THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PEOPLE, PLACES, AND OPERATIONS

Mary Ellen Snodgrass

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Volumes One–Two

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For Those Who Dared

I was a starving fugitive without home or friends,
and no claim upon him to whose door I went.
Had he turned me away I must have perished.
Nay, he took me in, and gave of his food,
and shared with me his own garments.

Abigail Mott
Narratives of Colored Americans, 1875

The river has its bend, and the longest road must terminate.

Peter Randolph
From Slave Cabin to the Pulpit, 1893

Quakers and Baptists and those of no denomination . . . were all busy operating the mysterious railroad that "ran from Cincinnati to Canada." It was not easy to operate. It jeopardized livelihood. It put life and limb at hazard. But it ran.

J. Saunders Redding
A Scholar's Conscience, 1992

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PREFACE

The Underground Railroad: An Encyclopedia of People, Places, and Operations invites the reader—whether historian, researcher, genealogist, archivist, teacher, librarian, journalist, or general reader—to explore by name and location the small links in a vast American network.

Entry titles, ordered alphabetically, include names, places, documents, themes, publications, and social organizations. Some entries provide information on such topics as the agents who sped slaves like Med Slater, Mammy Chadwick, and Henry "Box" Brown to freedom and the means by which runaways followed the North Star and escaped dog packs and punishment to build new lives. Other entries summarize the labors of individuals and households who ensured runaways safe passage over unfamiliar terrain and offered reliable guidance past bounty hunters to waystations along the Pilgrim's Pathway, the Brown Line, and sea and river routes.

Enhancing the historical data are citations from the personal writings of Louisa May Alcott; speeches by James Miller McKim and the Edmondson sisters; sermons by Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Dwight Weld; novels by William Wells Brown and Harriet Beecher Stowe; and a host of published documents. In addition, there are court cases, such as that of Castner Hanway and of Charles Turner Torrey; anecdotes from Levi Coffin; and a variety of human-interest stories—the birth of an Underground Railroad passenger at the safehouse of Emily Jane Hunt Grover and Joel Grover and the mock auctioning of Pinky Diggs at the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims are dramatic instances.

Additional details appear in an outline of Underground Railroad routes and in charts of anti-slavery newspapers, codes, quilt patterns, and leaders of maroon settlements. Photos, bookplates, handbills, and sketches round out this introduction to a complex social response to the enslavement of African Americans.

For ease of use, the entry titles feature the most notable figure or primary focus of the topic—such as John Rankin, the founder of Liberty Hill, a hilltop depot at a major crossing of the Ohio River. Included in the text are the names of spouses, children, and other relatives involved in acts of rescue and concealment.

In some instances, the entry title lists a woman's name first, because she played a more noteworthy role than her husband, as in the case of Priscilla Baltimore. In other instances, a woman's name precedes her husband's when the information about them is the same. Because of the domestic nature of tending and hiding runaways and supplying them with food, clothing, and medical care, an agent's wife is invariably included in the entry title, under the assumption that she played an important, if often unsung, role in maintaining the safehouse, harboring fugitives, and otherwise abetting the Underground Railroad. Entry titles with more than four names appear in family entries that identify both patriarch and matriarch—"Forten (James, Sr., and Charlotte Vandine) Family" and "Lewis (Esther Fussell and John, Jr.) Family." Less important figures are included in the text with their birth and death dates. The *See also* list at the end of many entries identifies other entries that provide further information or general background.

Within a multitude of examples of the people, actions, events, and ideas chronicled in these multifaceted entries are the publication of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) and Fanny Kemble's journals, Osborne Perry Anderson's eyewitness account of the raid on Harpers Ferry, a doctor's testimonial to the extreme torture of a Texas slave named Lavinia Bell, the lifework of orator Frederick Douglass and of martyr Elijah Parish Lovejoy, the establishment of the refugee sanctuary Pokepatch in Ohio and of the Colored Sailors' Home in lower Manhattan, rescues on the escape vessels the *Pearl* and the *City of Richmond,* John Brown's proposed subterranean pass way through the Appalachian Mountains, and the organizational skills of John Horse and Wild Cat, the Seminole chiefs who welcomed fugitive slaves as tribe members. Cross-referencing clarifies such details as the facilitators of the "Jerry" rescue and the real name of "Free Frank."

Research materials derive from a wide variety of

sources: personal diaries, coded notes, and the published letters and advertisements that appeared in the era's newspapers, as well as sculpture and painting commemorating American generosity to refugees. Supplementing the main text are the following additional study aids, which are designed to provide an historical framework for the events described and to particularize the volunteers who defied laws that dehumanized black people:

- A chronology presents a 120-year timeline of events that illustrate the humanity of victims and their saviors and the extent of the networking that ensured safe passage from bondage. The span concludes with the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and with freedmen building new lives in Canadian communities.
- Appendix A offers family trees that involve grandsons and nieces, cousins and in-laws, in the secret network. Among the 72 genealogies are clans such as the Cowleses, Garrisons, Lewises, Motts, Robinsons, and Vickerses. These families passed through three or four generations their treasured ideals of democracy and human decency.
- Appendix B names by state major wayfarers, both slave and free, who escaped and fled along secret routes to communities that valued them as human beings rather than as chattel. Included are the individuals' names, geographical locations, departure dates, and destinations. As the history of some refugees is sketchy, we list together those whose departure points are unknown.
- Appendix C groups the names of conductors by state or province and lists their names, dates, and location, along with the religious affiliations of those for whom faith was the impetus to activism.
- A bibliography presents sources: For further reading, the primary source list includes eyewitness accounts of those involved with the Underground Railroad and the oral testimony of those who either donated their homes and skills to refugees or who benefited from individual kindnesses. The secondary source list recommends to the researcher or librarian other worthy books, periodicals, and Web sites that provide more detailed information.
- A comprehensive index lists people, places, beliefs, laws, titles, social movements, and historical events and milestones, along with specific dates.

I could not have gained the insight to compile this text without valuable advice from archivists, genealogists, historians, and a long list of reference librarians, the backbone of scholarly research. Historical and genealogical societies, college libraries, church and synagogue librarians, the Library of Congress, and specialists in Quaker and black church history clarified muddles and pointed out historical cul-de-sacs. Of particular help were the Latter-day Saints on-line Web site, Family History and Genealogy Records, and the electronic versions of such nineteenth-century newspapers as the *Brooklyn Eagle, The Liberator,* and the *North Star.* Finally, many thanks to my faithful publicist Joan Lail for salient comment and support.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Underground Railroad, the nation's first civil rights movement, survives in bits and pieces. An examination of the broad outlines of policy and political maneuvering should not be overlook or belittle the humanitarianism of individuals who risked life, property, reputation, and freedom on behalf of black wayfarers in need of respite.

The Participants

An extraordinary range of people, whose motives were as varied as their backgrounds, risked everything to help strangers. Compelled by the philosophies of Abby Kelley Foster, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Coffin Mott, and John Woolman, volunteers like Captain Daniel Drayton and Captain Alfred Fountain engaged in bold acts of civil disobedience to federal laws that required citizens to support slaveholders and federal agents. Perhaps the most overlooked of altruists were women and young people. For example, Anna Murray Douglass and the student body of Oberlin College served the secret network as couriers, cooks, laundresses, seamstresses, nurses, transporters, lookouts, and protectors of liberty.

Whether living in prestigious New England mansions, Vermont and Iowa farmsteads, The Wayside in Massachusetts, or sod huts on the Kansas–Missouri divide, passionate freedom lovers offered their hearths, lofts, cellars, cupboards, and lean-tos to desperate runaways. Three of the lucky, Tice Davids, Eliza Harris, and Eliza's two-year-old son, Harry, fled only steps ahead of armed posses and bloodhounds. Those defenders who came eye to eye with stalkers brandished tongs, coal shovels, corn knives, cudgels, and pots of boiling water. One agent, Sally Hudson of Brown County, Ohio, bit and clawed her attackers until a bullet to the spine felled her.

For the sake of principle, these risk takers jeopardized their families and lost homes, outbuildings, livestock, church memberships, businesses, and savings. Bankruptcy was the fate of Sherman Miller Booth in 1854 for freeing Joshua Glover from a St. Louis jail cell. Another rescuer, Mary Meachum, was sold into slavery in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Overall, freedom fighters survived church riots, front-yard shoot-outs, child snatching, tar and feathering, being burned in effigy, and arson and murder plots—notably, the offer of cash for the assassination of the Reverend John Rankin, the famed stationkeeper at Liberty Hill in Ripley, Ohio.

A few activists died along the way, among them, Seth Concklin, who drowned in the Tennessee River. Others perished in prison or in the hangman's noose, as did insurrectionist John Brown.

A Grand but Informal Network

Historians, genealogists, and archeologists have unearthed evidence corroborating over a century of clandestine slave liberation. Beginning well before the American Revolution, the establishment of safehouses by Mennonites and Quakers such as Catherine White Coffin and Levi Coffin attested to the morality of people who longed to cleanse the nation of human bondage. To choke off the flesh trade, individuals, families, and anti-slavery associations sketched out the beginnings of a relay system that eventually reached from the Canadian provinces of Quebec and Ontario east to the Atlantic seaboard, south to Florida and the Caribbean, and west to frontier enclaves in Kansas, Texas, and Mexico.

Contributing to the successful conveyance of escapees to free territory were carters and wagoneers, maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp, blacksmiths, barbers, disguise makers, roving network agents, spies, undertakers, and security guards. Actions such as fostering of the sick by the Lewis family in Sunnyside, Pennsylvania, and the boarding of the Mendian child Margru, a survivor from the slave ship *Amistad,* by the Porter family in Farmington, Connecticut, supplied interim solutions to the placement of people uprooted by the African diaspora. Through informal or spur-of-the-moment links, rescuers reached out to watermen on canals and rivers, ship captains, physicians, the clergy, gamblers, courtesans, congregations of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and even American Presidents Millard Fillmore and James Buchanan, Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe of Canada, the British Parliament, and Queen Victoria.

The demands of the Underground Railroad ranged over the whole of human society. One common need of the runaway was footwear, which cobblers and merchants provided. Horse and ox teams, curtained carriages, river steamers, trains, skiffs, and sleighs supplemented the basic mode of conveyance, the slow and dependable hay wagon.

For winter relays, homemakers offered lap robes, shawls, quilts, caps, and baby wraps to protect Southern runaways from the chill of water passage over the Detroit River and Lake Erie and from the snows of Windsor, Ontario, and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Accompanying passengers on quick shifts at waystations were hot pots, napkin-wrapped biscuits and loaves, and pillowcases of apples, potatoes, green corn, boiled eggs, and cheese.

Abigail Goodwin, Lewis Hayden, Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, and other philanthropists footed much of the bill. Dollar by dollar, they collected and disbursed thousands of dollars to board and harbor runaways and to negotiate the purchase of slaves from adamant owners. From some of the beneficiaries came letters in beginner's handwriting thanking all for their gifts.

Attacking the Problem

The vision of Underground Railroad strategists reached beyond the greed of individual flesh peddlers to an unseeing nation that profited from the goods and luxuries that slavery provided. To jolt the complacent, stir controversy, and initiate a change of heart, altruistic writers, editors, and publishers such as Gamaliel Bailey, Lydia Maria Francis Child, Benjamin Lundy, and Jane Grey Cannon Swisshelm operated the presses of the anti-slavery media, a unique segment of American journalism. Start-up journals and handbills of the American Anti-Slavery Society pressed into the public eye the truth about bondage, slave breeding, concubinage, slave pens, auction blocks, and the ripping of black babies from the arms of their parents. Providing backing were the female anti-slavery societies and their annual fairs and organizers—Maria Chapman, Catharine Rugg, Helen Benson Garrison, and others—who raised funds to keep the newspapers solvent and to underwrite the daily bills of William Still, an operative of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society.

Lacking a secure mail-delivery system, strategists of the Underground Railroad communicated with the great human web through the editorials of Horace Greeley, the essays of Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poems of John Greenleaf Whittier, Mary Ann Shadd Cary's tract "A Plea for Emigration," the sermons of Theodore Parker and Rabbi Leibman Adler, Benjamin Hanby's song "Darling Nelly Gray" and Julia Ward Howe's anthem "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and the speeches of Cassius Marcellus Clay, Stephen Symons Foster, and Sojourner Truth.

The biography of Harriet Tubman and slave narratives by Leonard Black, Nehemiah Caulkins, Frederick Douglass, and Harriet Ann Jacobs disclosed the hardships that reduced slaves to short-lived drones. One anti-slavery hero, Harriet Beecher Stowe, poured out her loathing of bondage in the fictional melodrama *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), a truth-telling novel that riveted readers throughout North America and Europe.

The Legal Aspect

An elite layer of Underground Railroad operatives consisted of the legal minds among those who wrestled with the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, the black codes, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, and the confiscation laws that emerged during the American Civil War. Demanding justice for black Americans, litigants matched wits with pro-South spokesmen Pierce Butler, Henry Clay, Stephen Arnold Douglas, and Daniel Webster.

Attorneys of the secret network gathered in courtrooms across the land and in Canada and England to require proof of ownership and to intervene against unscrupulous slave owners, informants, scammers, bounty hunters, and lawmen. Such *pro bono* work ennobled some of the prominent legal minds of the day, including John Quincy Adams, Salmon Portland Chase, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel Edmund Sewall, and Passmore Williamson.

In the U.S. Congress, libertarians chastised representatives of the plantation South for a form of venality that countenanced torture, sexual bondage, and the perversion of Judeo-Christian scripture to justify a barbarous economic system. One legislator, Charles Sumner, crumpled in the Senate chamber after a Southern opponent caned him into unconsciousness.

Slavery's Last Days

When American slavery's house of cards collapsed under the weight of abolitionism, combat, and a single

document—President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863—a sophisticated rescue operation continued to function. In the chaos of civil war, ex-slaves could not survive in the milieu of want, combat, and conniving slave owners. As black families struggled to gather information on missing members, Union General Benjamin Franklin Butler, Mary Ann Bickerdyke and Mary Ashton Rice Livermore, two nurses volunteering with the Sanitary Commission, and others like them continued to shelter the weak and oppressed in army tents and to pass over Underground Railroad routes the many individuals in danger of losing their way to liberty. Canadian communities such as the Elgin Settlement and the Refugee Home Society burgeoned with the influx of ex-slaves. Productive workers got a new start in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime provinces.

When the South capitulated at Appomattox Courthouse in April 1865, the need for activism shifted to a new height as wanderers from cotton, sugarcane, and tobacco fields made their way north in hopes of reuniting shattered clans. After the Underground Railroad stowed its engines, its conductors and strategists looked toward the next struggle—the equalizing of education and the rewards of citizenship for all Americans.

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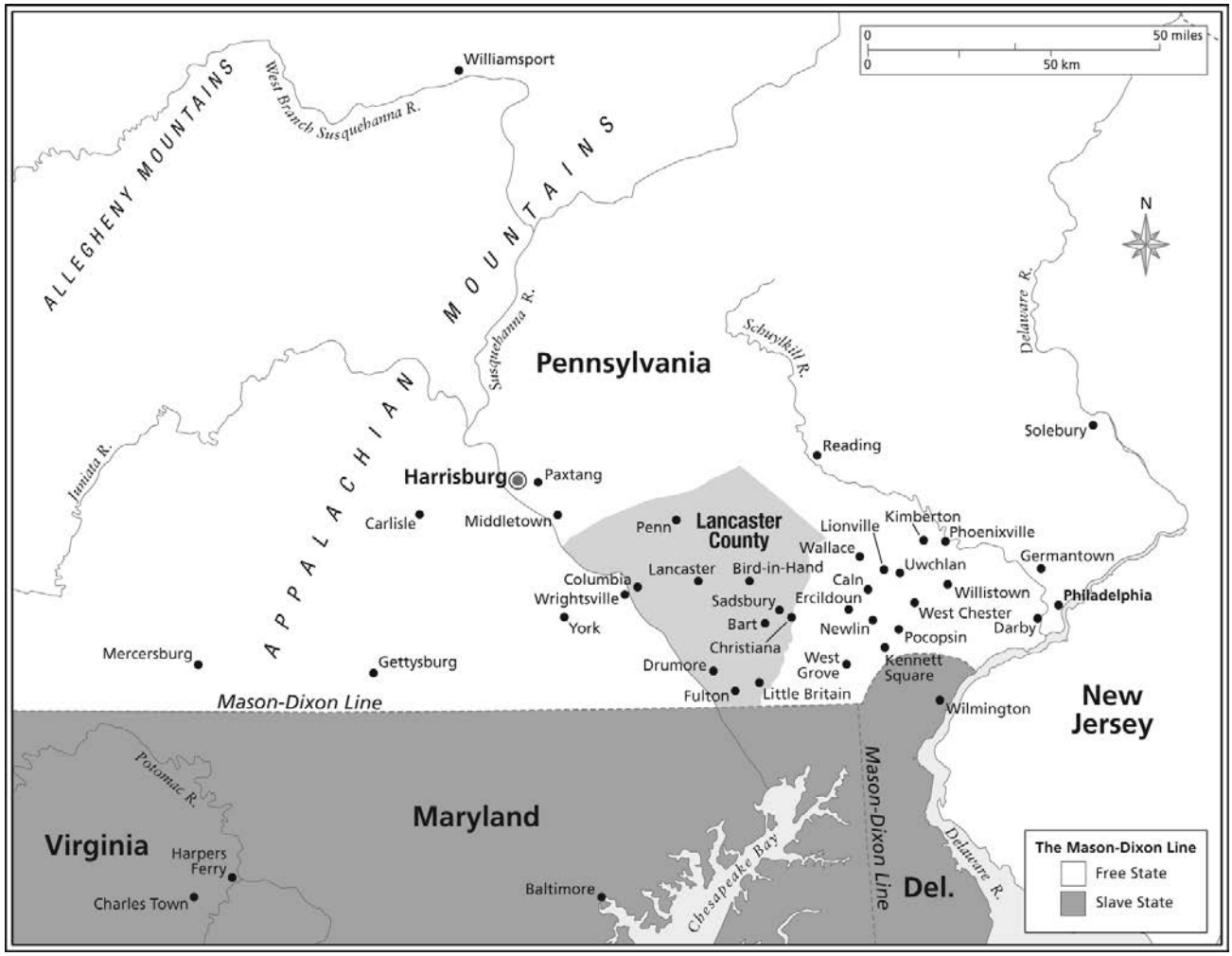
The Underground Railroad: Routes to Freedom

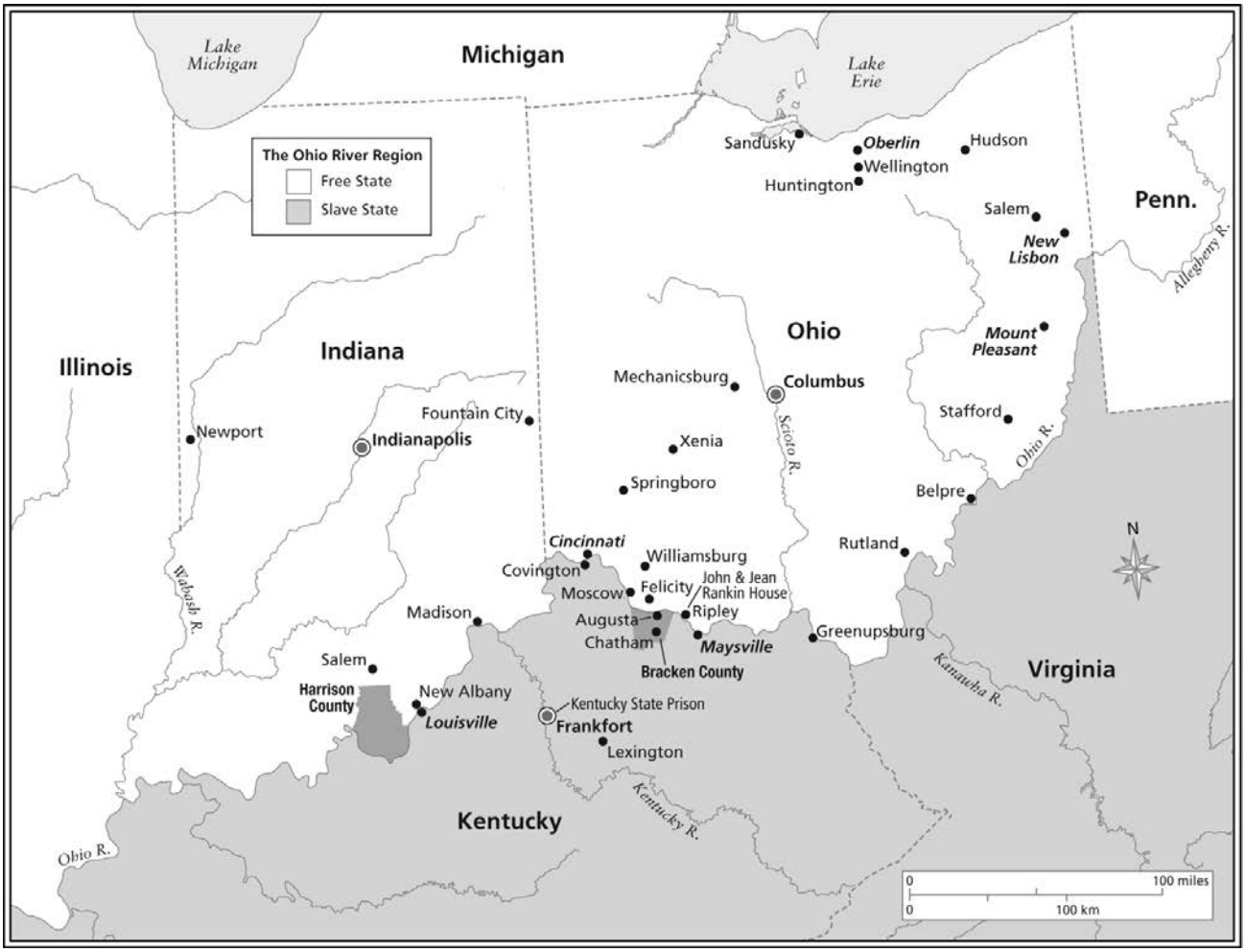
The Eastern Seaboard: Escape and Arrival Points

The Mason-Dixon Line: Notable Stops in Pennsylvania



The Great Lakes Region: Crossing Points and Black Settlements in Ontario

The Ohio River Region: Stops and Crossing Points



The Florida–Texas–Mexico Route

A–Z
ENTRIES

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Abbott, George (1817–1916)
Abbott, Ruth S. Baker (1826–1916)

An Underground Railroad agent at Mannington in Salem County, New Jersey, Quaker George Abbott aided refugees on their way to Canada. In 1845, he married Ruth S. Baker. At Tide Mill Farm at 100 Tide Mill Lane, the couple earned their living as dairy farmers. They received slaves at their three-story brick house and concealed them in a hidden room before passing them on to Salem, New Jersey.

