with me, be successful in accomplishing more in that direction within the next two or three years than has been accomplished within the last fifty.

My friend, Prof. Hedrick, has seen your circular, and fully concurs in the opinion which I have expressed in reference to the same. Neither the Professor nor myself, however, desire to be taken as criterions to go by. Probably it would be well for you to consult others.⁸¹

Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Stephen S. Foster, and Dr. Daniel Mann expressed agreement in principle, and the last two very largely in detail, with Spooner.

The earliest reply in the whole series came from Wendell Phillips, whose letter was dated July 16, 1858. His idea is summarized in the sentence, "Your scheme would be a good one if it were only *practicable*." He doubted, however, that enough men would enlist "to save the attempt from being ridiculous," and added that if the opposite were true and a fairly "considerable number did rally round you it would be treason & the Govt. would at once move & array all its power to crush the enterprise—before it made head enough to be able to compete with an organized despotism like ours. In such circumstances I cannot see any present availability & use in the proposal."

Yet Phillips did not completely shut the door for he ended by remarking that he always heard Spooner's elaboration of his own plans "with interest & respect & sometime we will steal an hour & talk it over."

Theodore Parker's letter, written some months later, said much the same thing.

Your paper is very well thought & expressed as indeed are all your writings. If it were widely circulated at the South, it would strike a

panic terror into those men, whose 2,000,000,000 is invested neither in land nor things. But I think you can't get a Corporal's Guard to carry your plan into execution. When I am well enough I will come & talk with you about it.⁸²

On the same day Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who had demonstrated his resistance philosophy in fugitive slave rescues, wrote Spooner from Worcester a very long and highly informative letter of approval. The circular had his "general approbation." He felt that "the increase of interest in the subject of Slave Insurrection is one of the most important signs of the time," and was convinced "that, within a few years, the phase of the subject will urge itself on general attention, and the root of the matter be thus reached. I think that this will be done by the action of the slaves themselves, in certain localities, with the aid of *secret* co-operation from the whites." This, he believed, was "greatly to be desired" as it would terrorize the slaveholders, force them to the defensive in the national struggle and stimulate thinking in the North "on the fundamental question of Liberty."

He reaffirmed, then, his sympathy with Spooner's aim. "My only criticism on your *plan* is, that I think in Revolutions the *practical end* always comes first & and the *theory* afterwards; just as our fathers, long after the Battle of Bunker Hill, still disavowed the thought of separation—and honestly." There followed a sentence whose truth John Brown's exploit was soon to confirm:

For one man who would consent to the *proposition* of a slave insurrection, there are ten who would applaud it, when it actually came to the point. People's hearts go faster than their heads. . . . In place therefore of forming a Society or otherwise propounding insurrections as a *plan*, my wish would be to assure it as a *fact*.

Higginson hinted at the coming Brown attempt, in which he was already deeply involved, by remarking, "Were I free to do it, I could give you assurance that what I say means something, & that other influences than these of which you speak are even now working to the same end. I am not now at liberty to be more explicit." He closed by affirming that Spooner's work had considerable value in preparing the public mind for servile rebellion, something that he always did in his speeches and had urged other agitators to do.

Another Worcester man, Stephen S. Foster, whose contempt for compromise and expediency had led even sympathetic folk to think him, at best, eccentric, though opening his letter with remarks concerning a severe rheumatic attack, proceeded to give his opinion in an essay of some one thousand words.⁸³ He had long seen, he declared, the need for new methods among the friends of freedom.

The grand defect in our policy is that it sets our practice in direct conflict with our principles & teachings. We proclaim the great truth of the equality of the races, & maintain with words the equal right of the slaves with ourselves to liberty & personal protection: but in practice, with few exceptions we essentially ignore these theories, & either unite politically with their masters in active measures for the destruction of their loyalty, or fold our arms, & refuse them the protection we demand for ourselves.

In typical unyielding fashion Foster said that if we claim the products of our own labor, we must assert the slaves' right to the property of their owners, and help them to get possession of it. And if we believe in taking life,

under any circumstances, we must teach him to cleave down his tyrant master, & aid him in the work. If we refuse allegiance to a government which tramples upon our own liberty, we must put our heel upon the government which yokes him with the brute. That abolitionism which comes short of this is essentially defective; & if persisted in when properly enlightened, is shown to be tainted & spurious.

While, according to Foster, the ultimate solution resided in the formation of a national party gaining mass support and power in order to put these principles into action, yet concerning Spooner's proposal he wrote:

Entertaining these views I cannot but regard your plan of action, in the main, as a step in the right direction. . . . To aim at such a result is to quicken the nation's sense of justice; & thus to pave the way to the final overthrow of the whole system. . . . Every supporter of the government must be held responsible for the entire slave system, & made identical in moral turpitude with the master, & both must be outlawed.

A physician friend of Spooner's, Daniel Mann, who had recently moved to Painesville, Ohio, wrote the most enthusiastic letter of all those preserved.⁸⁴ He thanked Lysander Spooner

for himself and "in behalf of the cause, for which you have done a great work, in making a *great beginning*." He referred to America's revolutionary history, and the audacity of the slaveholders. Then came these observations:

Truth should not disarm her champions, yet such seems to be the effect of her humanizing & elevating influences. We learn to hate fighting & therefore are not "valiant for the truth." War has been employed so long only in behalf of wrong, that the idea of its use in behalf of right has become obsolete. Yet war is wicked only when its purpose is not worthy. A war, in whatever form, & to whatever extent, however desperate & bloody against slavery would be a holy war. . . . My trust in God is stronger when I put some trust in myself & keep my powder dry. Garrisonism (which is only a new name for what Christianity once meant) would, & yet will plant the wilderness of this world with the rose of Sharon, but there needs a rough breaking up team to prepare the way. The ugly dragons heads must be cut off & their necks seared & their dens destroyed. No people are worthy of freedom who will not fight in its behalf. There may be higher truths than this, but this is as high as I can climb at present.

In 1859 a commercial publisher, A. B. Burdick of New York, who had become famous two years earlier as the publisher of Helper's *Impending Crisis*, issued a book openly advocating the inciting of servile rebellion. This was the work of a former New York *Tribune* editorial writer, James Redpath, and it was dedicated to John Brown, prior to the raid on Harper's Ferry.⁸⁵ The author had taken seriously the resolution of the Liberty Party in 1849 that pistols and compasses, not Bibles, were what the slaves most needed, and for several months in 1854 and 1855 he had traveled through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia in order to put that resolution into effect.⁸⁶

In his introductory pages Redpath boldly announces:

I do not hesitate to urge the friends of the slave to incite insurrections and encourage, in the North, a spirit which shall ultimate in civil and servile wars. . . . What France was to us in our hour of trial, let the North be to the slave today. . . . If the fathers were justified in *their* rebellion, how much more will the slaves be justifiable in *their* insurrection? You, Old Hero! [John Brown] believe that the slave should be aided and urged to insurrection; and hence do I lay this tribute at your feet. . . . I am a Peace-Man—and something more. I would fight and kill for the sake of peace. Now, slavery is a state of perpetual war. I am

a Non-Resistant—and something more. I would slay every man who attempted to resist the liberation of the slave. I am a Democrat—and nothing more. I believe in humanity and human rights. I recognize nothing as so sacred on earth.

