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Slavery

Attitudes about Slavery

Slavery History

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the

Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

S. Transcript - Oct 17 1859
SLAVE INSURRECTION IN BOSTON. When General Gage was in command of the British troops in Massachusetts before the Revolution, there was an attempt made by one of the English officers to excite the few slaves in Boston against their masters. The offender was Capt. John Willson of the fifty-ninth regiment. He assured the slaves that the foreign troops had come to procure their freedom, and that "with their assistance, they should be able to drive the Liberty Boys to the Devil." In October, 1768, the Selectmen of the town made a complaint against Capt. Willson, and he was arrested. The evidence against him was so strong that he was bound over for trial. By the influence of British officials, however, the indictment was quashed, and Willson fled deeming it unsafe to remain in Boston. At this time there were only about eight hundred colored persons in Boston, of which number three hundred were females. From 1750 to the revolution, the number of slaves decreased quite rapidly. There were nearly two hundred more slaves in 1754, than there were colored persons in Boston ten years later.

THE STORY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.



THE history of the negro in America is, in brief, the record of slavery agitation, political struggle, civil war, emancipation, and gradual growth into citizenship. When, over two hundred and seventy years ago—it is in doubt whether the correct date is 1619 or 1620—a few wretched negroes, some say fourteen some say twenty, were bartered for provisions by the crew of a Dutch man-of-war, then lying off the Virginia coast, it would have seemed incredible that in 1890 the negro population of the Southern States alone should almost reach a total of seven million souls. The peculiarity of the form of slavery, begun almost by chance it seemed, in that act of barter in the feeble little colony of Virginia, was that it was based on the claim of race inferiority. African negroes had, indeed, been sold into slavery among many nations for perhaps three thousand years; but in its earlier periods slavery was rather the outcome of war than the deliberate subject of trade, and white captives no less than black were ruthlessly thrown into servitude. It has been estimated that in historical times some forty million Africans have been enslaved. The discovery and colonization of America gave an immense stimulus to the African slave trade. The Spaniards found the Indian an intractable slave, and for the arduous labors of colonization soon began to make use of negro slaves, importing them in great numbers and declaring that one negro was worth, as a human beast of burden, four Indians. Soon the English adventurers took up the traffic. It is to Sir John Hawkins, the ardent discoverer, that the English-speaking peoples owe their participation in the slave trade. He has put it on record as the result of one of his famous voyages, that he found “that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola and might easily be had on the coast of Guinea.” For his early adventures of this kind he was roundly taken to task by Queen Elizabeth. But tradition says that he boldly faced her with argument, and ended by convincing the Virgin Queen that the slave trade was not merely a lucrative but a philanthropic undertaking.

Certain it is that she acquiesced in future slave trading, while her successors, Charles II and James II, chartered four slave trading companies and received a share in their profits. It is noteworthy that both Great Britain and the United States recognized the horrors of the slave trade as regards the seizing and transportation from Africa of the unhappy negroes, long before they could bring themselves to deal with the problem of slavery as a domestic institution. Of those horrors nothing can be said in exaggeration. They exist to-day in the interior of Africa, in no less terrible form than a hundred years ago ; and the year 1891 has seen the Great Powers combining in the attempt to eradicate an evil of enormous and growing proportions. The peculiar atrocities attending the exportation of slaves from Africa to other countries have, however, happily become a thing of the past. What those atrocities were even in our day may be judged from one of many accounts given by a no means squeamish or over sensitive sailor, Admiral Hobart. He thus describes the appearance of a slaver just captured by a British ship : "There were four hundred and sixty Africans on board, and what a sight it was ! The schooner had been eighty-five days at sea. They were short of water and provisions ; three distinct diseases—namely, small-pox, ophthalmia, and diarrhœa in its worst form—had broken out, while coming across, among the poor, doomed wretches. On opening the hold we saw a mass of arms, legs, and bodies, all crushed together. Many of the bodies to whom these limbs belonged were dead or dying. In fact, when we had made some sort of clearance among them we found in that fearful hold eleven bodies lying among the living freight. Water ! Water ! was the cry. Many of them as soon as free jumped into the sea, partly from the delirious state they were in, partly because they had been told that if taken by the English they would be tortured and eaten."

The institution of slavery, introduced as we have seen into Virginia, grew at first very slowly. Twenty-five years after the first slaves were landed the negro population of the colony was only three hundred. But the conditions of agriculture and of climate were such, that once slavery obtained a fair start, it spread with continually increasing rapidity. We find the Colonial Assembly passing one after another a series of laws defining the condition of the negro slave more and more clearly, and more and more pitilessly. Thus, a distinction was soon made between them and Indians held in servitude. It was enacted, "that all servants not being Christians imported into this colony by shipping, shall be slaves for their lives ; but what shall come by land shall serve, if boyes or girles until thirty years of age, if men or women twelve years and no longer." And before the end of the century a long series of laws so encompassed the negro with limitations and prohibitions, that he almost ceased to have any criminal or civil rights and became a mere personal chattel.