Source

Cunningham, John. *This Is New Jersey.* Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953.

Abbott, James Burnett (1818–1897)
Abbott, Elizabeth Ann Watrous (1831–1920)

James Burnett Abbott of Hampton, Connecticut, aided slaves during the violent times following passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. His family left Rochester, New York, by emigrant wagon train for Blanton in Kansas Territory in late September 1854 and built a house on Coal Creek in southern Douglas County. James Abbott sold subscriptions to the *Kansas Herald of Freedom,* an abolitionist newspaper founded by George W. Brown of Lawrence, Kansas. He served the Wakarusa Liberty Guards as a colonel in charge of procuring Sharps rifles, muskets, and a howitzer cannon, which he purchased in Hartford, Connecticut, and St. Louis, Missouri.

In fall 1857, the Abbott home was an Underground Railroad safehouse. A black male in his early twenties arrived one day from Amasa Soule's safehouse at Lawrence and asked for help. With her husband James away on a journey to Lawrence, Elizabeth Ann Watrous Abbott took charge of the rescue. She discovered that the slave was a skilled cook who had worked on river steamers. After she sent on their way two suspicious men who arrived at the house, she armed the slave with an ax to protect him from slave catchers' bloodhounds.

The Abbotts were generous with money and assistance. In January 1857, when agent John Armstrong needed funds to complete the transfer of the fugitive Ann Clarke to Chicago, James Abbott contributed cash. He also aided John Brown's midwinter expedition from Missouri to Windsor, Ontario. On January 24, 1859, Brown's wagon train arrived at the Abbott depot. Abbott traded Brown's oxen for a fresh team of horses to pull the prairie schooners to the stone barn of agents Emily Jane Hunt Grover and Joel Grover at Lawrence. On another occasion, James Abbott received from John W. Doy at Lawrence a party of 13 black freedmen, of whom 11—including two cooks, Wilson Hayes and Charles Smith, employed in Lawrence at Eldridge House, a frontier hotel—were carrying freedom papers. Armed pursuers arrested Doy and his son, Charles Doy, and held them in the St. Joseph jail. Doy recorded the episode in *The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas: A Plain Unvarnished Tale* (1860), a recounting of anti-slavery work in the Midwest.

See also: bloodhounds; Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.

Sources

Doy, John. *The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas: A Plain Unvarnished Tale.* New York: T. Holman, 1860.

Morgan, Perl W. *History of Wyandotte County Kansas and Its People.* Chicago: Lewis, 1911.

abolitionism

For the daring and valor of slave conductors, couriers, depot masters, and rescuers, the abolitionist period earned a reputation as America's age of martyrdom.

The movement, a radical arm of the anti-slavery drive, began simultaneously in western Europe and the American colonies in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, at the height of the transatlantic slave trade. Humanitarians persisted in sending petitions to social agencies and government leaders; the petitions called for outright abolition of slavery or for a series of incremental measures, beginning with a halt to slave kidnap and importation. Leading the outcry were Quakers, Mennonites, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Presbyterians, Methodist Episcopalians, and evangelicals, all of whom found scriptural and philosophical grounds for denunciation of the flesh trade. The most radical abolitionists also condemned those who bought or profited from the trade of slave-made, slave-harvested goods, particularly cotton garments, tobacco, tea, indigo, molasses, rum, rice, and cane sugar.

In the United States, the break between northern manufacturers and southern planters emphasized the dependence of the 11 states of the plantation South on slave labor for cultivating and harvesting cotton, indigo, rice, sugarcane, and tobacco. By 1804, all states north of Maryland had abolished slavery. Among Northerners and some Southerners and Canadians, civil disobedience of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 led to the rescue and transportation of runaway slaves to safe territories northward as far as Ontario and Quebec, southeast to the Caribbean, and southwest to Mexico. Easing the virulent face-off of factions was the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which allowed for the addition of states to the Union in pairs, one slave and one free, as a means of maintaining a political balance. In 1826, black Bostonians formed the Massachusetts General Colored Association, a political pressure group demanding immediate abolition of slavery.

In *The Abolitionists: Together with Personal Memories of the Struggle for Human Rights, 1830–1864* (1905), the historian John F. Hume characterized the persecution faced by abolitionists: "In society they were tabooed; in business shunned. By the rabble they were hooted and pelted. Clowns in the circus made them the subjects of their jokes. Newspaper scribblers lampooned and libelled them. Politicians denounced them. By the Church they were regarded as very black sheep, and sometimes excluded from the fold. And this state of things lasted for years."

After the Nat Turner rebellion of August 1831 in Southampton, Virginia, resulted in the slaughter of 60 whites and more than 200 blacks, Southerners instituted restrictive Black Codes, stepped up patrols, and hired spies to divulge pockets of slave harboring in mid-Atlantic and midwestern states. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison began publishing a weekly abolitionist paper, *The Liberator,* which featured the humanitarian writings of Lucretia Coffin Mott, Wendell Addison Phillips, and Gerrit Smith. A year later, Garrison increased the ethical squeeze on northern industrialists by co-founding the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which stressed the immorality of profiting from mills weaving slave-grown, slave-harvested cotton.

The militancy of the agrarian South met its match in the hostility of northern abolitionist ministers, editors, orators, and politicians. On December 6, 1833, Garrison formed the American Anti-Slavery Society with the concurrence of prominent Underground Railroad conductors and supporters—orator and agitator Abigail "Abby" Kelley Foster, Quaker physician Bartholomew Fussell, secret-network organizer Beriah Green, recruiter Samuel Joseph May, Quaker activist James Mott, Jr., black field manager Robert Purvis, waystation coordinator John Rankin, libertarian merchants Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan, and editor and essayist John Greenleaf Whittier. Simultaneously, Margaretta Forten and Quaker feminist Lucretia Coffin Mott co-founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, which interjected strong support for black women fleeing domestic and sexual bondage to white masters.

High points in American abolitionism ranged from the political to the literary and personal. In 1840, Garrison's belligerent disciples split with less militant abolitionists over the issue of working within the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. The question of interfering in a state's right to take a stand on slavery compromised the soundness of the Union and foretokened the Civil War. Outrage at the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 arose from abolitionists' belief that the U.S. Constitution guaranteed every person, slaves included, personal liberty and due process, which required a fair hearing in court. However, the stipulations of the law allowed slave catchers and federal marshals to seize and transport blacks solely on the suspicion of their being the chattel of white masters. The law flouted the concept

of innocent until proven guilty. By preferring whites' civil rights over nonwhites', the law encouraged kidnap of free blacks for imprisonment in slave pens and for illicit sale on southern auction blocks. One of the goads to abolitionism was Harriet Beecher Stowe's fictional melodrama *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), a best-selling novel in Europe and North America, which she based on real incidents of Underground Railroad activity in northern Kentucky and Ripley, Ohio. The personal grudge of extremist conductor John Brown against the federal government precipitated the raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virgina), on October 16, 1859. His arrest and hanging exacerbated the final clash between pro-slavery factions and a growing base of humanitarians and anti-slavery protesters, led by Garrison and Frederick Douglass. In April 1861, the diametrically opposed arguments led to the American Civil War and, on January 1, 1863, to President Abraham Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. By 1865, passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ended the abolitionist movement by outlawing slavery.

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society; female anti-slavery societies; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; kidnap; *Liberator, The*; Missouri Compromise of 1820; Quakers; *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852).

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"North and South; or, The Policy of Ignorance." *United States Democratic Review* 34:4 (October 1854): 354–70.

abolitionist newspapers

The abolitionist press was an unprecedented development in North American journalism, which tended to spawn newspapers supported by political parties. As an unrelenting force for humanitarianism and liberty, the anti-slavery press fostered the rapid spread of abolitionism by giving voice to black and white journalists and to former slaves rescued by the Underground Railroad. The first abolitionist paper, Charles Worth Osborn's *Philanthropist,* first published in 1817, confronted readers with an uncompromising motto, "Emancipation, Immediate and Unconditional." The verbal challenge suited Osborn, who kept a safehouse in Mount Pleasant, Ohio. For distributors and readers, even the possession of radical abolitionist writings was dangerous. On May 22, 1839, Sherry Wilson, a 60-year-old free black in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for circulating inflammatory documents. With one year yet to serve, on April 22, 1848, Wilson gained his freedom through a pardon issued by Governor Phillip Francis Thomas.

Firsthand Testimony

Writers for the anti-slavery media offered eyewitness testimony to slave kidnap, flight, and rescue. One such episode, the convergence of the Salem, Ohio, anti-slavery society on a train in August 1854 to liberate a white couple's 14-year-old slave girl, concluded with a speech by the Reverend Marius R. Robinson, editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle.* An account in the *Tocsin of Liberty* detailed the flight of Sarah Smith and her husband and daughter from a New Orleans slave driver and the treatment of Eliza Wilson, a field hand who was lashed and soaked in brine. In 1852, the plight of Jim Phillips, a kidnap victim described in William Lloyd Garrison's weekly, *The Liberator,* caught the attention of Underground Railroad agent Mordecai McKinney of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. As a result of McKinney's offer of cash, the kidnapper released Phillips and his wife and children. Abolitionist editors Frederick Douglass and Garrison and others presented a forthright and at times inflammatory condemnation of bondage to the reading public. Although most abolitionist papers had a small circulation, together they influenced hundreds of thousands of Americans. Among their fans were ministers, politicians, jurists, business moguls, writers, and family agents of the Underground Railroad.

Readers of the liberal press such as tanner Charles Boerstler "Boss" Huber, a route supervisor in Bethel, Ohio; sea captain Austin Bearse in New Bedford, Massachusetts; and foundryman George E. Webber of Hinkley, Ohio, learned the facts about the secret network and its humanitarian efforts. In the *National Era,* Huber read in toto the speeches of James Gillespie Birney, Salmon Portland Chase, and William Lloyd Garrison. In October 1839, editors James Caleb Jackson and Abel Brown used passages from the *Liberty Press* to upbraid a Washington, D.C., slave owner whose bondsman fled safely to Canada. Pieced together, abolitionist articles created an ongoing mon-

Leading Anti-Slavery Periodicals

Publication	Founder(s)/Editor(s)	Date	Place
Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine	John Finley Crow	1822–1823	Shelbyville, KY
Abolitionist	Luther Myrick	1841–1844	Cazenovia, NY
Advocate of Freedom	Thomas W. Newman	1838–1841	Augusta, ME
African Observer	Enoch Lewis	1827–1828	Philadelphia, PA
African Repository	Ralph Randolph Gurley	1825	Philadelphia, PA
Albany Patriot	James Nelson Tift, Edwin W. Caleb Jackson, and Abel Brown Goodwin	1845	Albany, NY
Aliened American	William Howard Day	1853–1854	Cleveland, OH
American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter	Arthur Tappan and John Greenleaf Whittier	1836–1854	New York, NY
American Anti-Slavery Almanac	S.W. Benedict	1836–1847	New York, NY
American Citizen	Andrew W. Young and Jonathan A. Hadley	1836–1841	Warsaw, NY
American Freeman	Sherman Miller Booth, Ichabod Codding, and William M. Sullivan	1854–1861	Waukesha, WI
American Nonconformist	James Vincent and Mary Sheldon Vincent	1854–1861	Tabor, IA
Anti-Slavery Bugle	Abby Kelley Foster, James Barnaby, Oliver Johnson, Marius R. Robinson, and Benjamin Jones	1845–1861	Salem, OH
Anti-Slavery Record	American Anti-Slavery Society and R.G. Williams	1835–1837	New York, NY, and Boston, MA
Ashtabula Sentinel	Henry Hubbard and Matthew Hubbard	1853–1857	Ashtabula County, OH
Brooklyn Eagle	Henry C. Murphy and Walt Whitman	1841–1955	Brooklyn, NY
Castigator	David Ammen	1820s	Ripley, OH
Charter Oak	Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society and Samuel Smith Cowles	1845	Hartford, CT
Chindowan	Clarina I.H. Nichols and J.M. Waldon	1857–1858	Quindaro, KS
Christian Examiner	Orestes Augustus Brownson	1824–1869	New York, NY
Christian Freeman	William Henry Burleigh	1836	Hartford, CT
Christian Press	Charles Brandon Boynton	1854	Cincinnati, OH
Christian Recorder	Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church	1861–1902	Philadelphia, PA
Cincinnati Weekly Herald and Philanthropist	James Gillespie Birney, Gamaliel Bailey, and Achilles Pugh	1847	Cincinnati, OH, and Springboro, OH
Clarion	Henry Highland Garnet	1840s	Troy, NY
Clarion of Freedom	James Moorhead	1846	Indiana County, IN
Cleveland American	M.W. Miller and L.L. Rice	1845	Ohio City, OH
Cleveland True Democrat	William Howard Day	1851–1852	Cleveland, OH
Colonizationist and Journal of Freedom	Benjamin Bussey Thatcher	1833–1834	Boston, MA
Colored American	Philip Alexander Bell, Charles Bennett Ray, Samuel Eli Cornish, Robert Sears, and James McCune Smith	1837–1841	New York, NY
Colored Citizen	William Henry Yancy and Thomas Woodson	1845–1846	Cincinnati, OH
Commonwealth	Julia Ward Howe and Samuel Gridley Howe	1851–1853	Boston, MA
Crawford Messenger	Thomas Atkinson	1826	Meadville, PA
Daily True Democrat	E.S. Hamlin and E.L. Stevens	1846–1853	Cleveland, OH
Disenfranchised American	Alphonso M. Sumner and O.T.B. Nickens	1844	Cincinnati, OH

Leading Anti-Slavery Periodicals (*continued*)

Publication	Founder(s)/Editor(s)	Date	Place
Emancipator	Elihu Embree	1820	Jonesboro, TN
Emancipator	Arthur Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, and William Goodell	1833	New York, NY
Emancipator	Hiram Cummings, Joshua Leavitt, and Curtis C. Nichols	1845–1848	Boston, MA
Emancipator and Free American	Dexter S. King, Joshua Leavitt, and J.W. Alden	1841–1844	Boston, MA
Emancipator and Free Soil Press	Curtis C. Nichols	1848	Boston, MA
Emancipator and Public Morals	David Ruggles	1833–1842	New York, NY
Emancipator and Republican	Henry Wilson and L.E. Smith	1848–1850	Boston, MA
Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle	Joshua Leavitt and Hiram Cummings	1844–1845	Boston, MA
Examiner	Cassius Marcellus Clay	1845	Cincinnati, OH
Frederick Douglass' Paper	Frederick Douglass	1851–1860	Rochester, NY
Fredonia Censor	Willard McKinstry	1821–1865	Fredonia, NY
Free Enquirer	Fanny Wright and Robert Dale Owen	1829	New York, NY
Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle	Benjamin Stanton and Henry H. Way	1841–1848	Newport, IN
Freedman's Record	John A. Andrew	1865–1866	Boston, MA
Freedom's Journal	Samuel Eli Cornish, John Brown Russworm, and James Varick	1827–1829	New York, NY
Freeman's Advocate	Stephen Myers	1840s	Albany, NY
Freeman's Depository	Anthony Haswell and David Russell	1783	Vermont
Freemen's Press	Derick Sibley and Sereno Wright	1809–1812	Montpelier, VT
Friend of Man	William Goodell	1836–1842	Utica, NY
Genius of Liberty	George W. Litman	1805–1854	Uniontown, PA
Genius of Universal Emancipation	Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison	1821–1837	Mount Pleasant, OH
Green Mountain Freeman	Daniel P. Thompson and Joseph Poland	1844–1878	Montpelier, VT
Harper's Weekly	James Harper	1857–1916	New York, NY
Hartford Evening Press	Joseph Hawley	1837–1861	Hartford, CT
Herald of Freedom	Parker Pillsbury, John Horace Kimball, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, and Orson B. Ashmun	1835–1846	Concord, NH
Herald of Freedom	J.W. Chaffin	1851–1855	Wilmington, OH
Illinois Statesman	Jonathan Baldwin Turner	1843–1844	Jacksonville, IL
Independent	James Moorhead	1840s	Indiana County, IN
Independent	Henry Chandler Bowen, Henry Ward Beecher, and Theodore Tilton	1848–1861	New York, NY
Investigator and General Intelligencer	James B. Yerrington	1827	Providence, RI
Jeffersonville Republican	Dr. Nathaniel Field	late 1830s	Jeffersonville, IN
Journal of Commerce	Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan	1827	New York, NY
Kansas Free State	Robert G. Elliot and Josiah Miller	1855–1856	Lawrence, KS
Kansas Freeman	Edward Christie Kerr Garvey	1855–1856	Topeka, KS
Kansas Herald of Freedom	George W. Brown	1855	Lawrence, KS
Kansas Pioneer	John Speer	1854	Lawrence, KS
Kansas Post	Moritz Pinner	1859–1861	Kansas City, KS
Latimer Journal and North Star	Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, Frederick Cabot, and William Francis Channing	1842–1843	Boston, MA

Leading Anti-Slavery Periodicals (*continued*)

Publication	Founder(s)/Editor(s)	Date	Place
Liberalist	Milo Mower	1828	New Orleans, LA
Liberator, The	William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp	1831–1865	Boston, MA
Liberty Party Paper	Gerrit Smith and John Thomas	1849–1851	Syracuse, NY
Liberty Press	James Caleb Jackson and Abel Brown	1843–1848	Albany, NY
Liberty Standard	Austin Willey	1841–1848	Hallowell, ME
Lorain County News	J.F. Harmon and V.A. Shankland	1860–1865	Lorain County, OH
Madison & Onondaga County Abolitionist	Luther Myrick	1824	Greenville, TN
Manumission Intelligencer	Elihu Embree	1819	Jonesboro, TN
Manumission Journal	Benjamin Lundy	1825	Tennessee
Markesan Journal	James Burton Pond and John P. Parker	1859–1862	Markesan, WI
Mercer County Whig	Thomas Jeff Nickum, Sr.	1851–1866	Mercer, PA
Michigan Freeman	Seymour Boughton Treadwell	1836–1841	Jackson, MI
Michigan Liberty Press	Sylvanus Erastus Fuller Hussey	1847	Battle Creek, MI
Mirror of Liberty	David Ruggles	1838	New York, NY
Mirror of the Times	Mifflin Wistar Gibbs	1855–1858	San Francisco, CA
Morning Star	Oren Burbank Cheney	1826	Limerick, ME
Morning Star	William Burr	1865	Dover, NH
Mystery, The	Martin Robinson Delaney	1843–1848	Pittsburgh, PA
National Anti-Slavery Standard	David Lee Child, Lydia Maria Francis Child, Sydney Howard Gay, Aaron Powell, and Nathaniel P. Rogers	1840–1871	Boston, MA
National Enquirer	John Greenleaf Whittier	1834	Philadelphia, PA
National Era	John Greenleaf Whittier, Gamaliel Bailey, and Amos A. Phelps	1847–1859	Washington, DC
National Philanthropist	William Lloyd Garrison	1827	Boston, MA
National Reformer	William J. Whipper	1838	Philadelphia, PA
National Watchman	Henry Highland Garnet and William G. Allen	1842	Troy, NY
New England Anti-Slavery Almanac	Isaac Knapp	1838	Boston, MA
New England Weekly Review	George D. Prentice	1828	Hartford, CT
New Jersey Freeman	Dr. John Grimes	1844–1850	Boonton, NJ
New York American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter	John Greenleaf Whittier	1840–1847	New York, NY
New York Daily Tribune	Horace Greeley and Sydney Howard Gay	1841–1924	New York, NY
New York Human Rights		1835–1838	New York, NY
New York Independent	Joshua Leavitt	1830	New York, NY
Non-Resistant	Maria Weston Chapman	1839–1842	Boston, MA
North Star	Frederick Douglass	1847–1851	Rochester, NY
Northern Independent	William Hosmer	1856–1867	Auburn, NY
Northern Star & Freeman's Advocate	Stephen Myers, John G. Stewart, and Charles Morton	1842–1849	Albany, NY
Oasis, The	Lydia Maria Francis Child	1834	Boston, MA
Ohio American	R.B. Dennis	1844–1845	Ohio City, OH
Palladium of Liberty	David Jenkins and Charles Henry Langston	1842–1844	Columbus, OH
Pennsylvania Freeman	John Greenleaf Whittier, Cyrus Moses Burleigh, Charles Callistus Burleigh, and James Miller McKim	1854	Philadelphia, PA

Leading Anti-Slavery Periodicals (*continued*)

Publication	Founder(s)/Editor(s)	Date	Place
Philanthropist	Charles Worth Osborn, Elisha Bates, and Benjamin Lundy	1817–1822	Mount Pleasant, OH
Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor	Jane Grey Cannon Swisshelm	1848	Pittsburgh, PA
Principia	William Goodell, Lavinia Goodell, and George B. Cheever	1852–1864	New York, NY
Protectionist	Arnold Buffum	1841	New Garden, IN
Provincial Freeman, The	Mary Ann Shadd Cary, William P. Newman, and Samuel Ringgold Ward	1853–1857	Chatham, Ontario
Ram's Horn	Thomas Van Rensselaer and Willis Augustus Hodges	1846–1848	New York, NY
Religious Herald	David B. Moseley	1846–1858	Hartford, CT
Rights of Man	William Clough Bloss	1834	Rochester, NY
Signal of Liberty	Guy Beckley and Theodore Foster	1836–1848	Ann Arbor, MI
Slave's Cry	New London Anti-Slavery Society	1838–1848	New London, CT
Spirit of Liberty	Edward Smith	1841–1847	Pittsburgh, PA
Spirit of the Times	David Morris	1826–1829	Batavia, OH
St. Cloud Democrat	Jane Grey Cannon Swisshelm	1858	St. Cloud, MN
St. Louis Observer	Elijah Parish Lovejoy	1833–1836	St. Louis, MO, and Alton, IL
Syracuse Evening Chronicle	George Barnes	1853–1856	Syracuse, NY
Tennessee Emancipator		1820	Jonesboro, TN
Tocsin of Liberty	Charles Turner Torrey, William Lawrence Chaplin, Abel Brown, and Edwin W. Goodwin	1842–1844	Albany, NY
True American	Cassius Marcellus Clay and T.B. Stevenson	1845–1846	Lexington, KY, and Cincinnati, OH
True American	James Catlin, Henry Catlin, Jr., and Martha Van Rensselaer Catlin	1853–1861	Erie, PA
True Wesleyan	Luther Lee and Orange Scott	1844–1852	Syracuse, NY
Voice of Freedom	Chauncey L. Knapp, Joseph Poland, and Jedediah Holcomb	1839–1842	Montpelier, VT
Voice of the Fugitive	Henry W. Bibb and Mary E. Miles Bibb	1851	Sandwich, Ontario
Weekly AfroAmerican	Robert Hamilton and Thomas Hamilton	1859	New York, NY
Western Citizen	Zebina Eastman and Hooper W. Warren	1842–1853	Chicago, IL

tage of Underground Railroad history: Cassius Marcellus Clay's call for a war between smallholders and slaveholders in the *True American,* Horace Greeley's thought-provoking editorial challenge to President Abraham Lincoln in the *New York Tribune,* and Mary Ann Shadd Cary's encouragement in *The Provincial Freeman* to runaways to settle in Ontario. Illustrations were a convincing form of protest—the pen-and-ink drawings by Thomas Nast dramatizing refugees in flight, a cartoon from an 1839 edition of the *New England Anti-Slavery Almanac* picturing Canadian symbol John Bull warding off an American slave catcher in pursuit of a black runaway on the safe side of the border, and David Hunter Strother's sketches for *Harper's Weekly* revealing the enclaves of maroons who hid from their owners in the Great Dismal Swamp.