Similar appeals are scattered through the work and it ends on the same note. "There are men who are tired of praising French patriots—who are ready to *be* Lafayettes and Kosciuskos to the slaves."⁸⁷ Guerrilla warfare, using the mountains and swamps as bases, is the method, and the young men who gained experience in the Kansas fighting should be the leaders. "*Will you aid them—will you sustain them? Are you in favor of a servile insurrection? Tell God in acts.*"

A consistent pacifist, Adin Ballou, was troubled by this swing towards militance just before John Brown crashed onto the scene. But that event, as he confessed,⁸⁸ and as Higginson had prophesied to Spooner, by turning the abstract into the concrete, dealt, for that period, a death blow to non-resistance.

Directly implicated in Brown's plans were many prominent individuals—Frank Sanborn, Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Gerrit Smith, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Henry Highland Garnet, and others.⁸⁹ Perhaps the aspect of the affair most indicative of the turn in sentiments is the fact that two men who were with Brown at Harper's Ferry, the brothers Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, were of Quaker families, and while one of them, Edwin (hanged for his part in the raid) had earlier been disowned by the Friends for non-attendance at meetings, the other, Barclay, was still a member in good standing of the Society. This unique Quaker escaped from Virginia and returned to Iowa where he was disowned January 11, 1860, for bearing arms.⁹⁰

Henry David Thoreau was moved to utter a "Plea for John Brown" in which he hailed the man as the possessor of a high aim and the performer of a noble act,⁹¹ while Wendell Phillips, speaking in Brooklyn, New York, on November 1, 1859, publicly affirmed his belief that the slaves had both the right and the duty of rebelling.⁹²

Striking, indeed, was the shift in attitude on the part of the Reverend Henry C. Wright. In the 'forties this man had written the "Non-Resistance" column in *The Liberator*. By 1851, how-

ever, he felt it to be the duty of Abolitionists to go into the South and aid the slaves to flee.⁹³ In 1859, as he wrote the imprisoned John Brown from Natick, Massachusetts, on November 21, he presided at

a very large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of this town, without regard to political and religious creeds, [which] was held last evening, for the purpose of considering and acting upon the following resolution:

Whereas, Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, therefore, *Resolved*, that it is the right and duty of the slaves to resist their masters, and the right and duty of the North to incite them to resistance, and to aid them.⁹⁴

This resolution, said Mr. Wright, was adopted "without a dissenting voice," and was mailed to the Governor of Virginia.

Lamentations by more moderate anti-slavery men also indicate the trend. This appears, for example, in a letter from David D. Bernard to Hamilton Fish complaining of the growth of militance, in the Abolitionist movement, and the spreading of the idea that for both whites and Negroes it was a duty to destroy all slaveholders.⁹⁵

In May, 1860, James Redpath wrote to a convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society that he would not attend as he "had no faith in conventions, but only in the sword and insurrection," and that he was "pledged to the work of inciting an armed insurrection among the slaves of the South, and therefore could have nothing to do with peaceful agitation."⁹⁶

He did, however, organize his own meeting, but this was to be held on the anniversary of Brown's martyrdom and its dominant note was to be a rededication to the aims and purposes of the Old Man. William Lloyd Garrison, one of the founders back in 1838 of the Non-Resistance Society, was asked to speak, but declined on the grounds of indisposition. He did, however, send Redpath a long letter in lieu of his personal appearance, and while reiterating his own belief in the inviolability of human life which disarmed "alike the oppressor and the oppressed," made strong and repeated appeals to those who were not, in principle, pacifists, to aid in servile rebellions. A few examples, among many, of such passionate sentences are:

Brand the man as a hypocrite and dastard, who, in one breath, exults in the deeds of Washington and Warren, and in the next, denounces Nat Turner as a monster for refusing longer to wear the yoke and be driven under the lash and for taking up arms to defend his God-given rights. . . . Let Hancock and Adams be covered with infamy, or the black liberators who aided John Brown be honored in history . . . were I a convert to the doctrine of '76, that a resort to the sword is justifiable to recover lost liberty, then would I plot insurrection by day and by night, deal more blows and less in words, and seek through blood the emancipation of all who are groaning in captivity at the South.⁹⁷

As this philosophy of resistance gathered disciples, as the danger of civil war increased, and as reports of slave uprisings and plots became more and more frequent, serious consideration was given in the North to the question of its obligation to aid, if called upon, in the suppression of Negro insurrections. In September, 1860, Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, asserted that if the slaves rose in rebellion the Constitution "binds us to put them down with ball and bayonet. The truth is, and we may as well open our eyes to the fact, that the strong arm of the federal government may be invoked to hold them for their masters to work them."⁹⁸

He who believed this and possessed firm anti-slavery convictions was forced into the position—as were the Garrisonians—of denouncing the Constitution and advocating disunion. There were some, however, like William Jay and Lysander Spooner,⁹⁹ who professed to see no pro-slavery bias in the Constitution, and denied that it contained the obligation to suppress slave insurrections. In addition, others like John Quincy Adams, contended that the method by which the federal government ended rebellion—or, specifically, a servile rebellion—was nowhere specified.¹⁰⁰ And, if this might best be done by granting the demands of the insurgents—in the case of slaves, by granting them their freedom—the federal government, in the exercise of its war powers, might do that.

This, in essence, was the reply of Joshua R. Giddings to Senator Doolittle:

If necessary to protect the people the army may be used to shoot down the slaves; but if the insurgent slaves can be pacified by having their freedom, the Executive may protect the people by giving the slaves

their liberty, or by sending them out of the State or country, as was practiced in the Florida war by Generals Scott, Jessup and Taylor.¹⁰¹

Mr. Giddings called this a "remedy" for slave revolts but it certainly was not one calculated to increase the slaveholders' devotion to the Union, nor to allay the disaffection of their victims—assuming it reached their ears.

The years of the ultimate triumph of the philosophy of resistance saw its frequent application to the slave population. In the early days of the Civil War suggestions for the provoking of Negro insurrection appeared. Thus *The Liberator* of April 26, 1861, printed a letter by "Insurrectionist" advocating servile rebellion as the quickest and surest way of conquering the slavocracy, although Garrison did not fail to record his dissent from the views of this writer. Yet a much stiffer tone of protest came from that pioneer when he learned of General Benjamin F. Butler's offer to Governor Andrew of Maryland to aid in suppressing a threatened uprising.¹⁰²

In May, 1861, certain unnamed free Negroes of Pennsylvania offered to go down into the South for the purpose of provoking slave rebellions, but Governor Curtin refused to sanction this.¹⁰³ "A Voice from the Under Current" rising from Texas at the same time told of considerable discontent and mass flight among the slaves and advised their arming as the quickest way to end the war.¹⁰⁴ In subsequent months similar demands were made.¹⁰⁵

Of particular interest is the letter from a Negro physician, G. P. Miller, of Battle Creek, Michigan, to Secretary of War Cameron, written October 30, 1861, offering ". . . from five to ten thousand free men to report in sixty days to take any position that may be assigned to us (sharpshooters preferred). . . If this proposition is not accepted we will, if armed and equipped by the government, fight as guerrillas."¹⁰⁶

The next year the idea of the arming of the Negroes was put forth with increasing urgency and, finally, in August, 1862, the enlistment of free Negroes as soldiers was authorized.¹⁰⁷ The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued September 22, 1862, promised that, on the first day of the new year, the government of the United States "will recognize and maintain the freedom" of people held in bondage by rebels and "will

do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

On the designated day the President declared such persons free "and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons." The great pronouncement went on to urge these individuals "to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense."