In some of the Northern colonies slavery seemed to take root as readily

and to flourish as rapidly as in the South. It was only after a considerable time that social and commercial conditions arose which led to its gradual abandonment. In New York a mild type of negro slavery was introduced by the Dutch. The relation of master and slave seems in the period of the Dutch rule, to have been free from great severity or cruelty. After the seizure of the government by the English, however, the institution was officially recognized and even encouraged. The slave trade grew in magnitude; and here



INTRODUCTION OF SLAVERY.

again we find a series of oppressive laws forbidding the meeting of negroes together, laying down penalties for concealing slaves, and the like. In the early years of the eighteenth century fears of insurrection became prevalent, and these fears culminated in 1741 in the episode of the so-called Negro Plot. Very briefly stated, this plot grew out of a succession of fires supposed to have been the work of negro incendiaries. The most astonishing contradictions and self-inculpations

are to be found in the involved mass of testimony taken at the different trials. It is certain that the perjury and incoherent accusations of these trials can only be equaled by those of the alleged witches at Salem, or of the famous Popish plot of Titus Oates. The result is summed up in the bare statement that in three months one hundred and fifty negroes were imprisoned, of whom fourteen were burned at the stake, eighteen hanged, and seventy-one were transported. Another result was the passing of even more stringent legislation, curtailing the rights and defining the legal status of the slave. When the Revolution broke out there were not less than fifteen thousand slaves in New York, a number greatly in excess of that held by any other Northern colony.

Massachusetts, the home in later days of so many of the most eloquent abolition agitators, was from the very first, until after the war with Great Britain was well under way, a stronghold of slavery. The records of 1633 tell of the fright of Indians who saw a "Blackamoor" in a tree-top whom they took for the devil in person, but who turned out to be an escaped slave. A few years later the authorities of the colony officially recognized the institution. It is true that in 1645 the general court of Massachusetts ordered certain kidnapped negroes to be returned to their native country, but this was not because they were slaves but because their holders had stolen them away from other masters. Despite specious arguments to the contrary, it is certain that, to quote Chief Justice Parsons, "Slavery was introduced into Massachusetts soon after its first settlement, and was tolerated until the ratification of the present constitution in 1780." The curious may find in ancient Boston newspapers no lack of such advertisements as that, in 1728, of the sale of "two very likely negro girls" and of "A likely negro woman of about nineteen years and a child about seven months of age, to be sold together or apart." A Tory writer before the outbreak of the Revolution, sneers at the Bostonians for their talk about freedom when they possessed two thousand negro slaves. Even Peter Faneuil, who built the famous "Cradle of Liberty," was himself, at that very time, actively engaged in the slave trade. There is some truth in the once common taunt of the pro-slavery orators that the North imported slaves, the South only bought them. Certainly there was no more active centre of the slave trade than Bristol Bay, whence cargoes of rum and iron goods were sent to the African coast and exchanged for human cargoes. These slaves were, however, usually taken, not to Massachusetts, but to the West Indies or to Virginia. One curious outcome of slavery in Massachusetts was that from the gross superstition of a negro slave, Tituba, first sprang the hideous delusions of the Salem witchcraft trials. The negro, it may be here noted, played a not insignificant part in Massachusetts Revolutionary annals. Of negro blood was Crispus Attucks, one of the "martyrs" of the Boston riot; it was a negro whose shot killed the



EXECUTING NEGROES IN NEW YORK.

British General Pitcairn at Bunker Hill ; and it was a negro also who planned the attack on Percy's supply train.

As with New York and Massachusetts, so with the other colonies. Either slavery was introduced by greedy speculators from abroad or it spread easily from adjoining colonies. In 1776 the slave population of the thirteen colonies was almost exactly half a million, nine-tenths of whom were to be found in the Southern States. In the War of the Revolution the question of arming the negroes raised bitter opposition. In the end a comparatively few were enrolled, and it is admitted that they served faithfully and with courage. Rhode Island even formed a regiment of blacks, and at the siege of Newport and afterwards at Point's Bridge, New York, this body of soldiers fought not only without reproach but with positive heroism.

With the debates preceding the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States the political problem of slavery as a national question began. Under the colonial system the responsibility for the traffic might be charged, with some justice, to the mother country. But from the day when the Declaration of Independence asserted "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," the peoples of the new, self-governing States could not but have seen that with them lay the responsibility. There is ample evidence that the fixing of the popular mind on liberty as an ideal bore results immediately in arousing anti-slavery sentiment. Such sentiment existed in the South as well as in the North. Even North Carolina in 1786 declared the slave trade of "evil consequences and highly impolitic." All the Northern States abolished slavery, beginning with Vermont, in 1777 and ending with New Jersey in 1804. It should be added, however, that many of the Northern slaves were not freed, but sold to the South. As we have already intimated, also, the agricultural and commercial conditions in the North were such as to make slave labor less and less profitable, while in the South the social order of things, agricultural conditions, and the climate, were gradually making it seemingly indispensable.