Editors of abolitionist papers promoted the secret network by lauding its heroes and by recruiting conductors and donors. William Goodell's *Friend of Man* in Utica, New York, rejoiced over the safe passage of Harriet Powell in 1839 from Syracuse, New York, to Canada. In Chicago, from 1842 to 1853, Zebina Eastman, editor of the *Western Citizen,* collaborated with Dr. Charles Volney Dyer and Philo R. Carpenter to

strengthen local routes. Strong affirmation of abolitionism came from Isaac Tatem Hopper's biweekly column "Tales of the Oppression" and from the editorials of a husband-wife team, David Lee and Lydia Maria Francis Child, owners of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* whose motto was "Without Concealment—Without Compromise." Another female writer, Maria Weston Chapman, edited annual reports for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society called *Right and Wrong* before joining the staffs of the *Non-Resistant* and of Garrison's *The Liberator.* At the office of the *Daily Democrat* in Rochester, New York, printer William S. Falls played a dual role—he published news of the secret network and received runaways for concealment in his own pressroom.

Some spokespersons for the anti-slavery movement, including Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, Abigail Kelley Foster, and Sallie Holley, educated themselves on Underground Railroad philosophy and strategies by reading several potent periodicals from different parts of the country.

The Whole Story

The libertarian media aired bad news as well as good, including the frauds seeking handouts from vigilance committees. The November 7, 1828, issue of *Freedom's Journal* warned the softhearted of Nathan Gooms and Moses Smith, two confidence men seeking free board. Most anti-slavery papers featured the fallout from the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and the fates of passengers Henry "Box" Brown, Anthony Burns, and Ellen and William Craft, and William "Jerry" McHenry. Papers also reported on violence in Bleeding Kansas and the terrorism of William Clarke Quantrill, who sacked Lawrence, Kansas, on August 21, 1863. The imprisonment of Philadelphia lawyer Passmore Williamson on July 18, 1855, for aiding in the flight of Jane Johnson and her sons, Daniel and Isaiah Johnson, received full coverage in the abolitionist press. Attesting to the violation of human rights by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 were Frederick Douglass's newspaper the *North Star,* Garrison's *The Liberator,* Parker Pillsbury's editorials for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Horace Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune,* and outraged writers at the *Hartford Religious Herald,* all of whom applauded the actions of Passmore Williamson. Challenging the pro-slavery screed *The Pennsylvanian* and corroborating Jane Johnson's testimony was a liberal southern gazette, the *Fayetteville (NC) Observer.*

The adversarial give-and-take between editor and letter writer raised reader consciousness and built consensus, particularly descriptions of opportunity in Canada in letters from Henry Walton Bibb to the *Emancipator, Signal of Liberty,* and *National Anti-Slavery Standard.* During spirited exchanges between Benjamin Lundy and anonymous writers in 1825, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* of December 24 satirized slave advertisements by offering cash for white boys and girls to be sold in Algiers. In March 1841, a notice in the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* in Newport, Indiana, rejoiced at the 800 passengers per year crossing Lake Erie into Ontario. In 1847, an abolitionist pamphlet, the *Legion of Liberty,* published a pen-and-ink drawing of a shackled black woman kneeling with hands folded in prayer under the rhetorical question, "Have we not all one Father?" After the seizure of Captain Daniel Drayton for transporting 76 slaves from Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, in spring 1848, a mob of 1,000 blamed Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era,* for the mass flight. On threat of lynching the editor, the protesters launched the Washington Riot of 1848 and stoned the newspaper office until police and extra deputies cordoned off the area. The *National Era* survived and in 1852 serialized Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* a fictionalized account of the rescue work of Jean Lowry Rankin and John Rankin, Underground Railroad conductors in Ripley, Ohio. Another victimized commentator, Marius R. Robinson, editor of the Salem, Ohio, *Anti-Slavery Bugle,* praised the abolitionist oratory of Sojourner Truth. For his adamant opposition to the flesh trade, he suffered tarring and feathering.

The abolitionist press offered a window on doctrinal differences within religious denominations over the issues of slavery and civil disobedience of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. To refute claims of altruistic slaveholding among southern Methodists, historian Hiram Mattison, author of *The Impending Crisis of 1860* (1859), wrote, "*Three Fourths* of all the fugitives who pass over the eastern branch of the underground railroad, run away from Methodists masters in Maryland and Virginia—from the Gorsuches and Harpers and Pattisons and Traverses of Border Methodism." Proving Mattison's contention was a paid advertisement from October 28, 1857, in the *Cambridge (MD) Democrat* naming Levi D. Travers as the owner of a runaway, Aaron Cornish. In the November 4, 1857, issue of the *Cambridge Democrat*, an ad signed by

Samuel Pattison offered a $2,000 reward for the return of "fourteen head of Negroes." The historian described Pattison as a respected member of Dorchester County's Methodist Episcopal Church and muttered, "Shame on him, and upon all other such hypocrites and apostates from God and from original Methodism! It is enough to make the body of Wesley turn over in its grave to call such men Methodists." Mattison further spiced his diatribe by citing a paragraph from the Reverend William Hosmer's paper, the *Northern Independent,* dated May 1857. The text accuses a black minister, the Reverend Henry Hutt, of slave ownership. After the slave escaped on the Underground Railroad, Hutt recovered him and sold him South. By embarrassing the clergy, Hosmer and other publishers and editors exerted pressure on slave owners and encouraged the efforts of Underground Railroad agents.

In addition to polemical coverage, anti-slavery papers suggested courses of action. A military periodical, *The Provincial Freeman,* served black history as a source of information on black abolitionism, Underground Railroad activity, and church growth. Edited by Samuel Ringgold Ward, it featured writing by Mary Ann Shadd Cary and covered the concerns of 40,000 runaway slaves who settled in Canada. The *New England Anti-Slavery Almanac* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* offered practical advice, such as arguments to convert pro-slave individuals and warnings of bogus offers of rescue by frauds who took money from fugitives and then left them to fend for themselves. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* remained at the forefront of Underground Railroad news by dispatching a journalist in March 1856 to write "A Visit to the Slave Mother Who Killed Her Child," the tragic story of Margaret Garner's murder of her daughter Mary to save the child from sexual bondage to white males. On November 8, 1856, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* declared that the Underground Railroad was flourishing. In testimony, the writer exulted that, in a 10-month period, 287 escapees had passed through Albany, New York, to freedom in Ontario. Such news gladdened operatives in rural areas and on the frontier where there was little camaraderie to sustain their efforts.

See also: civil disobedience; Dismal Swamp; Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; *Liberator, The*; maroon settlements; Missouri Compromise of 1820; *North Star*; vigilance committees.

Sources

Blassingame, John W., and Mae G. Henderson, eds. *Antislavery Newspapers and Periodicals, 1817–1845.* Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980.

Danky, James P., ed. *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Hildreth, Richard. *Atrocious Judges.* New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856.

Mattison, Hiram. *The Impending Crisis of 1860.* New York: Mason Brothers, 1859.

Abraham (ca. 1787–?)

A maroon leader, Abraham (also referred to as Suwanee Warrior) helped to shelter runaways from Georgia and the Carolinas in Prospect Bluff, Florida. Born in Pensacola, Florida, as the chattel of Dr. Sierra, he escaped bondage during the War of 1812. In 1815, he took charge of the fort at Prospect Bluff, southeast of Panama City on the Gulf of Mexico. After the destruction of the settlement three years later, Abraham allied with Chief Micanopy as interpreter, adviser, and legate to Washington, D.C. He led several hundred followers to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. In 2000, archaeologists studied Peliklakaha, Abraham's slave haven on the Florida frontier.

See also: maroon settlements.

Source

Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Adams, David (1826–1913)

The first black barber in Hancock County, Ohio, David Adams relayed runaway slaves along the secret network. After leaving Urbana, Ohio, and settling at Findlay, Ohio, in 1848, he married Elizabeth Conaway, became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and joined the Masons, a benevolent brotherhood that aided slaves. Adams traveled regularly from his residence at 604 Lawn Avenue to Urbana to transport refugees on their way to Canada. He chose the cover of night, especially during storms, as the best strategy for circumventing recapture of his passengers by bounty hunters or posses. After the Civil War, he herded horses to California and remained there for three years before returning to the Findlay barbershop.

Sources

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Siebert, Wilbur H. *The Mysteries of Ohio's Underground Railroad.* Columbus, OH: Long's College, 1951.

Adams, Elias Smith (1799–1863)
Adams, Susan Merritt (1801–1866)

The mayor of St. Catharines, Ontario, in the tense decade preceding the American Civil War, Elias Smith Adams supported the secret network. He joined operatives William Hamilton Merritt and Harriet Ross Tubman in aiding refugees on the last leg of the Underground Railroad passage. A native of Queenston, Ontario, he married Merritt's sister, Susan Merritt, of Grantham, Ontario, in 1823. In addition to completing rescues and protecting refugees, the couple supported the interracial Refugee Slaves' Friends Society, which William Merritt and Harriet Tubman organized in 1852 to help newcomers establish themselves in free territory.

Source

Winks, Robin W. *The Blacks in Canada.* Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Adams, George Willison (1799–1879)
Adams, Clarissa Hopkins Shaff
(ca. 1805–1850)

Abolitionist merchant and grain transporter George Willison Adams supported the Underground Railroad route through Dresden in Muskingum County, Ohio. After inheriting land in Fauquier County, Virginia, and slaves from his father, he freed the slaves and moved west to live in a free section of the frontier. With his brother Edward, George Adams invested in dry goods and, in 1828, in a large water-powered flour mill. In 1856, he chose Trinway (now Zanesville), Ohio, in the Salt Fork region north of Wakatomica Creek as the site for Prospect Place, the family's two-story, 29-room brick mansion.

Basing their altruism on staunch Presbyterianism, Adams and his first wife, Clarissa Hopkins Shaff (or Choff) Adams, turned their residence into one of the state's largest Underground Railroad depots. It featured a cellar that continued to accommodate refugees until the abolition of slavery on January 1, 1863. The Adams family provided food, blankets, and lamps to ease the travels of passengers to the north. Adams's home is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Source

Everhart, J.F. *History of Muskingum County, Ohio.* Cincinnati, OH: self-published, 1882.

Adams, James (fl. 1820s)

In late summer 1824, Virginian James Adams made his way out of bondage with the aid of a stationmaster on the Ohio River. The mulatto son of a slave woman and a plantation overseer, Adams fled from a plantation at the Great Kanawha River with a cousin, Benjamin Harris, a female slave, and four children. At Marietta, Ohio, the seven refugees took shelter with a conductor who harbored runaways on a nearby hill. As a signal, the rescuer raised a white cloth on a pole when passage was safe. He provisioned the party with cake and dried venison. A notched compass directed the seven refugees through woods, mountains, and wheat fields to Mount Vernon and then on to Cleveland, Ohio, where a cobbler negotiated free passage by lake schooner via Buffalo, New York, to Black Rock Ferry and, on September 13, 1824, to St. Catharines, Ontario.

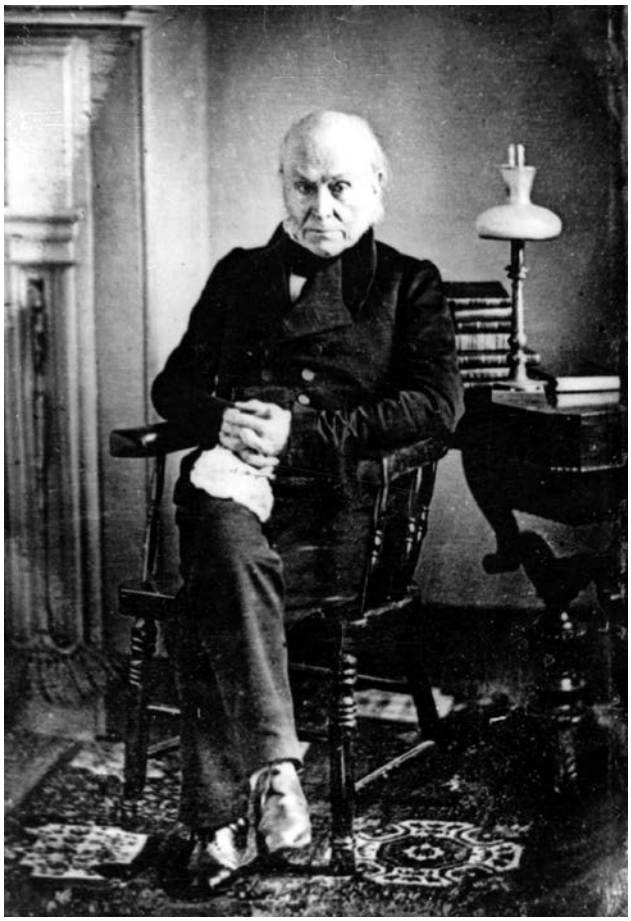
Source

Drew, Benjamin. *The Refugee: The Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada.* Boston: John P. Jewett, 1856.

Adams, John Quincy (1767–1848)

Congressman John Quincy Adams, formerly the sixth president of the United States (1825–1829), supported the work of the Underground Railroad. He had denounced the Missouri Compromise of 1820 as a mere stopgap measure that was bound to unleash civil war. Among his close friends was agent Edward Thurlow Weed, who operated a waystation in Albany, New York. The plight of Joseph Cinqué and the 42 other adult survivors aboard the Portuguese slaver *Amistad* in 1839 stirred Adams to aid the oppressed people kidnapped from Sierra Leone. At a trial commencing in January 1840 before Judge Andrew Judgson at the Old State House in Hartford, Connecticut, attorney Roger Sherman Baldwin defended the slaves on charges of piracy and murder. Josiah Gibbs, a professor at Yale College, located a translator, seaman James Covey, who spoke the Mende dialect and mediated between the defendants and the court.

New charges pressed by the Spanish government declared the Africans to be cargo, rather than victims.



Former President John Quincy Adams, while not a radical abolitionist, argued before the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of the slave rebels in the *Amistad* case and helped overturn the Gag Rule against slavery-related petitions in Congress. *(Hulton Archive/Stringer/Getty Images)*

Adams, then aged 74, based his arguments on the human right to liberty. During lengthy litigation, the West Africans lodged at a safehouse that Underground Railroad agent Austin Franklin Williams and Jennet Cowles Williams constructed at 127 Main Street in Farmington, Connecticut. Following a series of appeals, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Africans acted in self-defense. On March 9, 1841, the court freed them for return to their Mende homeland in Sierra Leone.

See also: *Amistad*; Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Sources

Adams, John Quincy. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1876.

Favors, John S. *John Quincy Adams and the* Amistad. Bergambacht, The Netherlands: Jonka, 1974.

Adams, Robert S. (fl. 1830s–1840s)

An Underground Railroad conductor and concealer of runaway slaves, Robert S. Adams used his carpentry skills to create a temporary haven at Fall River, Massachusetts. He owned the Adams Bookstore at 19 South Main Street and, out of Quaker benevolence, engaged in clandestine rescues. In 1843 on Columbia Street, the home of Andrew Robeson, Adams constructed a bookcase that hid a trapdoor that accessed the basement. With the aid of Quaker operative William Hill, Robeson managed the depot and collaborated with Adams, who led passengers by closed carriage to Worcester, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island. The first runaway to use Adams's service was James Curry, a quadroon who fled his owner, Moses Chambers, in Person County, North Carolina, in 1837. Over a period of two years, Curry fled from New Bedford to Fall River and, with Adams's help, on to the waystation of Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Samuel Buffington Chace at Valley Hills, Rhode Island, before reaching Canada.

Source

Phillips, Arthur. *The Phillips History of Fall River.* Fall River, MA: Dover, 1944.

Adler, Leibman (1818–1892)

An advocate of civil disobedience on behalf of the Underground Railroad, Rabbi Leibman Adler openly called for slave rescues. He was born in Saxe-Weimar, in what is now central Germany, and, at age 36, immigrated to the United States. He compared the plight of black fugitives to that of the Hebrews in Exodus. After the formation of Temple Beth El in Detroit, Michigan, from 1854 to 1861, he urged his reformed worshipers to aid the many slaves who crossed the Detroit River to Windsor, Ontario. Among the temple's members were transporter Mark Sloman and Emil S. Heineman and Fanny Butzel Heineman, who disguised refugees to help them escape surveillance by slave hunters.

See also: civil disobedience; disguise.

Source

Wiernik, Peter. *History of the Jews in America.* New York: Jewish Press, 1912.

African Methodist Episcopal Church

Crucial to the success of the Underground Railroad were black congregations of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The denomination began in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1787 with the activism of the Reverend Richard Allen, who denounced whites at St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church for forcing black members to sit in a separate balcony. Allen envisioned fully integrated churches as sources of social and educational uplift for poor and disenfranchised blacks. To actualize his dream, he founded the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal congregation; with the aid of James Forten and the Reverend Absalom Jones, Allen established the Free African Society. By 1846, the number of assemblies reached 300 and spread from Philadelphia to Indiana.

Wherever African Methodist Episcopal churches served black communities, ministers and congregations took seriously biblical commands in Matthew 25:36 to aid the oppressed as though they were Christ himself. Sanctuaries did double duty as worship centers and as waystations and literacy training centers for refugees. In 1795, at Providence, Rhode Island, Ichabod Northrup, a Revolutionary War veteran, co-initiated the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal congregation along with the African Freedmen's Society. At Springtown, New Jersey, pressure from Methodist slave owners forced blacks from another Bethel African Methodist Episcopal congregation. In the early 1800s, the disgruntled members left the church, assembled at Greenwich, New Jersey, and established the African Society of Methodists. In 1817, the congregants allied their small assembly and its Underground Railroad activities with the African Methodist Episcopal denomination. At Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a crucial nexus of the secret rail line, the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church began receiving fugitives in 1817. At the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Madison, Indiana, another key border entry, heavy traffic made the sanctuary a first stop in a free state. From 1834, the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church on Garwin Road at Woolwich, New Jersey, collaborated with Quaker conductors to shelter runaways. Long-term leaders included Pompey Lewis and Jubilee Sharper, who hid members from posses in a crawl space under the sanctuary. In 1837 on the midwestern frontier, Bishop William Paul Quinn formed the Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Terre Haute, Indiana. In the cellar, congregants harbored slaves arriving over the Wabash River. In 1836, the Reverend Elisha Weaver established a safehouse at Bethel Church in Indianapolis, Indiana. The catastrophic fire in 1862 that destroyed the sanctuary appears to have been revenge by pro-slavery, pro-Confederacy arsonists.

Upon reaching Canada, former slaves erected American Methodist Episcopal churches in emerging black settlements. From the 1830s, African Methodist Episcopal worship centers sprang up along the U.S.-Canada border, including a Toronto congregation in 1845 and, six years later, the Reverend Thanas Miller's start-up church at Owen Sound, Ontario. In the 1840s, Amherstburg became Ontario's African American center. Located at the narrows of the Detroit River, the town was the primary terminus of the Underground Railroad accessed by the *Mayflower,* a steamer from Sandusky, Ohio. Newcomers quarried fieldstone in 1848 to build the American Methodist Episcopal Nazrey Church, named for Bishop Willis Nazrey. He initiated a new, self-governing denomination, the British Methodist Episcopal Church. By 1856, the Canadian branch was independent of U.S. churches.

See also: British Methodist Episcopal Church; Quakers.

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Africanus, Edward C. (1821–1850)

The Reverend Edward C. Africanus sparked teamwork among Underground Railroad agents in Flushing, New York. He pastored the Bethel Tabernacle African Methodist Episcopal Church in Weeksville, New York and in 1848 preached in Newark, New Jersey. In collaboration with Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan in New York City, Africanus supported a link from waystations in Jersey City, New Jersey, up the Hudson Valley to Canada. In the decade preceding the Civil War, he fostered the use of the Macedonia African Methodist Episcopal Church at Flushing as a station of the secret network.

See also: African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Source
Tilmon, Levin. *A Brief Miscellaneous Narrative of the More Early Part of the Life of L. Tilmon, Pastor of a Colored Methodist Congregational Church in the City of New York.* Jersey City, NJ: W.W. & L.A. Pratt, 1853.

agents, Underground Railroad

Agents of the Underground Railroad were a tight-lipped lot who tended not to ask questions of their passengers nor to reveal their own identities and business. Some secret operatives chose not to speak to each other or to their passengers where others could observe them in acts of civil disobedience. According to Colonel William Monroe Cockrum's *History of the Underground Railroad As It Was Conducted by the Anti-Slavery League* (1915), the professions of volunteers included teachers, cartographers, naturalists, geologists, lawyers, ministers, surveyors, gamblers, tinkers, peddlers, carters and shippers, bargemen, and blacksmiths. Those serving as spies voiced pro-slavery opinions and curried favor with slave buyers and owners as a means of deflecting suspicion and gaining inside information. Managing routes and transfers through Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania was a single superintendent, John T. Hanover, a shadowy figure who went by the alias John Hansen.