And an Abolitionist, General Rufus Saxton, commanding Negro troops in South Carolina, had the pleasure of calling his men together and fulfilling the vision of Walker and Garnet and Brown, for he told them, after reading the Proclamation:

It is your duty to carry this good news to your brethren who are still in slavery. Let all your voices, like merry bells join loud and clear in the grand chorus of liberty "We are free," "We are free"—until listening, you shall hear its echoes coming back from every cabin in the land—"We are free," "We are free."¹⁰⁸

In addition to those who wrote and spoke militantly there were some who actually entered the South and brought the message of freedom to the slaves. How much influence was thus brought to bear on the carrying out of slave plots and uprisings is not certain but it must have had some effect.¹⁰⁹ The activity of these people was, of course, illegal and meant great personal danger. Secrecy was, therefore, characteristic, thus making its recording very difficult, and, no doubt, fragmentary.

The names of some of these people are, however, known. Mention has already been made of John Brown and James Redpath. Other white people who carried on this type of work are Alexander M. Ross, William L. Chaplin, Charles Torrey, Calvin Fairbank, Richard Dillingham, Delia Webster, and John Fairfield.¹¹⁰

The latter, a native Virginian, whose years of activity as a liberator extended from approximately 1844 to 1856, believed that every slave was justly entitled to freedom, and that if any person came between him and liberty, the slave had a perfect right to shoot him down.¹¹¹ He always went about heavily armed himself, and did not scruple to use his weapons whenever he thought the occasion required this.

This man, who is supposed to have led hundreds of slaves to

freedom from every southern state, and to have taken part in several pitched battles, was captured only once and jailed in Bracken, Kentucky, but managed to escape within a short time. It was the belief of his friend, Levi Coffin, that Fairfield was one of the white men hanged in Tennessee in 1856 because of complicity in slave plots. This is not certain, though it is a fact that this remarkable person drops out of the picture in that year.

Free Negroes and escaped slaves were especially active in this type of endeavor. For example, Harriet Tubman, one of the most amazing women that ever lived, carried on her personal emancipation crusade in a fashion very similar to that of John Fairfield, but she, happily, lived to see emancipation a fact.¹¹² Others who went into the dragon's mouth were Josiah Henson, William Still, Elijah Anderson, and John Mason. The leading authority on the subject has estimated that, from Canada alone, in 1860, five hundred Negroes went into the South to rescue their brothers and carry the word of liberty among them.¹¹³

Some idea of the effect upon the Negro population of the mere presence of a sincere anti-slavery person, who did little more than make clear her sentiments, appears in a letter from a former resident of Massachusetts, Mrs. Louisa Leland, to her Boston friend, Mary Ann Halliburton.¹¹⁴ Mrs. Leland begins by assuring her friend that her residence in the South has, far from altering her Abolitionist views, rather strengthened them, and that she has therefore refrained from using slave labor. As a servant she hired a Negro woman, Rose,

a very intelligent black woman, who had just purchased her freedom by her own exertions. She was glad to remain in the neighborhood of her children whom she is endeavoring to free also and as we assured her of protection and high wages she gladly came to live with us. It would gladden your heart to hear her speak of the abolitionists of the North. I was reading to my husband a letter from Mrs. Childs¹¹⁵ not observing that Rose was in the room until on looking up I perceived her whole countenance glowing with delight and her eyes sparkling. As soon as my husband had gone she said to me: Do you know Mrs. Childs. Do tell me about her. I wish her benevolent heart may often receive as much pleasure as I did in witnessing the gratitude and interest with which this woman heard the story of her goodness. She sat in perfect silence—but when I ceased only exclaimed fervently: God *will* bless her. The names of Garrison, Phillips and others whom we have so often heard together are often spoken of by the slaves with deepest feeling. . .

The first of August¹¹⁶ is generally observed among the slaves whenever they can do it without incurring punishment. Knowing this, I told Rose to celebrate the day at our plantation¹¹⁷ where they could be secure from interruption. I have heard eloquence and seen deep feeling manifested at the North on this day, but I never was so deeply moved as on witnessing this scene: They had raised a little arbor, which was decorated with flowers, where a few of the speakers stood. Never shall I forget the sight: an old man nearly eighty years old, blind and very infirm had been brought by his children to the meeting. They had succeeded in purchasing his freedom, which they preferred to their own—and now by the kind help of some Northern abolitionists, they had purchased their own and had within a few days received their free papers and were on the point of starting for the Land of Freedom. The old man took the most earnest farewell of his friends around, and then knelt in prayer. The whole assembly fell on their knees on the green turf—and a prayer ascended to Heaven, which it seemed to me must call down angels to help them. Tears streamed from his sightless eyes, as he thanked God for this day and prayed that its blessing might be extended over the whole race. Then he prayed for their masters, and with the voice and manner of a saint, he lifted his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"—and alas! I thought have they even that excuse to plead?

The data here presented point to the conclusion that the existence of militant Abolitionism was widespread and deep-rooted. It appears to have been particularly common among the Negro people themselves, especially those who had escaped from the delights of the patriarchal paradise. In the decade of crisis, 1850-1860, the acceptance of this philosophy was fairly general among all Abolitionists.

The narrative of its development is an important part of the entire story of the anti-slavery crusade, and makes more understandable the growth of a temperament in the North necessary to a people who successfully waged a terribly bloody Civil War, and whose chosen leader, in the midst of the carnage, declared that "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 it still must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

- ⁷⁸ Examples are: Georgia, 1801; Virginia, 1805; South Carolina, 1820. Catterall, I, p. 72; II, pp. 4, 268; III, p. 1.
- ⁷⁹ J. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 79; *Journal of Negro History*, IX (1924), p. 41.
- ⁸⁰ *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (Cincinnati, 1876), p. 577.
- ⁸¹ Letter dated Feb. 26, 1849, in C. E. Norton, *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (2 vols., N. Y., 1894), I, p. 151. Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, among others, bore similar testimony. The latter, in 1852, organized a tour for a Mrs. Milly Edmundson embracing churches in Portland, Boston, Brooklyn, New York, and New Haven and resulting in funds sufficient to free her two children. Among those contributing was the world-famous Jenny Lind.—See C. E. Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston, 1891), pp. 178 ff.