In Cincinnati, Ohio, a loosely structured team of freedmen dock laborers and boatmen met at a stable to plot escape routes. For backup, they networked with black travelers and businessmen from cities farther north and east. Among the rescues the team completed was the retrieval from bondage of Jim Saunders and Sam Saunders, manumitted slaves of John Saunders of North Carolina. The two travelers risked capture by a kidnapper claiming to be a preacher. The wharfmen passed the two escapees to Michigan and began using them as spies and sources of information.

Laying the Groundwork

On the home scene, agents prepared for emergencies. Women canned extra vegetables, fruits, pork, beef, and sausage and dried their garden produce and wild berries over woodstoves and in attics. They kept on hand wicker baskets and hot pots for groups who had to flee at a moment's notice by carriage or wagon before they could finish a meal. Knitted shawls and mittens, horse blankets, tarps, lap robes, and baby clothes filled closets for the warming of passengers endangered by severe winter weather. The most difficult of items to stockpile were waterproof coverings and shoes and boots to replace the handmade slave goods that wore out quickly on lengthy trudges over rough ground or disintegrated from wading in creeks and swamps.

Agents had to be quick-witted and clever. Among their tricks were disguises—gloves, veils, hair dye, and face powder—and slave concealment in feather ticks, in loads of produce or manure, and in false-bottomed hay wagons. Operatives also employed decoy vehicles, dummies, lookouts, spies, and counterspies and piloted passengers south or zigzagged over unlikely routes. Henry Teller of Girard, Pennsylvania, kept runaways in a bog near his pigs. He supplied fugitives easily by concealing meals in a bucket and pretending to feed his stock. Other agents used their children and other relatives as lookouts, messengers, food distributors, and transporters. In Guilford County, North Carolina, Alfred V. Coffin, the manager of the state branch of the secret network from 1836 to 1852, coached slaves to fake loathsome diseases or lunacy to reduce their value to bounty hunters.

Operatives coded messages, including brass anti-slavery tokens, and they employed "humanity" as a password and "William Penn" and "Paul" as aliases. Like conductor Benajah Guernsey Roots of Tamaroa, Illinois, freedman George L. Burroughs of Cairo

In a tribute to the conductors of southern Pennsylvania entitled *History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania* (1883), its author, Robert C. Smedley, stated, "People may assume goodness when it costs nothing, or in a business point of view when a money-making object is the underlying motive, or give to a public charity, however, grudgingly, for reputation's sake; but these people, in the secret of their homes, without a thought or hope of compensation, gave of their time, labor and money, to the oppressed of a down-trodden race who sought their aid, while the public reviled them, society ostracized them, and the spirit of denunciation was manifested toward them by individuals of all ranks from a scavenger to a President."

turned his job as porter on the Illinois Central Railroad into a smuggling operation that sped runaways to Chicago in baggage cars. Merina, a black laborer in Waukegan, Illinois, escorted passengers while working for grain dealer James Cory. Onlookers assumed that Merina's companions were also in Cory's employ. In his autobiography, the Reverend Thomas James, an operative in Rochester, New York, reported on female agents who filled sacks with cayenne pepper to throw at police interfering in the rescue of a girl from a courtroom. In Cincinnati, Ohio, John Hatfield, a deacon of Zion Baptist Church, faked a funeral procession that allowed 28 refugees to exit the city undetected. At a waystation in Bloomfield, New Jersey, agents Abigail E. Holmes Rusby and John B. Rusby depended on assistance from their young son, Henry Hurd Rusby, who served as a transporter of escapees. At Marengo, on Alum Creek in Morrow County, Ohio, the Reverend Aaron Lancaster Benedict used his six-year-old cousins, Livius Benedict and Mordecai Benedict, as wagon drivers. In adulthood, Mordecai remained a part of the Underground Railroad team.

Unsung Women

A number of agents who history shortchanges were brave female stationkeepers and conductors, both adults and young girls. They included disguise artists, seamstresses and clothiers, hair cutters and beard trimmers, cooks, guides, couriers, and nurses such as Elizabeth Wickes Bradford, Catherine White Coffin, Abigail "Abby" Kelley Foster, Fanny Butzel Heineman, Lucretia Coffin Mott, Jean Lowry Rankin, and Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau. In the 1820s, laundress Vina Curry in Guilford County, North Carolina, recycled the manumission papers of her deceased husband by passing them to black males needing written proof of liberation. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, an operative at Valley Falls, Rhode Island, forged freedom documents for refugees to present on railway cars on their way to Worcester, Massachusetts. Around 1828, a slave residing with Elizabeth Cooper and Truman Cooper fled recapture and gained the support of two female agents as he passed through the Underground Railroad stations of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to Quiggs Tavern in Georgetown, Pennsylvania. After Hannah Quiggs freed the man from captors, he lodged at the safehouse of Jeremiah Cooper. For a week, Jeremiah Cooper's wife carried food to the slave's hideout in the woods. Clad in Jeremiah's clothing, the slave escaped to Chester County, Pennsylvania.

A scathing denigration of Underground Railroad agents came from Samuel Seabury, a clergyman: "That these persons violate the law of the land, is, in my judgment, the last part of their guilt. I believe them to be not only *legally* but *morally* delinquent, instigators and abettors, directly, of fraud, and theft, and indirectly, and by consequence, of rapine and murder; fomenters of discontent and sedition; and I consider the credit accorded to them for philanthropy and manhood, to be the evidence of a perverted moral sentiment, and diseased state of the public mind."

At Sunnyside Home, a safehouse outside Kimberton, Pennsylvania, from the 1820s to the 1850s, Esther Fussell Lewis along with her four daughters—Elizabeth R. Lewis, Graceanna Lewis, Mariann Lewis, and Rebecca Lewis—provided comfort, nutrition, and healing for the exhausted traveler needing lengthy recuperation. Another volunteer, Elizabeth Hodgson "Eliza" Cooper at Williamson in Wayne County, New York, taught Frederick Douglass how to read and write. At Salem, New Jersey, Quaker conductors Abigail "Abbie" Goodwin and her older sister, Elizabeth "Betsy" Goodwin, managed a depot from 1838 until Betsy's death in 1860. Abbie Goodwin operated the stop alone until 1861. With the aid of local women, the Goodwins stocked a clothing closet with cloaks, sweaters, baby buntings, knitted caps, shawls, and mittens suited to the cold winters that southern slaves would encounter farther north. In 1850 in Cincinnati, Ohio, an activist and leader of a women's support system, Mrs. Andrew H. Ernst, organized a sewing circle to aid fugitives and remarked on the hundreds of runaways who found sanctuary in the area. As feminist historian Elizabeth Cady Stanton explained, these female volunteers identified with the slave's plight because of their own social, economic, religious, and political shackles. Female agents had particular compassion for girls and women who fled sexual bondage or forced prostitution.

Solving Problems

On water, operatives created their own solutions to rescues, particularly the readying of skiffs for quick

crossing of creeks and rivers. Because of the large number of black bargemen, stevedores, stewards, cooks, barbers, leadsmen, and firemen on river steamers, the successful merging of another black male face in a clutch of African American laborers required little more than timing and luck. The crewmen of the brig *Casket* and other seagoing agents provided less exhaustive passage than overland treks from Alabama, the Carolinas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, and Virginia. In 1818, men on the *Casket* concealed William Grimes in a hollowed-out cotton bale for a voyage out of Savannah, Georgia, to New York harbor. On a longer voyage, in 1858, sailors aboard the cotton sloop *Metropolis* successfully hid Tom Wilson among cotton bales until the ship exited the port of New Orleans and made its way to Liverpool, England. The risk was considerable. One sailor, James D. Lane of Albany, New York, netted a 12-year prison sentence in 1843 for allowing runaways to board a vessel in the harbor at Norfolk. For breaking laws against aiding runaways, captains could be hanged and their cargo and vessels confiscated.

Freedman William H. Robinson, author of *From Log Cabin to the Pulpit; or, Fifteen Years in Slavery* (1913), recalled the work of his father, Peter Robinson, a drayman and pilot who hid runaways for escape down the Cape Fear River in Wilmington, North Carolina, to the Atlantic Ocean. Two Quaker oystermen, Sam Fuller and a Mr. Elliot, contributed to strategies for smuggling slaves out of the South past fumigators of cargo holds and for searches led by bounty hunters and their dog packs. The success of the operation was the subject of an article in the October 29, 1849, issue of the *Wilmington Journal* about the daily departures of fugitives. Pro-slavery factions attributed the success of Underground Railroad rescues to abolitionist captains from New England, who risked hanging if caught while still in the harbor's jurisdiction.

Avoiding Capture

On water and land, Underground Railroad volunteers, both black and white, remained alert to the dangers of recapture and arrest. At Girard, Pennsylvania, the Reverend Charles Shipman armed both himself and his passenger with sticks. Some transporters removed their horses' shoes and muffled their feet with burlap and twine. They relied on sounds and sights—a dinner bell, a mourning dove's coo or whippoorwill's call, a display of a coded quilt pattern, or a pair of blue and yellow lanterns on an approaching boat—to signal that sanctuary was near. Another indicator involved the whistling or humming of a familiar tune, such as "Old Dan Tucker," the signal in Lydia Maria Francis Child's allegorical play *The Stars and Stripes* (1853). The Reverend Samuel Dutton, an agent in New Haven, Connecticut, instructed his family to listen for a coded knock at the kitchen door. In Farmington, Connecticut, a young girl, Mary Ann Cowles, studied strangers on Main Street and sang a children's song that agents recognized as a coded alert that slave nabbers were in the area. At safehouses, owners used lawn statues of black lackeys to hold signal lanterns—tied with a bright strip of cloth if passage was safe or left unlit if danger lurked. Another lawn jockey signal was the pointing of the figure's hat toward the north, the symbol for safety. At Farmington, Illinois, an operative named Deacon Birges drugged slave catchers with soporifics and relayed runways during the hunters' lengthy naps. Agents shouldered a burden of criticism from the pulpit, ostracism by family, being spied on by neighbors, and ridicule of their children by schoolmates. Many ignored threats on their lives and handbills offering rewards and the gratitude of pro-slavers for their capture or execution. One of the operatives maligned for slaving was Noadiah Moore of Champlain, New York, whose benevolent work was denounced in an 1844 issue of the *Herald of Freedom.*

Particularly offensive were allegations that agents engaged in illegal operations to acquire slaves solely as a source of free labor. The scam was the brainchild of unscrupulous individuals who hired runaways and then scared them away without paying wages for their work. In 1852, one purported slave rescuer, H.F. Painter of Clarksville, Tennessee, offered passage north in exchange for $20. After his rapid departure to Nashville in December 1852, the *Clarksville Jeffersonian* revealed his double-dealing among the slaves of Robertson County.

Costs and Risks

The price of being an agent could prove daunting. In 1857, Eliza Sly, a Missouri operative, served time in the state penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, for her activism. In Louisiana, free blacks who sheltered

runaways faced a fine of 30 livres per day, roughly one-half the price of a house. The Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society provided the Reverend Arthur Bollus Bradford with a sword cane to wield against pro-slavery stalkers in Darlington, Ohio. In the case of agent Isaac Griffen in Easton, New York, the death of two of his children resulted from the concealment of a slave carrying smallpox.

It was not uncommon for agents to be injured or to be victims of stalking, stoning, arson, ruinous lawsuits, and even kidnap, torture, and murder. In 1856, Missouri ruffians swooped down on a trading post at Osawatomie, Kansas, owned by Jacob Benjamin, August Bondi, and Theodore Wiener. The three Jewish traders lost the building, goods, and livestock. Violence plagued operatives in Columbia, Pennsylvania. According to an article in the *Columbia Spy,* a pro-slavery faction fomented a riot on August 23, 1834, in protest of miscegenation. Angry whites stoned the houses of black activists and forced some families from town. Nonetheless, black agents of the Underground Railroad gathered to halt the reenslavement of William Baker and his wife from Baltimore County Plantation, whose white owner secured them in the Columbia jail. In the uproar, whites arrested a black named Cole and accused him of shooting a deputy.

Assaults and harassment took bizarre forms. In Salem, Iowa, slave owner Ruel Daggs sued 19 local rescuers of slaves. A teenage operative, Harriet Overton, saved her father in Bernadotte, Illinois, by mounting her horse and swinging a lead bar at his attackers. In August 1858, the *United States Democratic Review* reported that a Maryland agent named Bowers was tarred and feathered for his aiding a black fugitive. In mid-February 1854, Norris Day escaped a charge of luring slaves from bondage but faced a mob of angry Kentuckians who threatened lynching. Harriet Martineau, the author of *Society in America: Observations Made During a Stay in 1837* (1837), reported that those liberators found in the South risked a worse fate—flogging and torture for abetting slave insurrections. One transporter, Milton Huggins of Highland County, Ohio, died from injuries sustained during a rescue when a horse fell on him. For Willis Lago, a free black from Cincinnati, Ohio, an 1859 court case in Woodford County, Kentucky, found him guilty of assisting the flight of Charlotte Nichols, the chattel of Claiborne W. Nichols of Versailles, Kentucky. Because Lago accepted $50 to finance Nichols's escape, a famous court battle ensued in 1860 that pitted two governors—William Dennison of Ohio against Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky—in a federal case heard by the Supreme Court. No legal repercussions resulted for either Lago or Charlotte Nichols.

The memoir *A Woman's Life-Work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland* (1882) reports the rescue of the Beach family in Michigan and the cost to agent Luther Donald. Because the slave owner sued Donald for harboring runaways and for conspiring to aid their escape, Donald lost his farm. Supporters offered funds to make up part of his loss and to keep him in service to the Underground Railroad. Farther south, an agent named Amason was arrested in Memphis, Tennessee, on his way to Cincinnati, Ohio, with two Georgia escapees. When Amason arrived in Albany, Georgia, he faced a mob angry enough to throttle him. After he escaped death, the editor of the *Macon Daily Telegraph* sided with the would-be hangmen, whom he exonerated for their murderous rage. The mysterious death of operative Elijah Anderson in the Kentucky state penitentiary on the last day of his sentence for slave theft led historians to believe that he was murdered.

To prepare for such dangers, agent John P. Parker of Ripley, Ohio, and others like him armed themselves and faced challengers head-on. At Green Township in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, George Atcheson maintained a force of armed security guards to patrol the property and shoot the bloodhounds of slave hunters and posses. In Boston, gambler John P. Coburn used his profits to hire a black regiment, the Massasoit Guards, who patrolled Beacon Hill to protect runaways from recapture.

See also: anti-slavery fairs; bloodhounds; bounty hunters; civil disobedience; code, Underground Railroad; disguise; quilts; safehouses; slave tokens; spies.

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Agler, Margaret Van Gundy (1770–1843)

Margaret Van Gundy Agler, the widow of Frederick Agler of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, operated a safehouse for runaway slaves. The Aglers, pioneers of Mifflin Township, Ohio, settled in Franklin County around 1806. Two years later, they purchased 908 acres of prime farmland from the U.S. military. When Frederick Agler died in 1824, his wife reared their 12 children unaided. New arrivals on the Underground Railroad identified Margaret's two-story residence at 2828 Sunbury Road at Columbus, Ohio, as a white frame house on the bend of Alum Creek. Margaret used a concealed chamber in the upstairs bathroom for hiding slaves.

Source

History of Franklin and Pickaway Counties, Ohio. Cleveland, OH: Williams Brothers, 1880.

Agnew, Allen (1796–1869)
Agnew, Maria Pierson (1810–1870)

A collaborator with Thomas Garrett and Harriet Tubman, Allen Agnew of New Garden in Chester County, Pennsylvania, superintended transfers along the Pennsylvania–Canada route. After marrying Maria Pierson of Pennsbury, Pennsylvania, in 1828, he resettled on a farm at Kennett Square and joined the Presbyterian church. In December 1854, Thomas Garrett reported to James Miller McKim that the Agnews were forwarding six men and one woman. One of the men had worn through his shoes. Some passengers traveled directly from the Agnew safehouse to neighbors Dr. Bartholomew Fussell and Lydia Morris Fussell or Dinah Hannum Mendenhall and Isaac Mendenhall or to the anti-slavery office of William Still in Philadelphia.

Source

Futhey, J. Smith, and Gilbert Cope. *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881.

Alcott, Louisa May (1832–1888)

A gentle feminist author and defender of civil rights, Louisa May "Lu" Alcott supported the Underground Railroad. Born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, she spent her early teens at The Wayside, a safehouse in Concord, Massachusetts, where she, her mother and father, educators Abigail May Alcott and Amos Bronson Alcott, and three sisters lived from April 1845 to November 1848. A tunnel connected the main dwelling to a wine house. The Alcotts mingled with the Boston-Concord abolitionist elite—Lydia Jackson Emerson and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, James Russell Lowell, Henry David Thoreau, and Julia Ward Howe. Louisa May Alcott's maternal uncle, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, co-founded the American Anti-Slavery Society.

After moving to Boston in 1849, Alcott supported her family with novels, essays, and short fiction that expressed her liberal leanings toward the abolition of slavery and the boycott of slave-raised or slave-made goods. Her family supported the lengthy journeys of Harriet Tubman by welcoming her to their home. At the beginning of the Civil War, Louisa May Alcott volunteered to nurse the Union wounded at the Union Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Source

Alcott, Louisa May. *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters and Journals.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1928.

Alexander, John (1813–?)

A former slave, 44-year-old John Alexander fled from Maryland to Pennsylvania aboard the Underground Railroad. In 1857, he left Kent County in company with 26-year-old Sam Benton, James Henry, and Samuel Turner. The four men received aid from secret agents of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee.

Source

Still, William. *The Underground Railroad.* Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871.

Allen, Abraham (1798–1867)
Allen, Cata Howland (1800–1866)

A conductor of the Underground Railroad, farmer Abraham "Abram" Allen, an immigrant from Armagh, Ireland, advanced the cause of liberty in Clinton County, Ohio. In 1818, he married Cata "Katy" Howland Allen of Dutchess County, New York. At their home in Wilmington, Ohio, the Allens collaborated with Elihu Oren and Jane Newcomb Oren, residents of Liberty, Ohio. In addition to feeding and housing refugees, the Allens promoted black people's right to liberty and justice.

The Wayside in Concord, Massachusetts, was home to novelist Louisa May Alcott in the late 1840s and a busy stop on the Underground Railroad. A tunnel connected the main dwelling to a wine house. *(Library of Congress)*

Abraham and Cata bundled passengers into their specially designed curtained carriage, dubbed the "Liberator," and passed them on after dark to network supervisors Elihu Oren and Jane Newcomb Oren or to Abel Beven, Joseph Coat, or Dr. Watson at Paintersville, Ohio. Among the Allens' fellow abolitionists were Dr. Abraham Brooke and Elizabeth Lukens Brooke, Amos Davis, John Hollin, Seth Linton, and John L. Thompson. Dr. Brooke, a transporter of the secret network, supported the Allens' sanctuary.

The Allens were disciples of major spokespersons for abolition—Lydia Maria Francis Child, Levi Coffin, William Lloyd Garrison, and Isaac Tatem Hopper. From 1843 to 1852, Abram Allen was a manager of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Despite the ridicule of local pro-slavery factions, the Allens maintained their principles and supported the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Supporting the family's relays over the secret network were Jonathan A. Hadley, Thomas Hibben, Eli McGregor, John Work, and Thomas Wraith. In 1843, the fervor of anti-slavery activism caused a schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church and the formation of Wesleyan Methodism, a bulwark of Christian abolitionism. In subsequent years, supporters of abolition gained more converts, in part because of the fervor of the Allens.

See also: American Anti-Slavery Society.

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Allen, Nathaniel Topliff (1832–1903) Allen, Caroline Swift Bassett (1831–1913)

An educator and abolitionist in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, Nathaniel Topliff Allen and his wife,

Caroline Swift Bassett Allen of Nantucket, were friends to the runaway slave. Nathaniel corresponded with Underground Railroad organizers and philanthropists Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Wendell Addison Phillips, and Charles Sumner. In accordance with the family's Unitarian beliefs, the Allens maintained a depot at their home at 35 Webster Street in West Newton. Their activism resulted in threats of arson. The Allen home is listed among Registered Historic Places.

Source

Stern, Madeleine G. *We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth-Century America.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Allen, Richard (1760–1831)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Reverend Richard Allen became one of the most influential black males in America. In the custody of a Delaware farmer named Stokeley, at age 17, Allen began earning the $2,000 needed to purchase his freedom by sawing firewood. His escape is one of the valuable slave narratives published in Isaac Tatem Hopper's biweekly column "Tales of the Oppression" in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard.* In flight from Maryland to Philadelphia, Allen set up a shoe repair shop in the 1790s, where he served the congregation of St. George's Methodist Church. He and the Reverend Absalom Jones, another former slave, offered heroic service to citizens during Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemic of July 1793 by going house to house to determine who survived. They buried corpses that others feared to touch and collected orphaned children. The two men issued a monograph entitled *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia* (1793).

A fearless black man living in a white society, Allen co-founded the Free African Society of Philadelphia and in 1816 established the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a depot of the Underground Railroad. He endured unfounded suspicions that his home harbored runaways for the secret network. Following one unlawful search of his residence, he pressed a successful lawsuit requiring the bounty hunters to apologize. Isaac Hopper defended Allen in another case involving the search for a black man named Dick. The planter who owned Dick went to jail because he lacked the funds to pay the fine. Hopper paid Allen's legal bills. Allen continued rescuing slaves until his death, after which Bethel Church took over his responsibilities until blacks received national emancipation on January 1, 1863.

See also: African Methodist Episcopal Church; bounty hunters.

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Allen, Robert (1793–?)

One of numerous free black conductors in Maryland, 50-year-old Robert Allen was convicted of abetting runaways. In 1843, Queen Annes County police arrested him for harboring George Emory, a child enslaved by planter William Emory. Three witnesses helped convict Allen, who entered the state penitentiary on May 6, 1845, to serve a five-year sentence.

Source

Prison records, Maryland State Archives.

Allen, Samuel (1825–1910)
Allen, Mary Gilmore (1829–1874)

An immigrant from Ireland, Samuel Allen served the Springfield route of the Underground Railroad through Mercer County, Pennsylvania. After immigrating to the United States at age 10 with his father, Robert Allen, Samuel grew up on a farm and in 1847 married Mary Gilmore. The two supported abolition; Samuel promoted the principles and aims of the secret network in debates and public addresses.

Source

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Allinson, William James (1810–1874)

At 301 High Street in Burlington City, New Jersey, Quaker pharmacist William J. Allinson aided fugitives at his shop. Under the influence of an abolitionist grandfather and a personal friend, journalist and poet John Greenleaf Whittier, Allinson opened the cellar of his pharmacy to runaways and used the upstairs for discussions of Underground Railroad work. In 1851, the druggist published a slave biography, *Memoir of Quamino Buccau, a Pious Methodist.*

On August 13, 1836, Allinson rescued Severn Martin, a refugee from a Virginia plantation who had lived

free since 1820. When Martin's owner, Colonel Christian, seized and chained Martin and tried to pay passage on a steamboat, the captain refused to transport the former slave. Allinson intervened, sped Martin to safety, and raised $800 to pay for his manumission. A melodramatic broadside title proclaimed, *Pennsylvania and New Jersey Slave Trade!! The Case of Severn Martin* (1836).

Source

Allinson, William J. *Memoir of Quamino Buccau, a Pious Methodist.* Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, 1851.

Alston, John (1794–1874)

A collaborator with Samuel D. Burris and a cousin and neighbor of John Hunn, Sr., the Quaker stationmaster John Alston of Middletown in New Castle County, Delaware, made a personal contribution to liberty. In addition to farming and to teaching Hunn about agriculture, Alston supported abolitionism through his church, the Appoquinimink Friends Meeting House at Odessa, where he served as treasurer and custodian. Aiding him on relays of runaways were Daniel Corbet and William Still, who maintained an anti-slavery office in Philadelphia. In 1841, Alston wrote in his diary a prayer asking God to allow him to maintain a sanctuary for slaves according to Christian dictates.

Source

Conrad, Henry Clay. *History of the State of Delaware.* Wilmington, DE: privately published, 1908.

American Anti-Slavery Society

Convened in Philadelphia between December 4 and 6, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society established its mission with pure ideals. Inspired by William Lloyd Garrison, founder of *The Liberator,* and nurtured by the Reverend James Miller McKim, orator Arnold Buffum, and philanthropist brothers Arthur Tappan and Lewis Tappan, the new effort attempted to supplant local abolitionist societies in New England and the Middle Atlantic states with a more vigorous, broader-based effort. As Colonel William Monroe Cockrum explains in *History of the Underground Railroad As It Was Conducted by the Anti-Slavery League* (1915), the formalized society replaced the haphazard rescues by a few unorganized abolitionist cells with teams of volunteers and a sophisticated detection and spy system. Those members who joined the society willingly accepted the possibility of fines and imprisonment for opposing federal law.

The opening session at Philadelphia faced opposition in the form of armed mobs. Nonetheless, 60 members from a total of 10 states signed the society's constitution. Members affirmed that they intended no breach of law but that they would not condemn anyone for helping a runaway escape recapture or torture and punishment.

Signers of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society

Connecticut
Robert B. Hall
Simeon S. Jocelyn
Alpheus Kingsley
Samuel Joseph May
Edwin A. Stillman

Maine
James Frederick Otis
Joseph Southwick
David Thurston
Isaac Winslow
Nathan Winslow

Massachusetts
James G. Barbadoes
Arnold Buffum
John R. Campbell
Effingham L. Capron
Joshua Coffin
William Lloyd Garrison
Daniel E. Jewett
David T. Kimball, Jr.
Amos A. Phelps
Nathaniel Southard
Daniel S. Southmayd
Horace P. Wakefield
John Greenleaf Whittier

New Hampshire
David Campbell

New Jersey
Chalkey Gillingham
John McCullough
Jonathan Parkhurst
James White

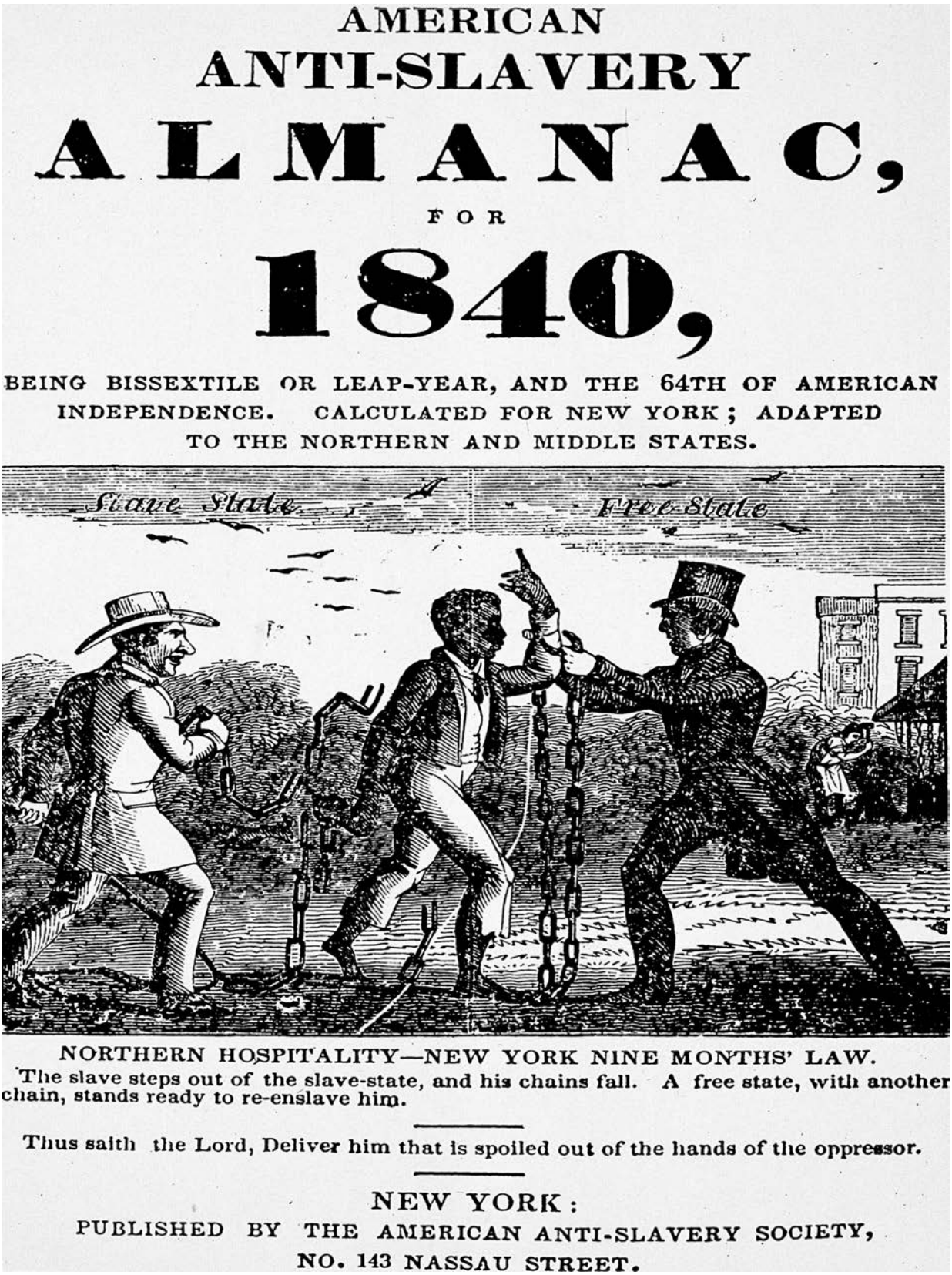
New York
Abraham L. Cox
Charles W. Denison
John Frost
William Goodell
Beriah Green, Jr.
William Greene, Jr.
John Rankin
Lewis Tappan
Elizur Wright, Jr.

Ohio
John M. Sterling
Levi Sutliff
Milton Sutliff

Pennsylvania
Edwin A. Atlee
Edwin P. Atlee
Bartholomew Fussell
David Jones
Evan Lewis
James Loughhead
Enoch Mack
Jason McCrummill
James Miller McKim
James Mott, Jr.
Robert Purvis
John Sharp, Jr.
Thomas Shipley
John R. Sleeper
Aaron Vickers
Thomas Whitson

Rhode Island
George W. Benson
Ray Potter
John Prentice

Vermont
Orson S. Murray



Among the core objectiv es of the Amer ican Anti-Slavery Society from its creation in 1833 w ere to distr ibute abolitionist literature and to encourage slave rescue operations. *(MPI/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)*

Society Aims

Members bound themselves by a constitution whose aims contrasted with those of the Declaration of Independence. A series of seven resolves set the society to a number of crucial tasks: to organize satellite societies, to dispatch abolitionist agents, to circulate anti-slavery journals and pamphlets, to enlist the help of ministers and journalists, to purify churches of support for human bondage, to encourage the participation of freedmen in rescue operations, and to end slavery as soon as possible throughout the nation. By 1837, the effort had fostered 161 branches in New York State alone. Society agents, working as spies, infiltrated slave territory in the guise of cartographers, geologists, itinerant traders, lumbermen, naturalists, surveyors, and teachers. Territories were code-named after trees: beech, dogwood, hickory, linden, maple, oak, sassafras, and walnut. In addition, the society published a stream of broadsides and pamphlets clarifying issues and building consensus among citizens. At its height in 1835, the American Anti-Slavery Society Press mailed out more than 50,000 free publications per week.

Among the women who supported the effort was orator Abby Kelley Foster, whom Garrison nominated in 1840 to a standing committee. After the election of Maria Weston Chapman, Lydia Maria Francis Child, and Lucretia Coffin Mott to society offices, an anti-feminist backlash led to the resignation of James Gillespie Birney, Gerrit Smith, Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan. Opposing the exclusion of women were Jonathan Peckham Miller, James Mott, Jr., and Abraham Liddon Pennock, Sr. The misogyny among male abolitionists resulted in the formation of female anti-slavery societies and sewing circles, women's benevolent agencies that raised cash, held abolitionist fairs, and stockpiled clothing, blankets, and linens for the assistance of refugees. After passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, Lydia Jackson Emerson and her husband, orator Ralph Waldo Emerson, enlisted volunteer rescuers for the American Anti-Slavery Society.

See also: black soldiers; female anti-slavery societies; punishments; spies.

Source

Cockrum, Colonel William. *History of the Underground Railroad As It Was Conducted by the Anti-Slavery League.* Oakland City, IN: J.W. Cockrum, 1915.

American Revolution

The anticipation of liberty overwhelmed American colonists in the early months of 1776, preceding the Revolutionary War. However, free colonials and slaves held different perspectives on the establishment of an independent republic. During the colonial war for freedom from the British king George III, General George Washington debated the feasibility of enlisting black soldiers. Meanwhile, black slaves received their first offer of freedom from the British army. For those 20,000 blacks who served the British military, liberty required a victory for England.

Only 5,000 blacks found welcome in the colonial army, which began enlisting nonwhite soldiers when Congress approved the shift to an integrated force in late March 1779. Pressing the issue was John Laurens, an abolitionist from South Carolina who pledged his patrimony of 40 slaves to the colonial cause. After the colonies ousted the British in 1783 under the Treaty of Paris, 5,000 blacks established residence in Canada, a majority in the Maritime Provinces. Of those remaining in the United States, 90 percent lived in bondage in a new nation built on the concepts of liberty and human equality. From this era until emancipation on January 1, 1863, slaves escaping the plantation South looked toward Canada as a haven of freedom.

See also: black soldiers.

Source

Massey, Gregory D. *John Laurens and the American Revolution.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000.

Ames, Orson (1799–1867)
Ames, Harlow (ca. 1804–1880)
Ames, Leonard, Jr. (1818–ca. 1893)

Three Underground Railroad agents in Mexico, New York, Orson Ames and his brothers, Harlow Ames and Leonard Ames, Jr., took part in slave rescues. A native of Litchfield, Connecticut, Orson grew up in the town of Mexico from the age of five, when his family traveled west by ox-drawn wagon to farm the New York frontier. The Ames family brought with them their Methodist Episcopal beliefs as well as concern for refugees. Orson's rise to wealth and prestige began with sheepherding, marriage to Amy Perkins (1800–1851) in 1824, and his operation of a sawmill. In 1826, he opened a tannery at Black Creek. By 1833, his investments extended to a shoe shop on South Jefferson Street and a trip-hammer mill for the manufacture of axes and scythes.

The Ames brothers established a reputation for kindness to fugitives. Leonard appears to have been an organizer and conductor. Harlow built a barn on Colosse Road above a secret chamber, where he and his wife, Adaline Mitchell Ames (1812–ca. 1880), appear to have sheltered runaways. Orson served as Superintendent of the Poor, a local outreach to the needy. On June 21, 1838, Orson Ames, James M. Barrows, and Starr Clark accepted appointment by the Oswego County Anti-Slavery Society to the vigilance committee, an agency that offered food, clothing, directions, and legal advice to slaves fleeing bounty hunters and posses.

After eight agents broke William "Jerry" McHenry (or Henry), a mulatto cooper, out of the Clinton Square jail in Syracuse, New York, on October 1, 1851, he spent two nights in Mexico, New York. The first night, he stayed at the safehouse of Amy and Orson Ames at 3339 Main Street, and then he moved on to a barn at the rural depot of Asa Beebe and Mary Whipple Beebe. Orson appears to have conspired with his younger brother, Leonard, to convey McHenry by boat to Kingston, Ontario. The blatant violation of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 established the dedication of Oswego County's secret network to civil disobedience.

See also: bounty hunters; Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; vigilance committees.

Sources

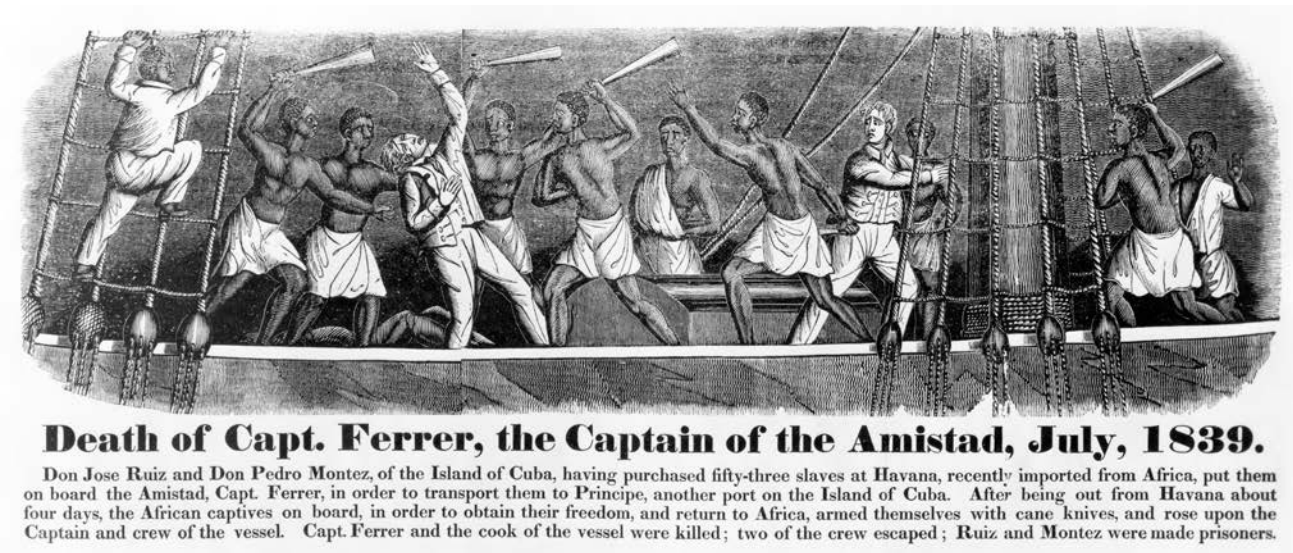
Churchill, John. *Landmarks of Oswego County, New York.* Syracuse, NY: D. Mason, 1895.

McAndrew, Mike, "Bold Raid Freed a Man," *Syracuse Post-Standard,* February 14, 2005.

Amistad

A unique black revolt in North American history, on July 2, 1839, a mutiny aboard the Portuguese slaver *Amistad* jolted the American public with headlines about the plight of kidnapped Africans. After the ship sailed from Sierra Leone toward the Caribbean, the slaver slipped into Havana, Cuba, by night to avoid shore patrols and advanced to Puerto Príncipe. Joseph Cinqué, a Mandingo nobleman in his mid-twenties, used a nail to liberate the human cargo from foot and neck shackles. He and a slave named Grabeau distributed machetes, and the mutineers seized the vessel for return to West Africa. The ship's white pilot deceived the slaves and sailed north to New England. On August 2, in sight of Culloden Point at Montauk, New York, the U.S.S. *Washington,* a Coast Guard surveying brig, captured the *Amistad* and anchored it at New London, Connecticut, on August 26.

At New Haven, Connecticut, Cinqué and his collaborators faced charges of murder and piracy. Against the pro-slavery views of President Martin Van Buren, Lewis Tappan, a Calvinist from Northampton, Massachusetts, led abolitionists in formal protest of the treatment of the Africans, whom officials classified as "salvage." Providing defense was attorney Ellis



In July 1839, African slaves aboard the schooner *Amistad* seized the ship en route from the Car ibbean, killed the captain and cook, and sailed unwittingly to the Connecticut shore The incident and subsequent trial put the issue of slavery in the headlines. *(Library of Congress)*

Gray Loring; financial backing came from the Reverend Simeon Smith Jocelyn of New Haven, Connecticut, and from the Reverend James William Charles Pennington, an Underground Railroad agent in New York City. Congressman John Quincy Adams, a former U.S. president, headed the defense team that carried the case through appeals. His presentation lasted over eight hours. As a result, the U.S. Supreme Court acquitted the 35 surviving Africans of the charges.

Before and after the extensive litigation, the mutineers sheltered with Underground Railroad operatives. In September 1839, the Horace Cowles family welcomed Teme (also Tamie), a young Mende girl, to their residence in Farmington, Connecticut. The male contingent of Africans lodged at a safehouse that Austin Franklin Williams, Jennet Cowles Williams, and other abolitionists built at 127 Main Street in Farmington, Connecticut, on May 4, 1841. Local abolitionists provided clothing, linens, church membership, and a 10-acre field for cultivation. During the lengthy court battle in summer 1841, one African, a teenage farmer named Foone, drowned in an estuary, perhaps in a deliberate act of self-destruction. He was buried in Riverside Cemetery. Philanthropists and mission societies funded the return of 32 of the former slaves to West Africa. Departing on November 25, 1841, aboard the *Gentleman,* they arrived at Freetown harbor in mid-January 1842.

Sources

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Osagie, Iyunolu Folayan. *The* Amistad *Revolt: Memory, Slavery, and the Politics of Identity in the United States and Sierra Leone.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Owens, William A. *Black Mutiny: The Revolt on the Schooner* Amistad. New York: Plume, 1997.

Spielberg, Steven, Maya Angelou, and Debbie Allen. Amistad: *"Give Us Free."* New York: Newmarket, 1998.

Amos, James Ralston (1824–1864)
Amos, Thomas Henry (1826–1869)

The Reverend James Ralston Amos and his younger brother, the Reverend Thomas Henry Amos, both Presbyterian ministers, promoted slave rescues via the Pennsylvania–Canada route of the Underground Railroad. The sons of farmer George Amos of Oxford, Pennsylvania, James and Thomas graduated in 1859 from Ashmun Institute, later named Lincoln University, which specialized in training black ministers to colonize West Africa. They accepted missions to Liberia, where both died.

Source

Carr, George B. "Lincoln University Origins." *Lincoln University Herald* 18:1 (January 1914): 9–11.

Anderson, Elijah (1808–1861)

An active Underground Railroad agent in Madison, Indiana, blacksmith Elijah Anderson of Fluvanna, Virginia, managed the Ohio River crossing at Carrollton, in sight of the northern border of Kentucky. A free black, he arrived in Indiana from Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1837 and settled at a cabin in the Georgetown section on Walnut Street, where he collaborated with other conductors, including the Reverend Chapman Harris and Dr. Samuel Tibbets, Jr. Around age 30, Anderson operated a smithy in Madison, Indiana. He joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church, an Underground Railroad depot at 309 East Fifth Street, and built a brick residence that served as a waystation. An intrepid stationmaster, Anderson and two collaborators, Griffin Booth and Chapman Harris, led fleeing slaves from Kentucky to freedom. After townspeople drove Anderson out of town, in the 1850s, he moved to Cleveland, Ohio, and superintended a heavily traveled route. By 1855, he had escorted more than 1,000 refugees. He earned the admiration of attorney Rush Richard Sloane, a fellow conductor at Sandusky, Ohio.

Traveling far into the South, Anderson enlisted slaves from Kentucky to flee north into free territory. Because of his notoriety and the danger of retaliation, he left the region and resumed work in Lawrenceburg, Indiana. By 1855, he had assisted hundreds of fugitives from Carroll and Trimble counties in Kentucky. In 1856, a black traitor arranged for Anderson's seizure by Trimble County slavers. On the basis of incriminating documents contained in his carpetbag, authorities charged him with grand theft. He began serving an eight-year sentence for slave theft in mid-June 1857 in the Kentucky state penitentiary at Frankfort. During his incarceration, he established a reputation as a fine penitentiary blacksmith. After his mysterious demise in prison on March 4, 1861, the last day of his sentence, his rescue work passed to a brother, William J. Anderson.

See also: African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Sources

Anderson, William J. *Life and Narrative of William J. Anderson.* Chicago: *Daily Tribune,* 1857.

Hudson, J. Blaine. *Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in the Kentucky Borderland.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002.

Anderson, George (fl. 1850s)

The leader of a party of seven runaways, George Anderson succeeded in escaping bondage. In 1856, he fled Elkton in Cecil County, Maryland. Accompanying him were three North Carolinians—Matthew Bodams of Plymouth, Peter Heines of Eatontown, and James Morris of South End—and four Virginians from Portsmouth—Nathaniel Bowser, Thomas Cooper, Charity Thompson, and Charles Thompson. The eight runaways sought aid from agents of the Philadelphia Underground Railroad before continuing on their way.

Source

Still, William. *The Underground Railroad.* Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871.

Anderson, John (ca. 1831–?)