MILITANT ABOLITIONISM

- ¹ A pacifistic and non-political Abolitionist, Lydia Maria Child, in a letter to Ellis Gray Loring, dated New York, Jan. 25, 1842, asserted that a belief in the propriety of political action would lead, inevitably, to the justification of militant action. According to Mrs. Child: "Then politics and military force not only *seem* allied together, when looked at through non-resistance spectacles, but they really *are* allied together. . . . Both are founded in want of faith in spiritual weapons; both seek to shape the inward by the outward; both aim at controlling and coercing, rather than regenerating. . . . The time will come when you and Wendell Phillips . . . will confess that I looked at this subject with candid discrimination, and not through the 'peeping-stone' of non-resistance merely."—Lydia Maria Child MSS, New York Public Library.
- ² Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," in *The Journal of Negro History* (1940), XXV, pp. 336, 338. Observe Jefferson's note to Governor James Monroe of Virginia after the great Gabriel slave plot, urging mercy in the punishment of the rebels: "The other states & the world at large will forever condemn us if we indulge a principle of revenge, or go one step beyond absolute necessity. They cannot lose sight of the rights of the two parties, & the object of the unsuccessful one."—Letter dated Monticello, Sept. 20, 1800, in P. L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (10 vols., N. Y., 1903), VII, pp. 457-58.
- ³ MS Council Journal, VIII, p. 13, South Carolina Historical Commission, Memorial Building, Columbia, S. C.
- ⁴ L. Hartz, "Otis and Anti-Slavery Doctrine," in *The New England Quarterly* (1939), XII, pp. 745-47.
- ⁵ John Adams to William Tudor, dated Quincy, June 1, 1818, in C. F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (10 vols., N. Y., 1850-56), X, p. 315; incorrectly quoted by Hartz, *op. cit.* Observe the remark of Mrs. John Adams in a letter to her husband, dated Boston, Sept. 22, 1774, telling of the discovery of a slave plot: "I wish most sincerely there was not a slave in the province; it always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."—C. F. Adams, ed., *Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams* (2 vols., 3rd edit., Boston, 1841), I, p. 24.

- ⁴ Quoted by A. M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, 1928), p. 119.
- ⁷ Reprinted often, as Samuel Hopkins, *Timely Articles on Slavery* (Boston, 1854).
- ⁸ *The American Museum* (Philadelphia, 1789), VI, p. 80. Note the statement of James Madison, made in 1783, in connection with the capture of a runaway slave belonging to him: "[I] cannot think of punishing him by transportation merely for coveting that liberty for which we have paid the price of so much blood, and have proclaimed so often to be the right, & worthy the pursuit of every human being."—Quoted by Abbot E. Smith, *James Madison* (N. Y., 1937), p. 221.
- ⁹ Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (2 vols., N. Y., 1945), II, p. 1286.
- ¹⁰ W. F. Poole, *Anti-Slavery Opinions Before the Year 1800* (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 17.
- ¹¹ *The American Museum*, 1791, XII, pp. 299-300.
- ¹² David Rice, *Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy* (London, 1793), p. 9. This pamphlet was originally issued in Philadelphia in 1792.
- ¹³ Theodore Dwight, *An Oration Spoken before the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom and the Relief of Persons Unlawfully Holden in Bondage, Convened in Hartford on the 8th Day of May, A. D. 1794*, pp. 20, 23. See M. S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade (1619-1808)* (Boston, 1901), pp. 169-71.
- ¹⁴ Locke, *op. cit.*, points out items of this nature in issues of Dec. 12, 1796, and Aug. 28, 1797; see also, issues of Aug. 21, and Sept. 4, 1797.
- ¹⁵ *A Charge, Delivered to the African Lodge, June 24, 1797, at Menotomy*, by the Right Worshipful Master, Prince Hall (*n.p.*, 1797), pp. 11-12; B. Brawley, *The Negro Genius* (N. Y., 1937), pp. 30-31. An earlier charge, however, is in large part devoted to advising against plots or rebellions. See *A Charge Delivered to the Brethren of the African Lodge on the 25th of June, 1792, at the Hall of Brother William Smith, in Charlestown, by the Right Worshipful Master, Prince Hall* (Boston, 1792), *passim*.
- ¹⁶ Letters from Savannah dated Apr. 28, 1804, and two not dated, but same approximate days, in the N. Y. *Evening Post*, May 8, 9, June 2, July 3, 1804. U. B. Phillips mentions fears of rebellion in Georgia in 1804—*American Negro Slavery* (N. Y., 1918), p. 476. A work published in Washington in 1804, by W. T. Washington, contains this sentence: "It is a melancholy reflection that while the energies of white men directed to shake off impositions, merely on trade, in every part of the world, meet with applause, the struggles of the blacks for liberty should meet with death if unsuccessful."—*Political Economy Founded in Justice and Humanity*, pp. 3-4.
- ¹⁷ St. Louis *Enquirer*, Oct. 20, 1819, in H. A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 114. New England Federalist opposition to the War of 1812 provoked considerable denunciation of the slavery existing in the predominantly Democratic South. At times this led to expressions tending to favor slave revolt. Thus, the Reverend Elijah Parish of Massachusetts, in July, 1812, urged his congregation to "let the southern Heroes fight their own battles, and guard . . . against the just vengeance of their lacerated

- slaves. . . ."—Quoted by Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* (2 vols., N. Y., 1946), I, p. 345.
- ¹⁸ Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection in the State of South Carolina. . .* (Charlestown, 1822), appendix. The editor of the Portland, Maine, *Christian Mirror*, John L. Parkhurst, demanded in the issue of Sept. 2, 1825, the immediate abolition of slavery. He raised the question of insurrection and, in regard thereto, said: "Calamitous as such a struggle must be to our citizens, dreadful as must be the horrors of servile war, we should regard even these as less to be deplored than the perpetual existence of slavery in our land."—C. M. Clark, *American Slavery and Maine Congregationalists* (Bangor, 1940), p. 28.
- ¹⁹ As originally issued this was called *The Hope of Liberty Containing a Number of Poetical Pieces* (Raleigh, 1829, Gales & Seaton). It is mentioned by G. G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), p. 826, but this writer has not seen the original. He has seen a copy published in Philadelphia in 1837, called *Poems by a Slave* which owed its existence to the fact that an Abolitionist, Joshua Coffin, came across the original and reprinted it. The work was published in the hope of raising money to purchase Horton's freedom, but this failed. The publisher, Gales, said he was an "honest and industrious slave," but Collier Cobb (*An American Man of Letters*, reprint from *University of North Carolina Magazine*, 1909), has Horton merely loafing away his time, and feels that his anti-slavery poems were "playing to the grand-stand." This was based on the recollections of white people in 1909! How a slave "played to the grand-stand" by denouncing slavery in a slave state is not clear.
- ²⁰ [Robert Alexander Young] *The Ethiopian Manifesto issued in defence of the black man's rights, in the scale of universal freedom* (N. Y., 1829). Compare with Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (trans., by S. Putnam, N. Y., 1946), p. 100n.
- ²¹ *Freedom's Journal*, Dec. 18, 20, 1828; B. Gross, "Freedom's Journal," in *The Journal of Negro History* (1932), XVII, p. 259n.; N. S. Chase, "The attitude of the Negro toward slavery: a study in opinion, 1828-1850," unpublished master's thesis, Howard University, 1936, pp. 14-16. David Walker's son, Edwin G. Walker, was elected to the Massachusetts State Legislature in 1866, one of the first Negroes so honored.
- ²² [David] Walker's *Appeal, in Four Articles together with a preamble to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly to those of the United States of America, written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829* (3rd ed., Boston, 1830). The three editions are in the Boston Public Library.
- ²³ "A Colored Bostonian" reported in *The Liberator*, Jan. 22, 1831, that it was believed Walker had been murdered. A rumor was current that some person or persons in the South offered a large reward to the individual who would kill him. Recently it has been asserted that Walker's death was due to "natural causes," but this was not documented—R. A. Warner, *New Haven Negroes* (New Haven, 1940), p. 100.
- ²⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, at an annual session of the General Assembly begun and held in the Town of Milledgeville, on Monday the second day of November, 1829* (Milledge-