The case of John "Jackey" Anderson, the son of a black runaway, caused a stir in the United States, Canada, and England. The slave of tobacco farmer Moses Burton of Howard County, Missouri, Anderson seethed with resentment at the sale of his mother in 1838. While engaged in supervising field hands, Anderson married Maria Tomlin, a widow; he visited her and their baby at the nearby farm where she was enslaved. After Burton sold Anderson to Colonel Reuben McDaniel of Saline County, the slave bid farewell to his wife and child before he escaped bondage in late September 1853.

On his way, Anderson stabbed Seneca T.P. Diggs, a Missouri farmer who tried to capture him. Anderson crossed Missouri and continued by boat upriver to Illinois. After Diggs died of his wound, the offer of a $1,000 reward sent slave catchers in search of Anderson. With the aid of Underground Railroad agents in Chicago and Detroit, Anderson reached Windsor, Ontario, where he remained until 1860. Quaker Underground Railroad agent Laura Smith Haviland failed in an attempt to smuggle Maria Anderson from Missouri in spring 1854.

Meanwhile, detectives traced Anderson to Haviland's home in Raisin, Michigan. Laura telegraphed Anderson to move farther inland to Chatham and Caledonia near Brantford, Ontario. In spring 1860, a Detroit slave owner named Brown obtained a court judgment allowing the return of Anderson to slavery in Missouri. Complicating the case was the murder charge against Anderson, which caught the attention of pro-slavery President James Buchanan. Under the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton had forged between Canada and the United States, Anderson was slated to return South. Because the court ruled against Anderson on December 15, 1860, he expected to die in bondage. Proponents of the Underground Railroad feared that the Anderson case spelled the end of the secret network; pro-slavery factions in Tennessee rejoiced at the prospect. Intervention by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society called for a new trial in a Toronto court, which found in Anderson's favor on February 9, 1861, on a technicality.

Lest a new trial find him guilty, Anderson resolved to leave for England, where a committee was collecting funds to buy Maria Anderson and her child from Brown. After a Toronto court exonerated him on February 16, 1861, Anderson's thanks for his humane treatment appeared in the *Montreal Gazette* of March 6. Before he could book passage to England, the Civil War began. The death of Maria's owner resulted in her sale. Anderson embarked for Liberia on December 24, 1862, and disappeared from history. A year later, editor Harper Twelvetrees published *The Story of the Life of John Anderson, the Fugitive Slave* (1863).

Sources

Anderson, John. *The Story of the Life of John Anderson, the Fugitive Slave.* London: W. Tweedie, 1863.
Fradin, Dennis Brindell. *Bound for the North Star: True Stories of Fugitive Slaves.* New York: Clarion, 2000.

Anderson, Matthew (1845–1928)
Anderson, Caroline Virginia Still Wiley (1848–1919)

The Reverend Matthew Anderson applied a number of methods to help black Americans obtain freedom. A native Pennsylvanian, he became a devout Christian in childhood and aided black refugees at the family farm, a waystation of the Underground Railroad. As pastor of Berean Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, he heartened his black congregation with uplifting sermons on character and instructed children at the city's first black kindergarten. To aid former slaves with establishing homes, he taught vocational

skills at Berean Institute and founded the Berean Building and Loan Association to help with finances. Anderson married the daughter of William Still. Dr. Caroline Virginia Still Wiley Anderson, a physician educated at Oberlin College and Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, founded and ran a clinic and dispensary in Philadelphia.

Source

Donnelly, Matt, "Let Freedom Reign," *Christian History,* February 2, 2001.

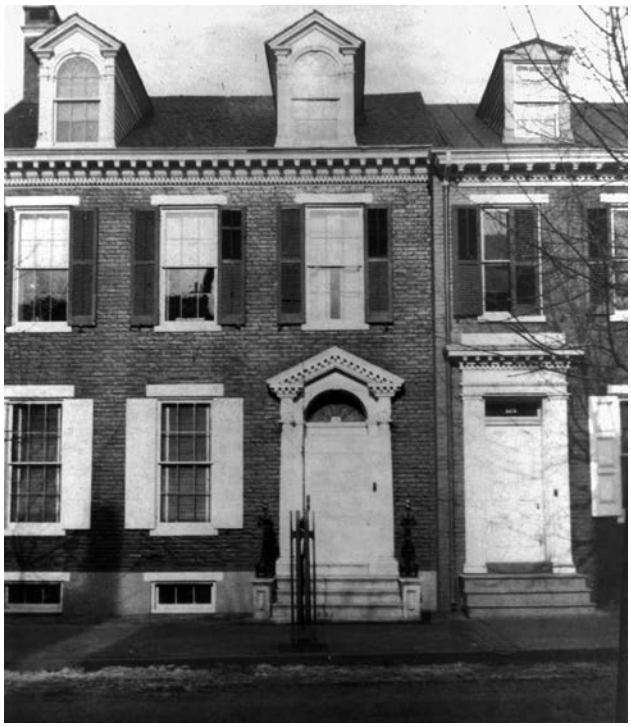
Anderson, Osborne Perry (1830–1872)

The only African Canadian to leave Chatham, Ontario, to fight at Harpers Ferry, Osborne Perry Anderson also served in the Union army during the Civil War. A native of West Fallowfield, Pennsylvania, he moved to Ontario in his early twenties and settled at Chatham, where he printed Mary Ann Shadd Cary's newspaper *The Provincial Freeman.* In spring 1858, he conspired with Martin Robinson Delany and John Brown on ways to free more slaves. Following the failed assault on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry on October 16, 1859, Anderson fled over Underground Railroad routes to Henry Watson's waystation at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and then to William C. Goodridge's photography studio at Centre Square in York, Pennsylvania, where he hid in the third story. Anderson continued to William Still's anti-slavery office in Philadelphia. To honor the slaves who supported Brown's insurrection, Anderson published *A Voice from Harpers Ferry* (1861), the only eyewitness account. At the beginning of the Civil War, he enlisted soldiers for black regiments in Arkansas and Indiana. Associates of the Underground Railroad were pallbearers at Anderson's funeral at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C.

See also: black soldiers.

Source

Bordewich, Fergus M. *Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America.* New York: Amistad, 2005.



After the failed assault led by John Brown at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1859, Osborne P. Anderson—who had come from Canada to take part—fled via the Underground Railroad. In York, Pennsylvania, he hid in the home and photography studio of William C. Goodridge. *(Library of Congress)*

Anderson, William J. (1811–?)

The Reverend William J. Anderson, a former slave, aided the passage of fugitives on the Indiana–Canada route of the Underground Railroad. He was a freeborn native of Hanover County, Virginia; in 1816, his mother found work for him with a slave owner named Vance, who sold him for $375 to a trader leading a coffle to Tennessee. His last master owned property outside St. Michaels in Talbot County, Maryland. During his long servitude, Anderson concealed from a series of abusive owners his ability to read and write.

On July 4, 1836, at age 25, Anderson wrote his own pass with the intent of journeying to New Orleans and taking a ship to Boston or New York. He fled along the Ohio River to Madison, Indiana, where he flourished in agriculture and business. He managed his own waystation of the secret network at 713 Walnut Street and co-founded Madison's African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was next door to his home. In 1857, he published a slave autobiography, *Life and Narrative of William J. Anderson: Twenty-Four Years a Slave; Sold Eight Times! In Jail Sixty Times! Whipped Three Hundred Times!*

See also: African Methodist Episcopal Church; bloodhounds.

Sources

Anderson, William J. *Life and Narrative of William J. Anderson . . .* Chicago: *Daily Tribune,* 1857.

Sobel, Mechal. *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Age.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Andrew, John Albion (1818–1867)

John Albion Andrew spearheaded two famous test cases against the onerous Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Born to a wealthy merchant in Windham, Maine, he studied law after graduating from Gorham Academy and Bowdoin College. In the 1850s, he led the Underground Railroad legal teams defending Thomas M. Sims, a runaway from bondage in Georgia who federal marshals seized on April 3, 1851. Sims received support from the Boston Vigilance Committee, notably from William Lloyd Garrison and Lewis Hayden, the chief conductor of the city's Underground Railroad link. Andrew's second defense of a fugitive slave involved Anthony Burns after his arrest on March 9, 1855, for escaping bondage to Colonel Charles F. Suttle in Richmond, Virginia.

Following the failed raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), Andrew championed insurrectionist John Brown as a visionary libertarian. Andrew's strong abolitionist position netted him the largest popular vote of any candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts. In support of Abraham Lincoln, on April 15, 1861, Andrew sent five regiments to defend Washington, D.C.

See also: Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Source

Pearson, Henry Greenleaf. *The Life of John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, 1861–1865.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904.

Andrews, John H. (fl. 1860s)

John H. Andrews faced prison time for rescuing slaves. He was arrested in St. Charles County, Missouri, near the Illinois border. In September 1860, he confessed to enticing two slaves from their masters, an act for which he was sentenced to two consecutive terms of three years. Having left a family of three in Ohio, on January 16, 1865, he petitioned Governor Thomas C. Fletcher for clemency. The governor granted the petition the next month.

Source

Frazier, Harriet C. *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763–1865.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004.

Anthony, Abial F. (1840–ca. 1936)

At a busy nexus of the Underground Railroad, Abial F. (or Abial B.) Anthony used his knowledge of river craft to aid slaves in flight. He worked as a barber at his shop at 11 Allen Street in Burlington, Vermont. He recalled from childhood that his father, Tony Anthony, sheltered slaves from Virginia. While employed as a cook in local hotels and steamers on Lake Champlain, Anthony conspired with Underground Railroad agents John Kendrick Converse and Sarah Allen Converse to conceal passengers on vessels bound from St. Albans Bay for St. John's, Quebec.

Source

Seaver, Frederick J. *Historical Sketches of Franklin County and Its Several Towns.* Albany, NY: J.B. Lyon, 1918.

Anthony, Mason (1803–1873)
Anthony, Elihu (1768–1863)

A native of Greenfield, New York, Quaker temperance orator and slave conductor Mason Anthony guided fugitives along the Saratoga line of the Underground Railroad. Aiding him was his father, Elihu Anthony, a Quaker preacher. Mason Anthony's contribution to rescue operations began in Saratoga County in 1838. Among his innovations was the distribution of female dress to black male passengers. He then relayed the fugitives incognito through Hadley and Luzerne in Warren County and on to safety at the waystation of Rachel Gilpin Robinson and Rowland Thomas Robinson at Rokeby Farm in Ferrisburg, Vermont. The Anthonys also collaborated with Chauncey Langdon Knapp, Vermont's secretary of state, who received runaways at his office at the State House.

Source

Calarco, Tom. *The Underground Railroad in the Adirondack Region.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004.

Anthony, Susan Brownell (1820–1906)

A member of a conscientious Quaker abolitionist family, Susan Brownell Anthony was a quiet hero of the secret network. Born in Adams, Massachusetts, she grew up amid protest of the slave trade by her father, Daniel Anthony, and the slave rescues of her uncle Asa Anthony at his safehouse outside Syracuse in Onondaga County, New York. In addition to her dedication to

woman's suffrage, Susan Anthony campaigned for abolitionism and personally conducted slaves to waystations. She supported the activism of William Clough Bloss, Frederick Douglass, Sarah Parker Remond, and Harriet Tubman and promoted the secret work of conductors Chandler Darlington and Hannah M. Darlington at Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, and of Harriet Forten Purvis and Robert Purvis in Philadelphia.

In addition to moral support, Anthony lent her residence at 17 Madison Street in Rochester, New York, for harboring slaves on their way to Canada. Her brother, Merritt Anthony, was a conspirator of insurrectionist John Brown. Following the execution of Brown on December 2, 1859, for the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia) Susan Anthony, accompanied by local agent Samuel Drummond Porter, distributed tickets to a memorial service at Lake Placid, New York. Her experience aiding female slaves sparked the activist's concern for women and initiated collaboration with other feminists to demand woman's suffrage.

Source

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, and Susan B. Anthony. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton/Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches.* New York: Schocken, 1981.

Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women

Female supporters of the Underground Railroad staked their place in civil disobedience at a convention held in New York City (May 9–12, 1837). The assembly was the nation's first public political meeting of women and the nation's first interracial convention. In defiance of white males who rejected their membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, female delegates, led by Quaker minister Lucretia Coffin Mott and supported by editor Lydia Maria Francis Child, began organizing routes and coordinating political pressure groups.

At the second convention, held at Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia (May 15–18, 1838), orator Abigail "Abby" Kelley Foster made her first public oration to a mixed audience. Addressing the 3,000 white and black women were activists Maria Weston Chapman and Angelina Emily Grimké Weld, who projected their voices above a clutch of rock-hurling protesters. Pro-slavery factions were so incensed that on May 16 they burned the building and surged toward Mott's residence. Sarah Pugh joined other delegates in marching from the structure arm in arm with a black activist. The following day, Pugh offered her classroom as an assembly hall in which to continue the convention's discussions. A strong showing at a subsequent convention in Rochester, New York, in 1842 resulted in the enlistment of Mary Ann M'Clintock and Thomas M'Clintock as waystation operators and co-founders of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. The coordination of slave rescues and enlistment campaigns honed women's organizational skills, which reached their zenith in the drive for woman's suffrage.

See also: civil disobedience; female anti-slavery societies.

Source

Sterling, Dorothy, ed. *Turning the World Upside Down: The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women Held in New York City, May 9–12.* New York: Feminist Press, 1987.

anti-slavery fairs

Among the fund-raising innovations of female activism on behalf of the Underground Railroad were anti-slavery fairs. Beginning in Boston in 1834 and spreading across New York State near the end of the 1830s following the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, supporters began hosting craft fairs and bake sales to raise money and solicit donations for the rescue, clothing, feeding, and medical treatment of runaway slaves. Broadsides advertised watercolor paintings, gift books and songbooks, toys and teething rings, abolitionist periodicals, purses, and handmade armlets, collars, gloves, handkerchiefs, aprons, quilts, pressed-flower pictures, and table linens. Setting the pace for subsequent fund-raisers were fairs in Junius, Rochester, Seneca Falls, Victoria, and Waterloo, New York. In Waterloo, Elizabeth M'Clintock, an Underground Railroad agent, organized fund-raising activities over a seven-year period. In New York City, avid support came from Underground Railroad agent Abigail Hopper Gibbons. The African American women at the Broadway Tabernacle held an annual fair and charged an entry fee of 12.5¢ to raise money for the vigilance committee. In Lowell, Massachusetts, Catharine Rugg Rugg, an operative of the secret network, conducted a fair in 1839 to provide funds for runaways passing through Boston.

In Boston, the fair committee combined the talents of orator Maria Weston Chapman, organizer

Abigail "Abby" Kelley Foster, printer Oliver Johnson, and Ann Terry Greene Phillips, wife of orator Wendell Addison Phillips. Anna Murray Douglass provided refreshments; Mercy O. Haskins Powell and William Peter Powell supplied British-made goods. Chapman published the *Liberty Bell,* a bound-leather keepsake volume with gilt stamping, which anthologized the writing of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Lydia Maria Francis Child, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Harriet Martineau, and Wendell Addison Phillips. In the 1840 edition appeared "The Anniversary of Lovejoy's Martyrdom" (1838), Chapman's sonnet to Elijah Parish Lovejoy, a murdered agent. Sophia Louisa Robbins Little, a writer in Newport, Rhode Island, provided similar gift books stressing the sacrifice and patriotism displayed by volunteers of the Underground Railroad.

In December 1852, Lucretia Coffin Mott tried in vain to get agent Ralph Waldo Emerson to deliver a speech at the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Another organizer, Helen Eliza Benson Garrison, prevailed on her husband, William Lloyd Garrison, to advertise the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair in the February 26, 1841, issue of *The Liberator.* The bazaar offered cakes made with free-labor sugar rather than slave-made staples. In Philadelphia, Mary Grew, Anna Mott Hopper, and Harriet Forten Purvis organized the annual Christmas bazaars, which were a tradition from 1836 to 1861. In 1851, the women's group donated $50 to the city's vigilance committee.

In Rochester, New York, Underground Railroad agent Rhoda Rogers DeGarmo superintended abolitionist bazaars. Fair organizers published a child's reader, *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet* (1847), which introduced young abolitionists to such savage concepts as cotton-field labor, lashings, slave kidnap, and bloodhounds bred to track fugitives on their way along secret routes to Canada. In 1869, Samuel Joseph May acknowledged the contributions of female fair organizers in *Some Recollections of Our Anti-slavery Conflict.*

See also: Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women; bloodhounds; kidnap; *Liberator, The*; quilts; *Some Recollections of Our Anti-slavery Conflict* (1869); vigilance committees.

Sources

The Anti-Slavery Alphabet. Philadelphia: Merrihew & Thompson, 1847.

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *Abby Hopper Gibbons: Prison Reformer and Social Activist.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Garrison, William Lloyd. "Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair." *The Liberator,* February 26, 1841, 39.

Anti-Slavery Society of Canada

White and black Canadians reacted to the flood of refugees along the Underground Railroad to Canadian border communities by forming an anti-slavery society. In February 1851, founders met in Toronto to coordinate efforts to acclimate slaves to freedom outside the United States and to provide legal counsel and education for the illiterate. Aided by George Brown, editor of the *Toronto Globe,* the members established a social relief agency in collaboration with notable American abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, and the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, a conductor in Syracuse, New York. Through the assistance of Lewis Tappan, in March 1852, the Canadian society coordinated efforts with societies in Great Britain and the United States. In 1853, the Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward, author of *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England* (1855), raised funds for the society during a tour of England. One of the fugitives profiting from Canadian aid was a laundress, Ann Maria Jackson, who escaped from Maryland with seven children and arrived in Toronto in 1857 via the Underground Railroad.

Sources

Landon, Fred. "The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada." *Journal of Negro History* 4 (January 1919): 33–40.

Ward, Samuel R. *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England.* London: John Snow, 1855.

Archer, Thomas (1833–1913)

An attorney and operative of the Underground Railroad in Kansas Territory, Thomas Archer of Jefferson County, Kentucky, participated in the armed resistance against posses from Missouri. He received runaway slaves at his home on Harrison Street in Topeka. When U.S. marshals menaced John Brown's party of 11 Missouri slaves at the Albert Fuller log cabin at Straight Creek northwest of Holton, Archer joined the band of Colonel John Ritchie that gathered at the First Congregational Church. The armed posse enabled Brown to continue north to Tabor, Iowa. In 1861, Archer joined the Fifth

Kansas Volunteer Cavalry and sustained a combat wound in 1863 at Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Source

Kiene, L.L. "The Battle of the Spurs and John Brown's Exit from Kansas." *Kansas Historical Collections* 8 (1903–1904): 443–9.

Armstead, Rosetta (fl. 1850s)

While still a minor, Rosetta Armstead fled slavery with the assistance of an unidentified Underground Railroad agent. She was the chattel of an Episcopal minister, the Reverend Henry M. Dennison of Louisville, Kentucky. In March 1855, a Dr. Miller was transporting her by train to Richmond, Virginia, to work as a nursemaid. On the approach to Cincinnati, Ohio, a black worker of the Little Miami Railroad encouraged Armstead to liberate herself. During a layover at Columbus, Ohio, the Reverend William B. Ferguson protested the girl's enslavement in a free state. In spring 1855, despite public uproar over Armstead's predicament, Judge John McLean returned her to the custody of her owner.

Source

Campbell, Stanley W. *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850–1860.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970.

Arnold, Joseph (1832–1904)
Arnold, Tacy Smith (1834–1870)

A Quaker agent of the Underground Railroad, Joseph Arnold was a pioneer and postmaster of Lynnville in Jasper County, Iowa. He was born at Arba, Indiana, in 1832, and in 1853 he married Tacy Smith of Palmyra, Iowa. While operating a flour mill and lumberyard, he studied law and collaborated with agents Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, Jarvis Johnson, and Matthew Sparks. After establishing a log safehouse, the Arnolds relayed passengers via covered wagon.

On November 4, 1857, Joseph Arnold and Matthew Sparks rescued runaways James F. Miller, Henry May, and John Ross at Newton outside Lynnville. Within weeks, the Arnolds received a black couple and their infant. The Arnolds housed the passengers and then took them over the North Skunk River to the waystation of Jarvis Johnson. In 1861, Joseph Arnold, under the pen name Old Shady, wrote an eyewitness account of his activism that was later issued in the 1912 Jasper County annals.

Source

Stocum, Susan. "Rediscovering the Road to Freedom." *Black Issues in Higher Education* 16:11 (August 1999): 30–1.

Ashley, James Mitchell (1823–1896)

A discreet operative, James Mitchell Ashley conducted slave rescues in the slave state of Kentucky. While in his twenties and living outside Greenupsburg in Greenup County, he conspired with a black operative in piloting escapees across the Ohio River to an agent named Goodrich near Portsmouth, Ohio. Local abolitionists quietly contributed cash to Ashley's efforts. In 1851, after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, he left his waystation and moved to Toledo, Ohio.

See also: Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Source

Hudson, J. Blaine. *Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in the Kentucky Borderland.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002.

Atcheson, George (1793–1877)
Atcheson, Margaret McClellan (1801–?)

An Irish immigrant to Green Township in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, George Atcheson had firm notions about the human right to liberty. Born at Drumcree in County Leitrim, he settled on the Susquehanna River in 1820 and married Margaret McClellan in 1827. He became a lumberman and river pilot and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. As an activist and philanthropist, he supported anti-slavery meetings and befriended William Lloyd Garrison, Joshua Reed Giddings, and Parker Pillsbury. During the Atchesons' service to the secret network in Clearfield and Indiana counties, they opened their home to refugees, who could see their waystation from the river.

With the support of Giddings at Jefferson, Ohio, the Atchesons received passengers from A.A. Barker, a cooper at Carrollton, and from route coordinator Jason Kirk. In dangerous times, the couple hid wayfarers in a chamber concealed by a portrait and passed them up Cush Creek to Bear Run. In 1845, the Atchesons added to the estate a guest house featuring a secret room for sheltering refugee slaves. One fugitive escaped stalkers at the front door by climbing to the roof and fleeing into the woods. To protect other slaves from posses and packs of bloodhounds, George

Atcheson hired marksmen to walk the perimeter of his property and shoot dogs.

Source

Egle, William Henry. *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: History of Indiana County, Pennsylvania.* Harrisburg, PA: W.C. Goodrich, 1876.

Atkinson, Abigail Oren (1795–1876)
Atkinson, Cephas (1790–1860)

Two Quaker pioneers who contributed to the reputation of their sect for benevolence were Abigail Oren Atkinson and her husband, Cephas Atkinson, of York County, Pennsylvania, agents of the Underground Railroad. Cephas migrated to Clinton County, Ohio, in 1811. After the couple's marriage in 1815, they built a cabin on 100 acres in Greene County, Ohio, where they raised livestock. When they moved to Mingo Valley in Champaign County, they practiced lifelong abolitionism by receiving fugitive slaves, whom they fed and clothed.

Source

Baxter, W.H. *History of Champaign County, Ohio.* Chicago: W.H. Beers, 1881.

Avery, Charles A. (1784–1858)

A philanthropist and proponent of slave rescue, the Reverend Charles A. Avery aided the Underground Railroad in several ways. He made his living as a pharmacist and wholesale drug seller. As a member of the secret network, he collaborated with barber John Baton Vashon in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During trips south to buy cotton, Avery observed the horrors of human bondage. In 1840, he founded the three-story Allegheny Institute and Mission Church, the nucleus of Avery College, an academy for black students at Dutchtown in Pittsburgh. When Avery established the chapel, he equipped the pulpit with a staircase leading to a slave-hiding niche in the cellar. With his help, refugees passed north along the Pennsylvania–Canada route. He spent the last eight years of his service protesting the onerous Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

See also: Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Source

Sajna, Mike. "Underground Railroad Leaves Tracks in Southwestern Pa," *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review,* February 25, 1990.

Avery, Egbert (1829–1907)
Avery, Harriet King (1832–?)

A blacksmith at Tabor, Iowa, Egbert Avery aided passengers traveling via the Underground Railroad. Born in Brownhelm, Lorain County, Ohio, a prominent crossing point of slaves fleeing bondage in Kentucky, Avery studied at Oberlin College and settled at Civil Bend in Fremont County, Iowa. After he married a New Yorker, Harriet King of Dutchess County, in 1856, the couple operated a depot relaying fugitives north to Canada.

See also: Oberlin College.

Source

Gue, Benjamin F. *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.* New York: Century History, 1903.

Avery, Frances Mehitable Stanton (1807–1870)
Avery, George A. (1803–1856)

A successful wholesale grocer and philanthropist, George A. Avery joined his wife, Frances Mehitable Stanton Avery, in rescuing fugitive slaves. In company with a surgeon, George Avery spent four years in Virginia and observed firsthand the hunger and sufferings of slave children, whom he saw naked or clad in tow-cloth shirts in dirt-floored cabins. After Frances and George married in the early 1830s, they profited from an import-export business centered in the West Indies. At their home at Rochester in Monroe County, New York, they practiced Presbyterian beliefs by receiving runaways for transfer over the international border to freedom in Ontario. George also operated a waystation at his shop at 12 Buffalo Street. Frances extended her outreach through participation in the Female Charitable Society, chaired by her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. In *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), Harriet Beecher Stowe quoted George Avery's anti-slavery testimony.

See also: Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, A (1853).

Source

Czerkas, Jean. "The Averys and the Stantons, Family Ties That Bind." *Friends of Mount Hope Newsletter* 22:2 (Spring 2002): 1.

B

Babbitt, William D. (1823–?) Babbitt, Elizabeth H. (1826–?)

Judge William D. "Bill" Babbitt, an agent of the Underground Railroad, defended one of the most famous runaways to pass through Minneapolis, Minnesota. Babbitt was born in New York; his wife, Elizabeth H. Babbitt, was from Maine. According to Babbitt's colleague and journalist Jane Grey Cannon Swisshelm's memoir, *Half a Century* (1880), on August 21, 1860, Judge Babbitt helped to save Eliza Winston from recapture. Eliza traveled from Memphis, Tennessee, with her owners, Colonel Richard Christmas and his wife, to Winslow House in St. Anthony in Hennepin County. Aided by an abolitionist, Emily Goodridge Grey of Pennsylvania, Winston petitioned Judge Babbitt for her freedom. He passed the case to Charles E. Vanderburgh, an unbiased judge, who declared her free since her crossing into free territory.

Threatened by mob violence from pro-slavery elements, Babbitt barricaded himself, his pregnant wife, and Eliza Winston in the family waystation at Tenth and Russell streets, which the Babbitts defended with gunfire. Supporters of the secret network arrived to aid him against showers of stones, cudgelings, and threats of arson. One neighbor ran through a cornfield to shield Elizabeth Babbitt, who was only weeks away from childbirth. Within days, secret network agents conveyed Eliza Winston to Windsor, Ontario. Attacks against the Babbitts receded to public ridicule and name-calling.

Sources

Green, William D. "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota, 1854–1860." *Minnesota History* 57:3 (Fall 2000): 107–22.

Swisshelm, Jane Grey. *Half a Century.* Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, 1880.

Baer, William (fl. 1850s)

A bounty hunter at the time of the Christiana Riot, William Baer (or Bear) came to the conflict with a reputation already sullied from 1845 onward by raids on Underground Railroad safehouses, horse and slave stealing, and petty larceny. In September 1850, he and four others—Jack Townsend, Henderson Jouston, Perry Marsh, and Joseph White—seized Henry Williams and abducted him, bound and gagged, by wagon to parts unknown. Historians surmise that the kidnappers sold Williams to a slave dealer.

On September 11, 1851, the first significant clash over the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 occurred at the home of Underground Railroad agents Eliza Ann Elizabeth Howard Parker and William Parker, farmers at Christiana in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, just over the Maryland border. Long-running enmity existed between William Parker and Baer's thugs, whom black citizens combated with vigilantism. Leading the pro-slavery faction was Edward Gorsuch, a Maryland slaveholder; his son, Dickerson Gorsuch; and Federal Marshal Henry H. Kline. William Padgett, a spy for Baer's Gap Gang (also called the Gap Hill Gang or the Clemson Gang) informed the posse that Parker was sheltering runaways.

Baer's confederates intended to aid in the recovery of Noah Baley, Nelson Ford, George Hammond, and Joshua Hammond, who escaped bondage at Retreat Farm in Baltimore County, Maryland, in 1849. After Eliza Parker sounded a horn to summon help, Baer and 20 vigilantes traveled a mile and a half and assembled around Kline to serve as backup deputies. The gang came bearing a grudge against William Parker, who previously had interceded in their kidnap of a slave girl. When the Christiana shooting started, Baer and his followers fled to the woods. At the trial charging the abolitionists with treason, the defense accused Baer and his associate Perry Marsh

with ransacking the home of Marsh Chamberlain at Sudsbury and assaulting John Williams, a black laborer, to obtain the whereabouts of runaways, but the allegations came to nothing.

See also: bounty hunters; Christiana Riot; kidnap; spies.

Sources

Forbes, Ella. *But We Have No Country: The 1851 Christiana, Pennsylvania Resistance.* Cherry Hill, NJ: Africana Homestead Legacy, 1998.

Hensel, W.U. *The Christiana Riot and the Treason Trials of 1851.* Lancaster, PA: New Era, 1911.

Bailey, Gamaliel (1807–1859)

Physician and journalist Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, Jr., was an active supporter of slave rescue. A native of Mount Holly, New Jersey, he studied in Philadelphia at the Jefferson Medical College. After editing the *Methodist Protestant* in Baltimore, Maryland, at age 24, he settled in Cincinnati, Ohio. From 1836 to 1847, he encouraged the activities of Underground Railroad conductors in southern Ohio by joining James Gillespie Birney in issuing the *Cincinnati Weekly Herald and Philanthropist,* a journal of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society. Both men and their printer, agent Achilles Pugh, faced down repeated mob violence by pro-slavery factions, who wrecked their office and dumped the press and trays of type into the Ohio River.

Aided by Washington, D.C., attorney David A. Hall, Bailey covered the trial of conductors Joseph Pettijohn and John Bennington Mahan in November 1838 for the abduction of two slaves belonging to William Greathouse of Kentucky. Abolitionists circulated excerpts of Bailey's articles, which denounced the unjust seizure of an innocent man. In the late 1840s, while publishing the influential abolitionist weekly *National Era* in Washington, D.C., Bailey encouraged Harriet Beecher Stowe to publish *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), which he serialized from 1851 to 1852. His writings and those of Stowe influenced the Underground Railroad activities of Martin Conwell, Miranda Conwell, and their son, Russell Herman Conwell, in South Worthington, Massachusetts.

See also: abolitionist newspapers; *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852).

Sources

History of Brown County, Ohio. Chicago: W.H. Beers, 1883.

Hume, John F. *The Abolitionists: Together with Personal Memories of the Struggle for Human Rights, 1830–1864.* New York: Putnam, 1905. Reprint New York: AMS, 1973.

Bailey, Josiah (1828–?)
Bailey, William (fl. 1850s)

A valuable fugitive rescued by Harriet Tubman, 28-year-old Josiah "Joe" Bailey sought freedom from a Maryland slave owner. In November 1856, Bailey slipped away from farmer and timberman William R. Hughland of Dorchester County, whom Bailey served as manager. Rowing from Jamaica Point by night, he asked Benjamin Ross to tell his daughter, Harriet Tubman, that she could count on another passenger.

When Tubman gathered her party in Dorchester County on November 15, Josiah and his brother William "Bill" Bailey joined Eliza Noxley (also Nokey) of Talbot County and Peter Pennington on Tubman's seventh or eighth passage north. As a posse searched for the runaways, the group headed north and separated. Acting on a vision, Tubman declared a river shallow enough to ford. Assisted by the Reverend Samuel Green, Jr., a secret operative and minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the passengers made their way to the Christiana River in Wilmington, Delaware, and hid in safehouses until danger of recapture passed. Concealed in a wagon of bricklayers, the runaways made their way to the depot of Thomas Garrett in Wilmington, Delaware. In New York City, Tubman's party met with Oliver Johnson at the anti-slavery office before boarding a train for Canada.

Source

Bradford, Sarah H. *Harriet—The Moses of Her People.* New York: George R. Lockwood, 1886.

Baker, Thomas (1809–1863)
Baker, Eunice Harris (1814–1891)

A native of Minerva in Essex County, New York, the Reverend Thomas Baker operated a station of the Underground Railroad. While pastoring the Darrowsville Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Chestertown, in Warren County, New York, he and his wife, Eunice Harris Baker, logged for August Sherman. In collaboration with church member Myron Tripp, the Bakers used their parsonage as a safehouse until passengers could travel over Schroon Lake to the MacDougall waystation at Elizabethtown. The route continued to stations at Keene, Wilmington, or North Elba, the depot operated by insurrectionist John Brown.

Source

Calarco, Tom. *The Underground Railroad in the Adirondack Region.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004.

Baldridge, Andrew (1837–?)

A teenage slave rescuer, Andrew Baldridge was the youngest person in Missouri to serve a prison sentence. In 1855, at age 18, he entered the Missouri penitentiary in Jefferson City. Three years later, in 1858, he completed his sentence.

Source

Frazier, Harriet C. *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763–1865.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004.

Baldwin, John, Sr. (1799–1884)
Baldwin, Mary (fl. 1820s–1870s)

A pioneer of Middleburg, Ohio, and founder of Baldwin Institute, John Baldwin, Sr., operated the town's first waystation for runaways. He and his wife, Mary Baldwin, settled in the area at age 29 and founded Lyceum Village, a utopian Methodist Episcopal enclave. In 1842, John began a quarrying operation that turned native red sandstone into grinding wheels and building material. The Baldwins' two-story red house, which replaced the family's log cabin, became a familiar stop in Cuyahoga County on the Ohio–Canada route.

Source

Holzworth, W.F. *Men of Grit and Greatness: A Historical Account of Middleburg Township, Berea, Brook Park, and Middleburg Heights.* Cuyahoga, OH: self-published, 1970.

Baldwin, Roger Sherman (1793–1863)

The grandson of Connecticut patriot Roger Baldwin, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Judge Roger Sherman Baldwin crusaded against a federal law forbidding the rescue of fugitive slaves. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and studied at Yale. He collaborated with the Reverend Samuel William Southmayd Dutton, Nathaniel Jocelyn, and the Reverend Simeon Smith Jocelyn, Underground Railroad agents in New Haven. After dedicating himself to the defense of fugitive slaves, in January 1840, Baldwin represented Joseph Cinqué and 34 of the other mutineers from the *Amistad,* whom slavers had abducted from the Mende nation in Sierra Leone. Underground Railroad agents Lewis Tappan and Austin Franklin Williams were responsible for hiring Baldwin and John Quincy Adams for the defense team.

The defendants faced charges of piracy and murder for seizing the ship and killing most of the crew. In state district and circuit courts and before the U.S. Supreme Court, Baldwin argued that the Africans were free at the time of their arrest and could not be treated as chattel. Contributing to his success was his location of a translator who spoke the Mende language. After the freeing of the mutineers, on November 25, 1841, donors funded the return of 32 of the survivors aboard the *Gentleman* to Freetown, Sierra Leone.

See also: Amistad; Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Source

Jones, Howard. *Mutiny on the* Amistad. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Baldwin, William (1825–1888)
Baldwin, Harriett Ann Hughson (1833–?)

An Underground Railroad conductor at Volney, in Oswego County, New York, tanner William Baldwin of Sandy Creek and his wife, Harriett Ann Hughson Baldwin, rescued desperate fugitives. They were members of a cohesive abolitionist neighborhood that coordinated the work of white and black agents, some of whom were members of Bristol Hill Congregational Church, a biracial congregation east of Fulton. At their residence at 323 Baldwin Road, the Baldwins sheltered and fed runaways. Their grandchildren preserved their benevolence in oral stories.

Source

History of Oswego County, New York. Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1877.

Baltimore, Priscilla (1801–1882)
Baltimore, John (fl. 1820–1840s)

A freedwoman, nurse, and transporter for the Underground Railroad, "Mother" Priscilla Baltimore operated a rescue service in heavy river trade along the Missouri River. She was born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, to a slave woman and her white owner, who sold Priscilla farther west in 1811. After a third master, a missionary, paid $1,100 for Priscilla, she saved for seven years and purchased her freedom papers and those of her husband, John Baltimore. The couple began aiding others in flight from slavery in

Kentucky and Missouri. In May 1841 in a log cabin on Main Street, Priscilla founded an abolitionist church, St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Louis, Missouri, the first American Methodist Episcopal church west of the Mississippi River. In 1857, she deeded two lots to the church campus.

Priscilla Baltimore combined religion with courageous rescues. She collaborated with the Reverend Jordan Winston Early on retrieving slaves crossing the Missouri River north of St. Louis at Alton, Illinois. She and Bishop William Paul Quinn co-founded the Campbell Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Alton and directed its outreach to fugitives. Among their rescues was Daniel Alexander Payne, whom Quinn transported by buggy to the Baltimore residence in East St. Louis, Missouri. Citizens revered Baltimore as the St. Louis Harriet Tubman for rowing and rafting runaways to free territory in St. Clair County, Illinois.

Sources

Early, Sarah J.W. *Life and Labors of Rev. Jordan W. Early.* Nashville, TN: American Methodist Episcopal Church Sunday School Union, 1894.

Richardson, Marilyn. *Black Women and Religion.* Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980.

Banks, Elizabeth (1830–?)

A runaway from bondage in Easton, Maryland, 25-year-old Elizabeth Banks requested help from the Underground Railroad. In 1855, she fled Talbot County and arrived at William Still's office of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee in Philadelphia. In 1857, slave hunters came so near that she continued to Canada.

Source

Still, William. *The Underground Railroad.* Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871.

Banks, George (1835–?)

George Banks served prison time for aiding in a slave rescue. An ostler in Baltimore, Maryland, he was 19 years old when he was arrested. He entered the Maryland state penitentiary at Baltimore on May 9, 1854, to begin a seven-year sentence. After he and other inmates were involved in a suspicious prison fire, he gained his release on July 24, 1857. He resettled at Baltimore and worked as a day laborer and oyster shucker.

Source

Prison records, Maryland State Archives.

Baquaqua, Mahommah Gardo (ca. early 1820s–after 1857)

Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua was the rare South American slave transported via the Underground Railroad. He was born to Hausa Muslims in Djougou, Benin. In his youth, he was a prisoner of war until his brother paid his ransom. Captured by slavers at age 20 in north Benin in the early 1840s, Baquaqua was transported through Togo to Ouida, Dahomey, and by ship to Pernambuco, Brazil. In New York City, where David Ruggles superintended rescues for the vigilance committee, agents searched a ship from Brazil for runaway slaves from South America. At their urging, in June 1847, Baquaqua jumped ship.

Baquaqua traveled over much of the secret network before he disappeared from history in England. Conductors passed him to Boston and by sea to the free black state of Haiti. While studying at Central College in McGrawville, New York, Baquaqua feared recapture under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and migrated to Chatham, Ontario. He sought the aid of Underground Railroad agent Gerrit Smith to return to Africa but never reunited with his mother's family in Katsina. Baquaqua produced the only narrative written by an American slave born in Africa.

See also: Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; vigilance committees.

Source

Farrow, Don C. *The Historical Practice in Diversity.* New York: Berghahn, 2003.

Barber, Amy Clark (fl. 1830s)
Barber, Joseph (fl. 1830s)

Amy Clark fled slavery in 1832 and reached Cincinnati, Ohio, by steamer. She found work on College Hill, an abolitionist enclave, and married Joseph Barber. The couple transported slaves by wagon to Lebanon for five years. In 1837, they relocated in Windsor, Ontario.

Source

Smiddy, Betty Ann. *A Little Piece of Paradise . . . College Hill, Ohio.* Cincinnati, OH: College Hill Historical Society, 1999.

Bardwell, John Payne (1803–1871)
Bardwell, Cornelia C. Bishop (1815–1894)

The Reverend John Bardwell, a Congregationalist minister, put his abolitionist beliefs into action by rescuing runaways. A native of Edmiston, New York, in 1834, he married Cornelia C. Bishop, another New York–born abolitionist, from Gilbertville. From 1838, while the couple studied at Oberlin College, they maintained a one-story wood-frame boardinghouse and safehouse at 181 East Lorain Street in Oberlin, Ohio, a fervidly anti-slavery community. Under the eaves of the one-story dwelling, the Bardwells concealed slaves in secret niches, which fugitives accessed through sliding panels in closets. John's altruism took a new turn with his ordination at age 40, when he ministered to the Chippewa at Leech Lake, Minnesota. While traveling through Grenada, Mississippi, on behalf of the American Missionary Association, he was assaulted by a mob for organizing freedmen's schools. In September 1975, the city of Oberlin named the Bardwell house an Oberlin Historic Landmark.

See also: Oberlin College.

Source

Blodgett, David. *Oberlin Architecture, College and Town: A Guide to Its Social History.* Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985.

Barker, David (1794–1886)
Barker, Pennsylvania Herendeen (1796–1877)

A pair of Quaker agents for the Underground Railroad, David Barker and Pennsylvania Herendeen "Aunt Vania" Barker aided desperate refugees. Born in Charlotte, Chittenden County, Vermont, David bore the surname of the barker, the woodworker who stripped bark from beech, hemlock, and oak trees for use in tanning leather. In Barker, a village that he established in Niagara County, in northwestern New York, he homesteaded a 100-acre parcel near the shore of Lake Ontario. At age 40, he married Vania Herendeen of Massachusetts. The couple operated a safehouse south of Somerset Village on Nye and Quaker roads, a last stop along the Niagara River corridor before passengers crossed into Ontario. The Barker residence is currently a part of the New York State Freedom Trail.

Source

Porter, Ruth B. *The Story of Somerset.* Lockport, NY: Niagara County Historical Society, 1972.

Barker, Jacob (1779–1871)
Barker, Elizabeth Hazard (1783–1861)

Quaker shipping magnate and financier Jacob Barker opened a waystation in the Deep South. A native of Swans Island, Maine, in 1801, he married Elizabeth Hazard of New Bedford, Massachusetts. After promoting the building of the Erie Canal and the establishment of the *New York Times,* in 1834, he invested in cotton and sugar in New Orleans, Louisiana. He gained a reputation for protecting blacks from police harassment. From their home, the Barkers supervised the New Orleans nexus of the Underground Railroad, a large territory that involved water and land relays from the Mississippi River Delta west to Texas or south to Mexico. After his wife died, shortly after the onset of the Civil War, Jacob Barker continued the rescue operation.

Source

Barker, Jacob. *Incidents in the Life of Jacob Barker of New Orleans, Louisiana.* Washington, DC: self-published, 1855.

Barnard, Alonzo (1817–1905)
Barnard, Sarah Philena Babcock (1819–1853)

A Presbyterian clergyman known as Father Barnard, the Reverend Alonzo Barnard was a missionary to American Indians and a rescuer of fugitive slaves. A native of Peru, in Bennington County, Vermont, he grew up in Elyria, Ohio, and studied at Oberlin College, where he began aiding the Underground Railroad. After a period of mission work in Louisiana and Mississippi from 1837 to 1838, he dedicated himself to the welfare of slaves by teaching members of a black settlement in Chatham, Ontario. With the assistance of his wife, Sarah Philena Babcock Barnard, a fellow abolitionist at Oberlin, he also worked among the Chippewa and Sioux. The Barnards spent their most altruistic years in Pomona, Michigan.

See also: Oberlin College.

Source

Powers, Perry Francis. *A History of Northern Michigan and Its People.* Chicago: Lewis, 1912.

Barnard (Eusebius, Sarah Painter, and Sarah Marsh) Family

Among the most devoted Quaker stationmasters at Pocopsin, Pennsylvania, were the Reverend Eusebius Barnard (1802–1865), his first wife, Sarah Painter Barnard (1804–1849), and his second wife, Sarah Marsh Barnard (1819–1887), daughter of Underground Railroad agent Gravner Marsh and Hannah Marsh of Caln, Pennsylvania. The Barnards involved their sons in the transfer of slaves to safety. The family received passengers fleeing Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, and Virginia from Dr. Bartholomew Fussell at Kennett Square; Rachel Mendenhall Garrett and Thomas Garrett at Wilmington, Delaware; Daniel Gibbons and Hannah Wierman Gibbons at Bird-in-Hand; and Dinah Hannum Mendenhall and Isaac Mendenhall at Kennett Square. After a meal and rest on beds on the kitchen floor, the runaways left around 2 A.M. in the custody of Eusebius Barnard or one of his sons, Enos Barnard (1836–?) or Eusebius R. Barnard (1840–1915), or with his oldest child, Elizabeth Barnard (1830–1856). Those fugitives who stayed on the Barnard farm received wages for their service to the family.