- ville, 1830), p. 353. See C. Eaton, "A dangerous pamphlet in the old South," in *The Journal of Southern History* (1936), II, pp. 327-28.
- ²⁵ J. H. Johnston, "Race relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South, 1776-1860," unpublished doctorate, University of Chicago, 1937, p. 108; L. P. Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860* (N. Y., 1942), p. 19n.
- ²⁶ U. B. Phillips, "The public archives of Georgia," in *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1903* (2 vols., Washington, 1904), I, p. 469.
- ²⁷ The quoted words are those of Merle Curti, from *The Learned Blacksmith, the Life and Journals of Elihu Burritt* (N. Y., 1937), p. 118n. Professor Curti does not mention, however, the Walker pamphlet. That Elijah safely reached the north appears in a letter from S. S. Jocelyn to W. L. Garrison, dated New Haven, July 12, 1832, asking that *The Liberator* be sent to Burritt at Berlin, Connecticut, "the gentleman who suffers so much on acct of Walker's pamphlet. I had an interview with him yesterday—he is a noble soul—lived 20 years in Geo.—has facts on the subject of slavery most horrible."—MS Letters to Garrison, II, Boston Public Library.
- ²⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), Apr. 24, 1830, June 19, 1830, XXXVIII, pp. 157, 304.
- ²⁹ James F. McRae, Magistrate of Police, to Governor John Owen, dated Wilmington, Aug. 7, 1830, in Governor's Letter Book, Historical Commission, Raleigh.
- ³⁰ L. D. Henry to Gov. Owen, in Governor's Papers, vol. 60, N. C. Hist. Commission. See Eaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-31. A prominent North Carolinian, Calvin Jones of Wake Forest, drawn from his "secluded retreat" by "the great excitement and alarm that exists in several portions of the state as to an apprehended insurrection of the slaves," urged the Governor, in a letter of Dec. 28, 1830, among other things, to be sure to get hold of Walker (in case, he added, he still was alive).—*Ibid.*
- ³¹ Walker's *Appeal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, 9, 29. William Lloyd Garrison who did not agree with Walker's call for violence affirmed that he personally knew that Walker himself wrote the *Appeal*.—*The Liberator*, Jan. 29, 1831. See C. G. Woodson, *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800-1860* (Washington, 1926), p. 224. According to the Negro Abolitionist, the Rev. Amos G. Beman, the Walker pamphlet was read to gatherings of Negroes in Connecticut—R. A. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- ³² Original letter as well as a printed clipping are in MS Letters by Garrison, I, Boston Public Library.
- ³³ *The Liberator*, July 23, 1831. See also letter signed "Consistency" on "The Non-Resistance Doctrine," *Ibid.*, July 9, 1831.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept 3, 1831. For a striking instance of what Garrison was lambasting see "The Call of Poland" by Thomas Campbell, on the editorial page of the *Richmond Enquirer*, Aug. 23, 1831 (two days after the start of Nat Turner's slave rebellion), containing lines asking whether "the hell-mark of slave must still blacken their name," and asserting:
- The call of each sword upon Liberty's aid
Shall be written in gore on the steel of its blade!
- ³⁵ Robert Dale Owen in the *Free Enquirer* (N. Y.), Sept. 23, 1831; the account in *The Liberator* of the same day is also very full. A. B. Hart in *Slavery*

- and *Abolition, 1831-41* (N. Y., 1906), p. 236, incorrectly gives the date of this incident as 1832.
- ³⁶ James Forten to Garrison, dated Philadelphia, Oct. 21, 1831, MS Letters to Garrison, I, Boston Pub. Lib.
- ³⁷ This, all of which was printed except the month, day, signature, and the word "great," which were written, was enclosed in a letter to Governor Monfort Stokes of North Carolina by James Somervell, dated Warrenton, Oct. 2, 1831. Mr. Somervell was postmaster of Warrenton, and stated that he believed the same circular had been sent to every postmaster in the state. Governor's Papers, vol. 62, Hist. Comm., Raleigh.
- ³⁸ Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives, State Library, Richmond; quoted by J. H. Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-67. Johnston thinks this may have been the work of David Walker, but since it was written subsequent to Sept. 1, 1831, and since Walker's death occurred several months earlier, he could not have been its author.
- ³⁹ Garrison's pacifism greatly influenced Tolstoy, to whom, in turn, Gandhi is indebted. See Leo Tolstoy, "Garrison and Non-Resistance," in *The Independent* (1905), LIX, pp. 881-83; H. R. Mussey, "Gandhi the Non-Resistant," in *The Nation* (1930), CXXX, p. 608.
- ⁴⁰ *The Liberator*, Apr. 11, 18, 1835. See also George Thompson, *Letters and Addresses . . . 1834-35* (Boston, 1837), pp. 58-60, 95. Certain remarks by Mr. Thompson make him out to be, at this time, rather a conservative than a radical anti-slavery man. Thus, at the 1835 New York Anti-Slavery Society meeting he declared he opposed the immediate liberation of the slaves without outside control. "All we ask is, that the control of the masters over their slaves may be subjected to supervision, and to legal responsibility." *op. cit.*, p. 72. According to Claude G. Bowers, George Thompson "proposed that the slaves should arise and cut their masters' throats."—*The Party Battles of the Jackson Period* (Boston, 1928), p. 434. Arthur Y. Lloyd says the same thing, *The Slavery Controversy* (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 115, and cites James Schouler. That historian, however, merely stated that Thompson used "imprudent language."—*History of the United States under the Constitution* (rev. edit., 6 vols., N. Y., 1894), IV, pp. 217-18. The fact is that George Thompson did not advocate servile rebellion, and did not say what Bowers and Lloyd claim he did.
- ⁴¹ Dated Ipswich, Aug. 20, 1835, in Letters to Garrison, V.
- ⁴² *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, with some account of the annual meeting, January 25, 1837* (Boston, 1837), pp. xxvii, xxxv, xxxix. Yet Vernon Loggins, *op. cit.*, p. 90, citing Easton's work, *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character . . . Condition . . . of the Coloured People of the United States* (Boston, 1837), says it is, as compared with Walker's *Appeal*, "equally radical." A comparison of the works does not substantiate this characterization.
- ⁴³ Dated Brookline, Nov. 30, 1837, in G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Weld and Sarah Grimke 1822-1844* (2 vols., N. Y., 1934), I, p. 486.
- ⁴⁴ Dated Hudson, N. Y., 12 mo 21st 1837, emphases in original, Letters to Garrison, VI. The same complaint came from Samuel J. May to Garrison in a letter dated South Scituate, Dec. 26, 1837, and from the Buckingham Female