The Barnard family worked as a team. On one occasion, Enos led a party of 17 males to the home of his uncle, William Barnard (1803–1864), who lived nearby. Another time, Eusebius drove eight refugees by curtained buggy to Dr. Jacob K. Eshleman in Strasburg. On October 27, 1855, 11 escapees from a Maryland plantation sought shelter. After rest and a meal, the runaways followed Eusebius to Downingtown to lodge with Dr. Jacob K. Eshleman, Esther Logue Hayes and Mordecai Hayes in Newlin, Benjamin Price and Jane Paxson Price in East Bradford, or Zebulon Thomas. From there the fugitives traveled by way of Abigail Paxson Vickers and John Vickers's waystation at Uwchlan to Graceanna Lewis's safehouse, Sunnyside Home, outside of Kimberton, Pennsylvania.

In mid-March 1861, six runaways—two handicapped females and four children—traveled muddy roads to the Barnard station. Eusebius undertook the journey, which resulted in a string of false starts before concluding at Dr. Eshleman's safehouse by dusk. William Barnard continued the family's work by receiving slaves in flight during the uproar following the Christiana Riot of September 11, 1851. He concealed the escapees in corn fodder for a day before directing them to safety.

See also: Christiana Riot.

Source

Cope, Gilbert. *Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania.* New York: Lewis, 1904.

Barnard, Joanna Pennock (1828–1866) Barnard, Vincent S. (1825–1871)

Quaker stationmasters at Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, Joanna Pennock Barnard and her husband, Vincent S. Barnard, aided runaways on the Pennsylvania-Canada route. A native of East Marlborough, Pennsylvania, Vincent Barnard moved to 315 East Linden Street in Kennett Square to work as a botanist for his father-in-law, Samuel Pennock, and to aid desperate runaways. In addition to receiving fugitives, the Barnards established a two-acre test field of indigenous and rare flowers, shrubs, and trees. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Vincent Barnard registered as a conscientious objector.

Source

Kashatus, William C. *Just Over the Line.* West Chester, PA: Chester County Historical Society, 2002.

Barnard, Sarah Darlington (1807–1881) Barnard, Simon (1802–1886)

Quaker conductors Simon Barnard and his wife, Sarah Darlington Barnard, operated an Underground Railroad waystation in Newlin, in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The couple received hundreds of passengers from Hannah Peirce Cox and John Cox at their farm in Longwood, from Dinah Hannum Mendenhall and Isaac Mendenhall in Kennett Square, and from Chandler Darlington and Hannah M. Darlington in Kennett Square. The Barnards moved the runaways swiftly along in a covered wagon dubbed the Black Maria. By suspending a quilt over the front, they could cloak up to a dozen passengers for conveyance to the stations of Nathan Evans and Zillah Maule Evans in Williston, to Isaac Meredith and Thamosin Pennock Meredith in Newlin, to Benjamin Price and Jane Paxson Price's safehouse in East Bradford, or to John Vickers in Uwchlan. Aiding the Barnards was a neighbor, Simon's brother, Richard Barnard, a state legislator.

In addition to assisting the nameless slave, the Barnards befriended the abolitionists of their day—Cyrus M. Burleigh, William Lloyd Garrison, Isaac Tatem Hopper and Sarah Tatum Hopper, James Russell Lowell, Lucretia Coffin Mott, and Thomas Parker. Simon Barnard traveled widely to anti-slavery meetings and escorted orators to the podium. When speaker and tractarian Charles Callistus Burleigh was arrested in Oxford, Pennsylvania, Barnard bailed him out of the West Chester County jail. During the Civil War, Sarah and Simon retired to Philadelphia.

Source

Futhey, J. Smith, and Gilbert Cope. *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881.

Barnes, Isaac O. (1798–?)

An abolitionist law officer and orator, Isaac O. Barnes possessed inside information about the flight of desperate slaves. The Bedford, New Hampshire, native studied law at Middlebury College, in Vermont, and practiced at Barnstead, New Hampshire. After he married Hannah Trask Woodbury in 1825, he monitored customs for Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts. While living in Boston and serving the state of Massachusetts as a federal marshal and clerk of civil court, he fought against the cruel dictates of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. He was lax in looking for runaways. When he learned that passengers were moving through the state, he spread a warning over the Underground Railroad network and distributed to agents physical descriptions and particulars of mode of travel.

See also: Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Source

"The Underground Railroad and Those Who Operated It," *Springfield (OH) Republican,* March 11, 1900.

Barnes, John B. (1807–1893)
Barnes, Sophronia King (1805–ca. 1880s)

An abolitionist physician and probate judge, Dr. John B. Barnes supported the Underground Railroad route through Shiawassee County, Michigan. A native of Marlborough, Massachusetts, he trained at Williams College and opened a practice in Lockport, New York. In 1842, he moved to Owosso, Michigan, where he was elected mayor and served as deacon of the Congregational church. The family established a waystation at Oliver and Water streets. Influenced by Wendell Addison Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, Barnes directed the secret network in his area. He and his wife, Sophronia K. Barnes, aided desperate escapees at their home at Oliver and Water streets. Slaves frequently zigzagged from Owosso to Detroit to escape detection by bounty hunters and posses. In July 1853, the Boston Vigilance Committee paid Barnes $10 for treating fugitive slaves. During the Civil War, the Barneses' son, John H. Barnes, was an infantryman in the Union army.

See also: bounty hunters; vigilance committees.

Source

History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, Michigan. Philadelphia: D.W. Ensign, 1880.

Barrows, Justin Spaulding (1829–1905)
Barrows, Adeline E. Newell (1831–ca. 1910)

A preacher at the Pynchon Street Church (later Trinity Methodist Church) in Springfield, Massachusetts, the Reverend Justin Spaulding Barrows and his wife, Adeline E. Newell Barrows of Vermont, agitated for an end to human bondage. During the family's service to the Underground Railroad safehouse on Pynchon Street in the early months of the Civil War, from 1861 to 1862, Justin Barrows hired security guards to ward off pro-slavery assassins. One of the passengers requiring shelter came from William Lloyd Garrison, publisher of *The Liberator.* The Barrows welcomed the man, and Adeline provided him dinner. Justin collared two parishioners to donate cash for the rest of the passage. One of the Barrows' rescues was a black orator who addressed the congregation on the miseries of enslavement.

See also: Liberator, The.

Sources

De Caro, Louis A. *"Fire from the Midst of You": A Religious Life of John Brown.* Albany: New York University Press, 2002.
"The Underground Railroad and Those Who Operated It," *Springfield (OH) Republican,* March 11, 1900.

Bartlett, George (1798–1887)
Bartlett, Ruth Bartlett (1802–?)

A native of Guilford, outside New Haven, Connecticut, George Bartlett and his wife operated a stop of the Underground Railroad. At age 23, George

Bartlett married his second cousin, Ruth Bartlett. To accommodate their nine children, in 1840, they completed the upper floor of their one-and-a-half story frame home at 111 Goose Lane. During relays, they conspired with the Reverend Zolva Whitmore, pastor of the Congregational church at North Guilford. On busy nights, the Bartletts retrieved loads of six to eight fugitives from Branford, Connecticut. Slaves passed through a trapdoor in the Bartletts' living room to the basement to rest until transporters from Old Saybrook relayed them to the next depot. The Bartlett residence survived until 2003 as the Sachem House Restaurant.

Sources

Helander, Joel E. *Guilford Long Ago.* Guilford, CT: privately published, 1970.

Talcott, Alvan. *Families of Early Guilford, Connecticut.* Baltimore: Genealogical, 1984.

Bartley, Mordecai (1783–1870)

During his service as a state legislator and governor of Ohio, Mordecai Bartley challenged prevailing notions of fair treatment for fugitive slaves. A native of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and a scion of Virginians from Loudoun County, he married Elizabeth Welles and established a home, general mercantile, and farm in Jefferson County, in eastern Ohio. After his military duties in the War of 1812 came to an end, in 1814, he moved his family to the Ohio frontier in Richland County. Elected governor in 1844, he promoted repeal of Ohio's Black Laws, which required free blacks to post bond and excluded their testimony in court against whites.

In 1844, Governor Bartley and Governor James McDowell of Virginia clashed over the fugitive slave issue. The discord began when an armed posse of 16 Virginians seized three white members of Ohio's Underground Railroad—Daniel (or Peter) Garner, Creighton Loraine, and Mordecai Thomas—for harboring Daniel Partridge and Frederic and Hannah Gay and their three children, Burnet, Harriet, and Mary. The six runaway slaves belonged to George Harwood, who pursued them from Washington Bottom, in Wood County, Virginia (now West Virginia), across the Ohio River to Belpre, Ohio, at the confluence of the Little Kanawha River. Harwood's confederates seized all but Daniel Partridge, who escaped to the north.

The Virginia authorities lodged suspects Garner, Loraine, and Thomas in the Parkersburg jail until their trial. In response to interstate trafficking in kidnap victims, Governor Bartley, until cooler heads dissuaded him from the plan, plotted a jailbreak to be executed by 100 Ohio militiamen. Instead of taking a violent course of action, on November 3, 1844, Bartley demanded that Governor McDowell extradite the 16 Virginians for trial in Ohio. Governor McDowell allowed the prisoners' wives to visit the jail but kept the secret network agents under heavy guard. Following guilty verdicts, on January 10, 1845, the Ohioans paid $100 bail each, left on their own recognizance, and never returned to Virginia for trial. McDowell exonerated the kidnappers. The incident heightened pre–Civil War mistrust between abolitionist and proslavery factions.

See also: kidnap.

Source

Dickinson, C.E. *History of Belpre, Washington County, Ohio.* Marietta, OH: self-published, 1920.

Bassett, Bayless S. (1821–1902)
Bassett, Esther Eliza Crandall (1831–1891)

Bayless S. Bassett and a fellow agent, the Reverend Darwin Eldridge Maxson, a Baptist minister from Alfred, New York, provided refuge for runaway slaves journeying to Canada. A native of Watson in Lewis County, New York, Bayless Bassett settled in Allegany County in 1826 and married Esther Eliza Crandall in 1849. At the Bassett residence at 29 North Main Street, a garret niche under the eaves was converted into a shelter. Blacks felt secure in the Bassett home until they could continue north on the route to Canada. The Bassetts' waystation is now the property of the Union University Church.

Source

Minard, John S. *Allegany County and Its People: A Centennial Memorial History of Allegany County, New York.* Alfred, NY: W.A. Fergusson, 1896.

Batcheldor, Joseph B. (1818–1845)
Batcheldor, Louisa Ann (1818–1845)

Methodist members of an Underground Railroad team on the Illinois frontier, Joseph B. Batcheldor (or Batchelor) and his wife, Louisa Ann Batcheldor, aided their neighbors in conveying desperate slaves. Until their untimely deaths at age 27, the Batcheldors

operated a safehouse at their farm in Rich Township near Western Avenue and Sauk Trail in Chicago. They collaborated with John McCoy and Sabra Clark McCoy, agents of the secret network at Thornton, west of Chicago. The Batcheldor farm is part of Park Forest, Illinois.

Source

Candeloro, Dominic, and Barbara Paul. *Chicago Heights at the Crossroads of the Nation.* Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2005.

Bateman, Warner Mifflin (1827–1897)
Bateman, Ella Louise Snowbridge (1831–?)

U.S. District Attorney Warner Mifflin Bateman operated one of the 27 secret network depots in Springboro, Ohio. He was the nephew of Underground Railroad agents Jonathan Wright and Mary Bateman Wright, Quaker founders of Springboro in Warren County, Ohio; a cousin of operative Mahlon Wright; and a colleague of Salmon Portland Chase, an attorney for the secret network. As a lawyer, Bateman had vowed to uphold the law, but he had to violate federal statutes regarding the harboring of fugitive slaves in order to maintain his allegiance to Christian principle. He constructed a two-story home at 400 South Main Street. After marriage in 1852, he and his wife, Ella Louise Snowbridge Bateman, sheltered runaway slaves arriving from Cincinnati, Ohio, until national emancipation on January 1, 1863. In 2000, the waystation was listed on the National Register of Historic Buildings.

Source

Lovelace, Janice. "Railroad Ties." *Cincinnati Magazine* 37:8 (May 2004): 38–40.

Baylis, William (ca. 1813–1881)

William "Captain B" Baylis of Wilmington, Delaware, suffered arrest and jailing for his involvement with the Underground Railroad. It was no secret that he had a covert compartment in his ship's quarters and that he spread straw over underdeck chambers to muffle the sounds of refugees. He aided a slave working in an oyster house in Richmond, Virginia, in April 1856. The rescue triggered demands by editors of the *Richmond Dispatch* for the launching of water police along the James River. The following year, Baylis's seagoing brothers, John Baylis, Jr., at Indian River Hundred, and Samuel Baylis in Wilmington, retired after successful careers as slave transporters.

On May 31, 1858, seizure of the two-masted schooner *Keziah* resulted in the arrest of Captain Baylis and his first mate, Joseph J. Simpkins, for theft of five slaves—John Bull, a valet of businessman Andrew Kevan; Gilbert and Sarah, employees of Powell's Hotel; Joe Mayo, the chattel of Laura Hare; and William, a tobacco worker owned by Oliver Hamilton. The passengers boarded at the James River on May 29 and paid $50 each for conveyance along with barrels containing 1,200 bushels of wheat. When Baylis's ship grounded below City Point, Virginia, on May 30, it held the five runaways. Authorities connected Baylis with an Underground Railroad cell at 213 Witton Street in Petersburg, Virginia, that had operated for several years. A mob of 2,000 collected at the Appomattox River to protest slave rescues. News of the event alerted Virginians to anti-slavery activism in the state and spread across the secret network to Baltimore; New York; Providence, Rhode Island; and Canada.

At the hearing on June 1 in Petersburg, so many onlookers collected that the mayor postponed the session for the next two days. Pro-slavery factions rejoiced in Baylis's 40-year sentence in the Virginia state penitentiary and at the seizure of his schooner, valued at $800; abolitionists disapproved of the captain's demand for a $50 fare from each runaway. Simpkins was acquitted. John Bull's owner sold him for $1,150; Gilbert and Sarah's owner was bankrupt. After serving six years of his sentence, Baylis gained his freedom through the efforts of his wife, Martha Baylis.

Source

Kneebone, John T. "A Break Down on the Underground Railroad: Captain B. and the Capture of the *Keziah,* 1858." *Virginia Cavalcade* 48:2 (1999): 74–83.

Bayne, Thomas (ca. 1821–1888)

A successful escapee from bondage, Dr. Thomas Bayne found welcome in the black port city of New Bedford, Massachusetts. He was born Samuel Nixon in Norfolk, Virginia, where he worked as assistant and accountant for the dentist who owned him. His professional work enabled him to aid slaves in fleeing capture in the tidewater area by placing them aboard

Atlantic steamers bound for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In summer 1855, at age 34, Samuel Nixon escaped and renamed himself Thomas Bayne. He arrived in free territory on the New Jersey shore and hid at the home of Abigail Goodwin and Elizabeth Goodwin in Salem. Because of the danger to runaways from the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, William Still, an Underground Railroad agent and officer of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, urged Bayne to move farther north to Canada.

Bayne refused the advice and settled in New Bedford, where he opened a dental practice. He joined attorney William Henry Johnson in forming a local vigilance committee to receive runaway slaves and protect them from slave hunters. In 1860, residents elected Bayne to the town council. After serving as a quartermaster for the Union army during the Civil War, he returned to his hometown, Norfolk, and, on December 4, 1867, took part in the Virginia Constitutional Convention.

Source

Parramore, Thomas C. *Norfolk: The First Four Centuries.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994.

Beale, Charlotte Hoopes (1813–?)
Beale, Joseph H. (1812–1883)

Two Quakers from Chester County, Pennsylvania, Charlotte Hoopes Beale of West Bradford and her husband, Joseph H. Beale, aided slaves in flight via the secret network. After their marriage in 1832, the Beales settled in White Plains, New York, operated a free labor store at 376 Pearl Street, and supported the New York–New England route of the Underground Railroad. For relays, they allied with Vermont conductor Oliver Johnson in Peacham, Charles Marriott and Sarah White Marriott on the Hudson River in New York, and Rachel Gilpin Robinson and Rowland Thomas Robinson at Rokeby Farm in Ferrisburg, Vermont. Joseph Beale conferred with the Robinsons in 1842 and 1844 concerning the safety of a runaway, Jeremiah Snowden, who was working as a stockman for the Robinsons.

See also: free labor store.

Source

Williams-Myers, A.J. "The Underground Railroad in the Hudson River Valley: A Succinct Historical Composite." *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 27:1 (2003): 55–73.

Beard, David (1774–1849)
Beard, Rebecca Brown (1778–1858)

An early Underground Railroad supervisor, David Beard, and his wife, Rebecca Brown Beard, of Jamestown, North Carolina, rescued destitute slaves. Both joined the Deep River Friends Church. They collaborated with fellow Quaker agents Delphina Mendenhall and George C. Mendenhall and George's brother, Richard Mendenhall, in Guilford County. After inheriting his father's hatter's tools, in 1795, David Beard opened a tannery and a fur and hat shop one mile north of town next to the family's brick home. Beard concealed refugees under heaps of rabbit skins. When authorities arrested him for harboring fugitives, George Mendenhall represented Beard in court. Because of Beard's advanced age, the judge lectured him and let him go.

See also: Quakers.

Source

Beal, Gertrude. "The Underground Railroad in Guilford County." *Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* (Spring 1980): 18–28.

Beard, William (1788–1873)
Beard, Rachel Pierson (1789–1856)

A well-connected Quaker agent, William Beard teamed with midwestern operatives of the Underground Railroad. Born in Guilford County, North Carolina, he married Rachel Pierson in 1808. The couple managed a stop in Salem, in Union County, Indiana. They received passengers from brothers David Morrison Wilson and Joseph Gardner Wilson in Cincinnati, Ohio, and advanced slaves from Lane Seminary to Billingsville, Indiana, and on to the safehouse of Catherine White Coffin and Levi Coffin in Fountain City. The members of the Henry County Female Anti-Slavery Society made a special effort to keep the Beards supplied with blankets and clothing for refugees. To assure safety and prosperity for ex-slaves, in 1844, William Beard surveyed Amherstburg, Ontario, a settlement at the end of the line. Superintendent Levi Coffin lauded Beard's steady labor in defense of the oppressed.

See also: female anti-slavery societies.

Source

Smiddy, Betty Ann. *A Little Piece of Paradise . . . College Hill, Ohio.* Cincinnati, OH: College Hill Historical Society, 1999.

Bearse, Austin (1808–1881)

Captain Austin Bearse, a native of Barnstable, Massachusetts, provided sea passage for runaways from Cape Cod. From boyhood until age 22, he served as mate on slave-trading vessels out of New Orleans and off the South Carolina coast. On southern shores, he observed the cruelties of slave pens and the auction block. He reported to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), that trade in human flesh reflected the economic principles of commerce in farm livestock. He compared American slavery to similar institutions in Algeria, France, Spain, and Turkey and found his native land as barbarous as any other on the globe.

After resettling in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1845, Bearse remained alert to Underground Railroad business by reading William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator.* Bearse boldly searched vessels for slaves being returned south. In July 1847, he helped sisters Abigail Mott and Lydia Mott, Quaker agents in Albany, New York, in transporting runaway George Lewis to Long Island Sound and on to Boston. Bearse aided the Boston Vigilance Committee on May 16, 1851, by paying escapee Sam Ward's passage to Plymouth, Massachusetts; on June 3, he donated $14 to aid fugitive Samuel Jones. On April 16, 1851, he worked as a harbor spy for the committee. Bearse's philanthropy continued on February 1, 1854, with a donation of $21.10 to a fugitive named Mrs. Neille. In July 1854, he gave a cash gift to Julia Smith and her child.

Bearse remained active in rescue work. Members considered enlisting Bearse in the rescue of Thomas M. Sims, whom the U.S. sloop *Acorn* bore south into bondage on August 19, 1851. In *Cheerful Yesterdays* (1899), memoirist Thomas Wentworth Higginson mentions hiring Bearse to sail the *Flirt,* a vessel intended for rescuing slaves from slave ships and for separating them from dry land long enough to stymy slave hunters. Bearse accepted a request from orator Wendell Addison Phillips in 1854 to retrieve a runaway held on the *Sally Ann,* a schooner from Belfast, Maine, that was moored on the Cape Fear River in Wilmington, North Carolina. By tying hats and jackets along the railings of his sloop, Bearse convinced the captain of the *Sally Ann* that he had considerable backup. The captain turned the slave over to Bearse, who sailed to South Boston and lodged the man at his home. The slave continued on the Underground Railroad route to Worcester, Massachusetts, and Canada.

In October 1854, the Boston Vigilance Committee enlisted Bearse to reclaim a man from the *Cameo,* a brig out of Augusta, Maine. Although the captain transferred the runaway to the schooner *William,* Bearse saw through his deception and located the fugitive, whom the captain had threatened to throw overboard. Free at last, the slave passed to agent Lewis Hayden and went by carriage with William Ingersoll Bowditch along the New York–Canada line to freedom. Until 1855, Bearse collected dues from other Boston Vigilance Committee members. Shortly before Bearse's death at age 73, he published his memoirs, *Reminiscences of Fugitive Slave Law Days in Boston* (1880).

See also: Liberator, The; philanthropists; spies; *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852).

Sources

Bearse, Austin. *Reminiscences of Fugitive Slave Law Days in Boston.* Boston: W. Richardson, 1880.
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. *Cheerful Yesterdays.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899.

Beasley, Alfred (1803–1868)

A Kentucky-born confederate of renowned Underground Railroad agents on the Ohio River in Ripley, Ohio, Dr. Alfred Beasley managed a medical office and waystation at 124–128 Front Street. One of his daring interventions required medical treatment of a bounty hunter and the man's quarry, whom Beasley patched up in separate rooms of his two-story home office. The two patients were unaware of each other's presence. Beasley plotted rescue strategy with his neighbors, Dr. Alexander Campbell and Thomas Collins on Front Street, and with Catherine McCague and Thomas McCague at the North Star station, foundryman John P. Parker, and Jean Lowry Rankin and John Rankin of Liberty Hill, one of the busiest safehouses in Underground Railroad history. Beasley passed groups of fugitives to the Reverend James Gilliland at Red Oak Presbyterian Church. In 1912, Dr. Beasley was an honoree listed on Ripley's Liberty Monument on Maine Street.