- Anti-Slavery Society in a letter to Garrison from J. P. Magill, dated Bucks County, Pa., Jan. 13, 1838.—Letters to Garrison, VI, VII.
- ⁴⁵ George Helmick to Garrison, dated Putnam, Feb. 3, 1838. Letters to Garrison, VII.
- ⁴⁶ Quoted by V. Loggins, *op. cit.*, p. 70. It is pertinent to observe that William Lloyd Garrison, himself, was writing, privately, at this time: "I have relinquished the expectation that they [the slaveholders] will ever by mere moral suasion, consent to emancipation of their victims."—Garrison to the English abolitionist, Elizabeth Pease, Nov. 6, 1837, in Garrison MSS, II, Boston Pub. Lib.
- ⁴⁷ Hammond to Smith, Cherry Valley, May 18, 1839, in R. V. Harlow, *Gerrit Smith Philanthropist and Reformer* (N. Y., 1939), p. 260.
- ⁴⁸ N. Y. *Daily Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1841; W. S. Savage, *The Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature 1830-1860* (Washington, 1938), p. 109.
- ⁴⁹ *The Liberator*, Aug. 13, 1841; Loggins, *op. cit.*, p. 79n.; Woodson, *Mind, op. cit.*, p. 252. In a letter from the Pennsylvania Abolitionist, Edward M. Davis, written while on a visit to England and dated London 9 mo. 19, 1840, and addressed to Elizabeth Pease, a leading British Abolitionist, there is enclosed a printed tribute, including a portrait, to Joseph Cinque, leader of the slaves who rebelled aboard the *Amistad* in 1839, as one deserving honor, since he "prefers death to slavery."—Letters to Garrison, IX.
- ⁵⁰ Barnes and Dumond, eds., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 911-12. See also D. L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 111.
- ⁵¹ G. W. Julian, *The Life of Joshua R. Giddings* (Chicago, 1892), pp. 118-19; J. R. Giddings, *Speeches in Congress* (Boston, 1853), pp. 19, 22, 24; D. L. Dumond, *op. cit.*, p. 99. An interesting eulogy of Madison Washington, leader of the slave rebels aboard the *Creole*, written by Frederick Douglass and entitled "The Heroic Slave," appeared in Julia Griffiths, ed., *Autographs for Freedom* (Boston, 1853), I, pp. 174-239.
- ⁵² James McCune Smith, "Sketch of the life of Rev. Henry Highland Garnet," in *A Memorial Discourse; by Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, delivered in the hall of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on Sabbath, February 12, 1865* (Phila., 1865), pp. 17-68; W. M. Brewer, in *The Journal of Negro History* (1928), XIII, pp. 36-52; C. G. Woodson, *Negro Orators and their Orations* (Washington, 1925), pp. 149-156; V. Loggins, *op. cit.*, p. 192; B. Brawley, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Walker's *Appeal* and Garnet's *Address* were issued in one volume in 1848. Brewer, Loggins, and Woodson state that John Brown paid for its publication. In 1849 a convention of Ohio Negroes resolved "that five hundred copies of Walker's *Appeal* and Henry H. Garnet's *Address to the Slaves* be obtained in the name of the Convention, and gratuitously circulated."—*State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio, Convened at Columbus, Jan. 10-13, 1849* (Oberlin, 1849) p. 18.
- ⁵³ D. L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857* (2 vols., N. Y., 1938), II, p. 742.
- ⁵⁴ This information is given in B. T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro* (2 vols., N. Y., 1909), II, p. 158; and H. Whittaker, "The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement 1830-1850," unpublished master's thesis, Howard University, 1935, p. 63, but neither cites sources. Washington, who seems to have

- known Dickson, states he served in the Union Army, and, following the Civil War, was active in establishing Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri.
- ⁵⁵ J. G. Birney to W. E. Austen, *et. al.*, dated Lower Saginaw, Michigan, Feb. 23, 1844, in Dumond, ed., *op. cit.*, II, p. 790.
- ⁵⁶ Francis Jackson to Governor George N. Briggs, Boston, July 4, 1844, in *The Anti-Slavery Examiner* (N. Y., 1845), XI, p. 123. Mr. Jackson was reiterating the resolution adopted in 1841 by the American Anti-Slavery Society. He was not, and it did not, however, advocate slave rebellion. It did denounce the obligation to suppress such rebellion. According to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, his friend, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, who had been active in Greek and Polish revolutions, had asserted in 1844, "that in his opinion some movement of actual force would yet have to be made against slavery, and that but for the new duties he had assumed by his marriage (1843) he should very likely undertake some such enterprise himself."—*Contemporaries*, (Boston, 1899), pp. 294-95.
- ⁵⁷ Herman Schlüter, *Lincoln, Labor and Slavery* (N. Y., 1913), pp. 58-59; C. H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States 1850-1925* (N. Y., 1927), p. 73. A Boston workingmen's paper, *The New Era of Industry*, July 27, 1848, declared, "Slavery must be extinguished. We go for direct and internecine war with the monster."—Quoted by N. Ware, *The Industrial Worker 1840-1860* (Boston, 1924), p. 226.
- ⁵⁸ Such activity on the part of Indians and fugitive slaves had recently required the United States Army seven years (1836-43) to overcome. As has been shown guerrilla warfare waged by outlying runaway Negroes was everywhere a regular part of the slave institution.
- ⁵⁹ *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Hartford, 1882), p. 217.
- ⁶⁰ Julian, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
- ⁶¹ Woodson, *Orators*, p. 191.
- ⁶² O. B. Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith* (N. Y., 1879), p. 190.
- ⁶³ Reported by William C. Nell in *The Liberator*, Dec. 10, 1852. Earlier "A Colored American" (Henry Bibb?) published a pamphlet the title of which referred to the Vesey martyrs as "patriots."—*The Late Contemplated Insurrection in Charleston, S. C., with the Execution of Thirty-Six of the Patriots* (N. Y., 1850).
- ⁶⁴ Dated Philadelphia May 14, 1852, in *The Liberator*, May 21, 1852, and in Woodson, *Mind*, p. 293. Martin Robison Delany studied medicine at Harvard, served as a newspaper editor for several years in Pittsburg, and was a Major in the Union Army. See Frank A. Rollin (Frances E. R. Whipper), *Life and Public Service of Martin R. Delany* (Boston, 1868).
- ⁶⁵ Jabez D. Hammond, to Smith, Feb. 28, 1852, in Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
- ⁶⁶ Julia Griffiths, ed., *op. cit.*, I, p. 34, italics in original.
- ⁶⁷ Loguen to Garrison, April 28, 1854, in Woodson, *Mind*, p. 267. This individual act of defiance of slavocratic law by Loguen was typical of the statements and behavior of the Negro people north of the Mason-Dixon line, *i.e.*, of those who, in a physical sense, were able to act in this manner. It is typical, too, of the expressions emanating from collective bodies of Negroes. For example, a meeting of Cleveland Negroes resolved, in Sept., 1850: "We will exert our influence to induce slaves

- to escape from their masters, and will protect them from recapture against all attempts, whether lawful or not, to return them to slavery." *Cleveland Daily True Democrat*, Sept. 30, 1850. By the 1850's outstanding Negroes like Dr. Charles H. Langston of Ohio publicly declared that "circumstances being favorable" he would be happy to see the slaves assert their freedom "and cut their masters' throats if they attempt again to reduce them to slavery." *Minutes of the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio...1851* (Columbus, 1851), p. 11. Similar sentiments were expressed thereafter by men like William Howard Day and John Mercer Langston—See *Proceedings of a Convention of the Colored Men of Ohio . . . 1858* (Cincinnati, 1858), p. 17.
- ⁶⁰ Julia Griffiths, ed., *op. cit.*, II (Auburn, 1854), p. 132. The same volume contains a long eulogistic poem on the Haitian rebel, Vincent Ogé, by a Negro, George B. Vashon.
- ⁶¹ N. Y. semi-weekly *Tribune*, June 16, 1854, quoted by C. Wesley, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- ⁶² Benjamin Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery*, p. 1.
- ⁶³ Letter in *Syracuse Journal*, May 31, 1856, in Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
- ⁶⁴ Douglass' Rochester paper of Nov. 28, 1856, quoted in William Chambers, *American Slavery and Colour* (London, 1857), p. 174. Chambers, in introducing Douglass' remarks asserts that very few Abolitionists held this viewpoint, but the evidence herewith presented refutes that idea.
- ⁶⁵ Dated Hamilton, Canada, Jan. 5, 1857, in William Still, *Underground Railroad Records* (rev. edit., Phila., 1886), pp. 191, 200.
- ⁶⁶ A printed copy of this circular will be found on page 73 of the collection of Lysander Spooner manuscripts in the Boston Public Library. Several handwritten drafts are also there. There is a brief sketch of Spooner in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, but the manuscripts in the Boston Library are not mentioned, nor is this very interesting episode in his life, with which those papers very largely deal.
- ⁶⁷ The *Boston Courier*, Jan. 28, 1859, reporting the contents of the circular, stated it had received copies from a friend in Georgia, and from an unnamed Congressman. It was noticed, too, in the *N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 28, 1859, and the *Boston Post* of the next day. The latter paper and the *Boston Courier* of Jan. 31, 1859, thought the circular to be a joke, or, in the language of the day, a "quiz." The *Boston Atlas and Bee* of Jan. 31, 1859, decided it was "too absurd to be treated seriously and too silly to be laughed at."—Clippings in the Spooner MSS; that of the *Tribune* enclosed in a letter to Spooner from Hinton R. Helper, dated New York, Jan. 31, 1859.
- ⁶⁸ So declared Spooner in a letter to Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, signed "The Author of the Circular," dated Nov. 2, 1859. He wrote in order to clear Brown of any suspicion of being the author for, "I apprehend that the Circular may be considered more disrespectful, and insulting to slaveholders personally, than Brown's enterprise itself. . . ."—Spooner MSS.
- ⁶⁹ Dated Dec. 25, 1858. This was probably the printed circular, for Francis Jackson, in a letter of December 3, already referred to it as printed. French had formerly been associated with the New Hampshire leader, Nathaniel P. Rogers, in the publication of the *Herald of Freedom*.

- ⁷⁰ Dated New York City, Oct. 7, 1858.
- ⁷¹ Dated Boston, Dec. 3, 1858.
- ⁷² Dated New York, Dec. 18, 1858.
- ⁷³ This reference is to Professor Benjamin S. Hedrick, once of the University of North Carolina, who was forced to leave the South in 1856 because of his free-soil views and his expressed preference for John C. Frémont in the Presidential election of that year. A good brief account of this is in Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), pp. 202-04. As appears in a letter from Helper to Spooner of Jan. 31, 1859, requesting another copy of the circular, Professor Hedrick kept the one Spooner originally sent him. On Oct. 28, 1859, Helper asked Spooner to send a copy of his letter of Dec. 18, 1858, opposing the circular, in order to help convince those who suspected him of complicity with John Brown of his non-involvement.
- ⁷⁴ Dated Nov. 30, 1858.
- ⁷⁵ Dated Jan. 8, 1859.
- ⁷⁶ Dated Jan. 16, 1859. The information concerning Mann is in J. R. French's letter to Spooner from Painesville, Dec. 25, 1858. Mann wrote in pencil at the end of his letter, "Use, as you choose."
- ⁷⁷ *The Roving Editor: or, Talks with Slaves in the Southern States* (N. Y., 1859).
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 129. In view of later historical writing, it is interesting to note these words in this work: "The second American Revolution has begun. Kansas was its Lexington. . ." p. 300. Redpath wrote the first biography of John Brown, and later published other volumes including a collection of the speeches of Wendell Phillips. For his relations with Lincoln, see Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years* (4 vols., N. Y., 1939) I, p. 578.
- ⁷⁹ Redpath, *op. cit.*, p. 306; see also pp. 84, 299.
- ⁸⁰ W. S. Heywood, ed., *Autobiography of Adin Ballou* (Lowell, 1896), pp. 417-22. Ballou was particularly shocked at the fact that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society adopted a resolution praising Brown, and that William Lloyd Garrison specifically associated himself with that act.
- ⁸¹ Carlos Martyn, *Wendell Phillips: The Agitator* (N. Y., 1890), p. 299; R. V. Harlow, *op. cit.*, pp. 410ff.; O. G. Villard, *John Brown* (N. Y., 1909), p. 323.
- ⁸² L. T. Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1914), p. 197.
- ⁸³ H. S. Canby, *Thoreau* (Boston, 1939), chap. XXIV. Mr. Canby aptly states (p. 391): "Subtly, slowly, as is happening with many idealists in the twentieth century, the belief in justified violence had been capturing Thoreau's mind. Passive resistance was not enough in a state that had ceased to recognize human rights and was over-riding personal integrity."
- ⁸⁴ Martyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-96.
- ⁸⁵ *The Liberator*, Jan. 10, 1851.
- ⁸⁶ Henry C. Wright, *The Natick Resolution; or, Resistance to Slaveholders the Right and Duty of Southern Slaves and Northern Freemen* (Boston,

- 1859), *passim*. On the day of Brown's execution, Wright, in a letter, pointed out to Governor Wise that the state seal of Virginia itself attested Brown's righteousness. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was present at the Natick meeting but denied, on the floor of the Senate, Dec. 6, 1859, that he favored rebellion.
- ⁹⁶ Letter dated Jan. 22, 1860, in A. Nevins, *Hamilton Fish, The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (N. Y., 1936), p. 77.
- ⁹⁷ W. E. Smith, ed., *The American Civil War, An Interpretation*, by Carl Russell Fish (London, N. Y., 1937), pp. 53-54.
- ⁹⁸ Garrison to Redpath, Dec. 1, 1860, in MS letters by Garrison, V.
- ⁹⁹ Reported in the N. Y. *Evening Post*, Sept. 27, 1860.
- ¹⁰⁰ See, Bayard Tuckerman, *William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery* (N. Y., 1894); T. W. Higginson, *Contemporaries* (Boston, 1899), p. 264.
- ¹⁰¹ *Speech of John Quincy Adams in the Joint Resolution for Distributions to the Distressed Fugitives from Indian Hostilities in the States of Alabama and Georgia* delivered in the House of Representatives, May 25, 1836 (Washington, 1836), pp. 5, 7.
- ¹⁰² Letter dated Oct. 15, 1860, in *Principia* (N. Y.), Nov. 3, 1860. Note an editorial in the N. Y. *Weekly Tribune*, Dec. 13, 1856, in which are these words: "They ask for more territory to be subject to the taskmaster and his cruelties, to the slave and his insurrections... What claim will the South have on the North when insurrections do come?"
- ¹⁰³ *The Liberator*, May 24, 1861. In Jan., 1861, Gerrit Smith went to Canada to protest the attempt by Missouri to extradite a fugitive slave, John Anderson, on a charge of murder, the Negro having killed his master who tracked him to Ohio. Smith based the defense on, as he saw it, man's right to be free. In killing the person who attempted to enslave him, the Negro had done, said Smith, "a manly, heroic deed, entitling the man to praise and not to punishment." The extradition request was denied—Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 425; Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Similar ideas recur even in non-Abolitionist papers. For example, the *Cleveland Leader* (Jan. 25, 1858), in reporting the case of a Kentucky slave who had recently killed his master while the latter was whipping the Negro's wife, commented: "We cannot blame this negro for obeying one of the first laws of nature, self-defense..."
- ¹⁰⁴ N. Y. *Daily Tribune*, May 11, 1861.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1861.
- ¹⁰⁶ Letter from T. Bourne, *Ibid.*, July 27; from M. T. V., Aug. 3; editorial, Sept. 19, 1861.
- ¹⁰⁷ MS in collection labeled "The Negro in the the Military Service of the United States," eight volumes of manuscripts, II, p. 827, located in the National Archives, War Records Branch, Washington. So far as has yet been discovered, the first suggestion to arm the Negroes, specifying they be free, came from one Major Burr Porter, of the "Ottoman Army, 3 campaigns," in a letter to Secretary of War Cameron, dated Washington, Apr. 16, 1861. On Apr. 23, 1861, the Negroes of Boston held a mass meeting, requested that they be armed, and pledged that 50,000 Negroes

- would come forth at once to help suppress the slaveholders' assault. On the same day a Negro employed by the U. S. Senate, Jacob Dodson, wrote to Cameron that he knew "of some three hundred" Negroes in Washington anxious to get into uniform; but this offer was rejected by the Secretary six days later. Thereafter a veritable flood of similar demands descended upon the Lincoln Administration. See the *Boston Journal*, Apr. 24, 1861, and letters in MS Collection as cited above in this note, II, pp. 803, 806.
- ¹⁰⁸ See, as examples, N. Y. *Daily Tribune*, Jan. 15, 20, 1862; P. G. and E. Q. Wright, *Elizur Wright* (Chicago, 1937), p. 217.
- ¹⁰⁹ N. Y. *Daily Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1863. During the war years an occasional pacifistic Abolitionist raised his voice in protest. See, for example, the letter from A. Brooke, dated Marlboro', Ohio, Feb. 20, 1864, in *The Liberator*, Mar. 11, 1864, and the reply thereto by W. S. Flanders of Cornville, Maine, dated Mar. 16, 1864; *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1864.
- ¹¹⁰ Many who entered the South did so in order to help slaves flee. The existence of the possibility of gaining liberty via flight acted as a safety valve and may well have served to cut down the number of mass uprisings.
- ¹¹¹ For information on this see A. M. Ross, *Memoirs of a Reformer* (Toronto, 1893), *passim*; Annie Abel and F. Klingberg, *A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations* (N. Y., 1927), p. 258; D. L. Dumond, ed., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 388n., 527; Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 275; J. W. Coleman, Jr., *Slavery Times in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, 1940), pp. 142ff.; Eliza Wigham, *The Anti-Slavery Cause in America and its Martyrs* (London, 1863), pp. 63, 64, 81. Torrey's work led to his being sentenced to six years' imprisonment in Baltimore in 1844, but he died in jail in 1846. See his letter to J. M. McKim, dated Baltimore Jail, Nov. 29, 1844, asking that McKim thank several Philadelphia Negroes who had sent money for his defense. MS Letters to Garrison, XIV. Calvin Fairbank aided Lewis Hayden to escape and for this was jailed in Lexington, Ky., in 1848. Hayden learned that his owner would sign, for \$650, a petition to pardon Fairbank, and so within sixty days Hayden raised the money, by public and private appeals. In August, 1849, Fairbank was freed. In 1851 he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, again for aiding in the liberation of Negroes. For thirteen years he rotted in a Kentucky prison, until pardoned in 1864. See an undated manuscript signed by Francis Jackson and Ellis G. Loring in MS Letters to Garrison, XVIII; and *The Liberator*, May 13, 1864, p. 80. In 1879 Garrison and Phillips were attempting to raise money for Fairbank who was absolutely destitute. N. Y. *Daily Tribune*, Jan. 2, 1879, p. 2.
- ¹¹² *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (London, Cincinnati, 1876), pp. 428-46.
- ¹¹³ See Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman* (Washington, 1943).
- ¹¹⁴ W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad* (N. Y., 1899), pp. 28, 152. Not a few residents of the South, Negro and white, aided in this work. See, J. H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 165n.; Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning the Negro and American Slavery* (5 vols., Washington, 1926-35), I, pp. 188, 216-21, 247, 441; II, pp. 67, 511; III, pp. 187, 200; IV, pp. 222, 232.

- ¹¹⁴ Dated Charleston, S. C., Feb. 1, 1844, in MS Letters to Garrison, XIV.
- ¹¹⁵ This refers to the Abolitionist and author, Lydia Maria Child, whose *Appeal for that Class of Americans Called Africans*, published in Boston in 1833, was particularly popular and influential. A good brief sketch of this lady will be found in Higginson, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-41.
- ¹¹⁶ Aug. 1, 1834 was the day upon which the act emancipating the slaves of the British West Indies took effect.
- ¹¹⁷ Above the word "plantation" in another hand is written "country seat."

NEGRO CASUALTIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

- ¹ *The War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 serial volumes, Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. III, vol. V, p. 665n.—hereafter cited as ORA. The Provost Marshal General's full report appears in House Executive Document No. 1, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. (Washington, 1866), Vol. IV, parts 1 and 2.
- ² William F. Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War 1861-1865* (Albany, 1889), p. 574.
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx* (Hartford, 1888), p. 123. Wilson was a member of the 2nd Regiment of Louisiana Native Guards, and, later, of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. He makes clear his belief that the numbers involved in this behavior ran into the thousands, and asserts: "An order was issued [in the Department of the Gulf] which aimed to correct the habit and to prevent the drawing, by collusion, of the dead man's pay."
- ⁵ Conveniently presented in Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1908), p. 18. These revised figures represent an increase of about 5,000 over the casualty total embodied in the *Report of the Secretary of War for 1866* (Washington, 1866), p. 89.
- ⁶ Actually the latter figure should be increased considerably for there were 3,306 deaths from causes not stated upon the service records, and the vast majority of these were due, in all probability, to disease. See W. F. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 529.
- ⁷ *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865* (N. Y., 1888, Harper), p. 324.
- ⁸ When Negro regiments were first formed it was customary to have white men in the higher non-commissioned posts, particularly on the regimental staffs. These men were generally, in time, replaced by Negroes, but what their casualties may have been, or how those casualties were reported—whether as white troops or as part of the Colored units' totals—is not clear. On July 11, 1863, General Lorenzo Thomas, the Adjutant General of the Army, had instructed a Lieutenant K. Knox, on recruiting duty, that "...the Non-commissioned Staff of Regiments and 1st Sergeants of Companies of Colored Troops, are to be in all cases white men..." but in his report to Secretary Stanton, March 25, 1864, he indicated that Negroes were steadily replacing white non-commissioned officers. Thomas' report is in House Executive Document No. 83, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 29. The letter to Lieutenant Knox is on page 1407 of the massive collection