When the Constitutional debates began the trend of opinion seemed strongly against slavery. Many delegates thought that the evil would die out of itself. One thought the abolition of slavery already rapidly going on and soon to be completed. Another asserted that "slavery in time will not be a speck in our country." Mr. Jefferson, on the other hand, in view of the retention of slavery, declared roundly that he trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just. And John Adams urged again and again that "every measure of prudence ought to be assumed for the eventual total extirpation of slavery from the United States." The obstinate States in the convention were South Carolina and Georgia. Their delegates declared that their States

would absolutely refuse ratification to the Constitution unless slavery were recognized. The compromise sections finally agreed upon avoided the use of the words slave and slavery but clearly recognized the institution and even gave the slave States the advantage of sending representatives to Congress on a basis of population determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, "three-fifths of all other persons." The other persons thus referred to were, it is needless to add, negro slaves.

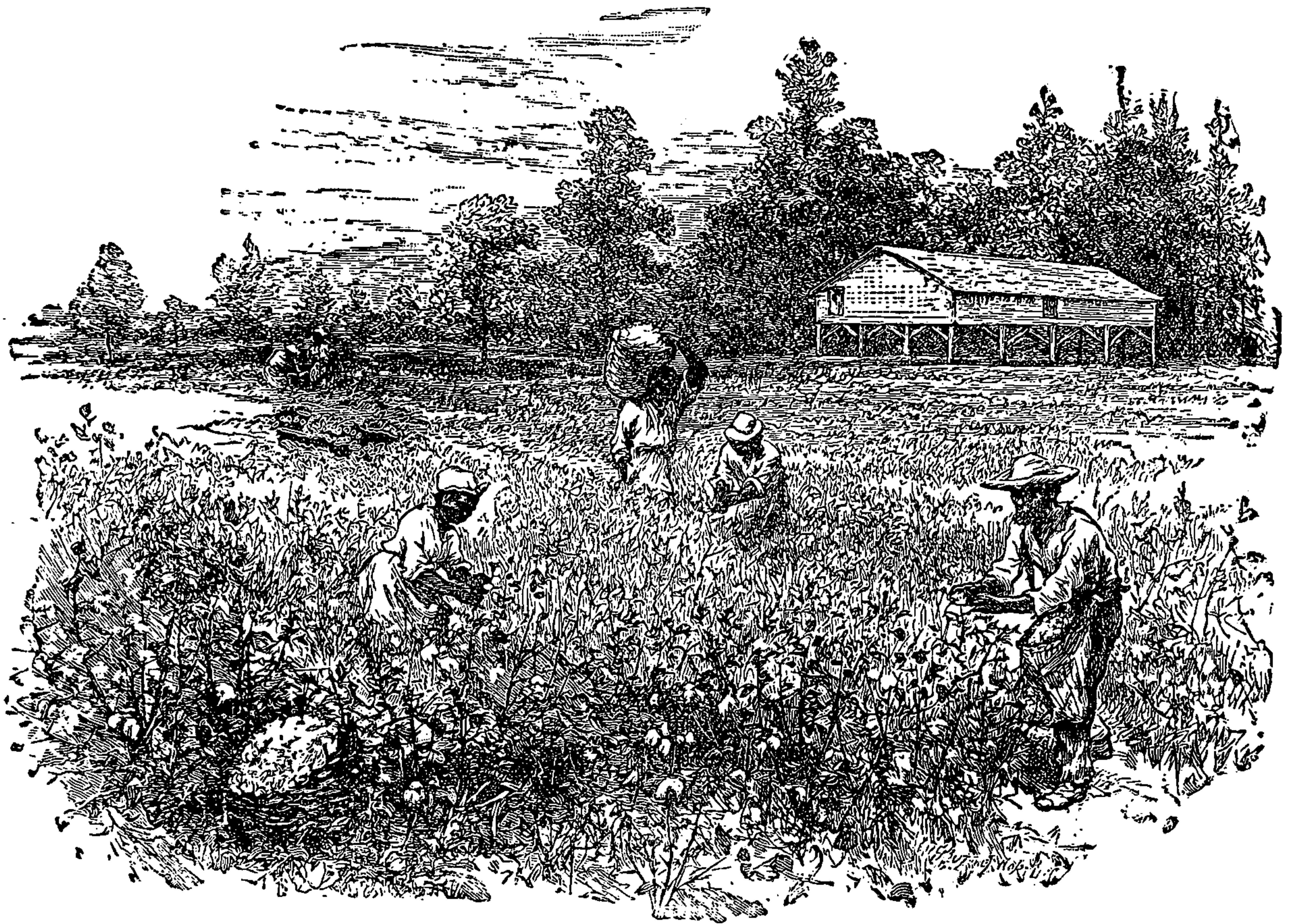
The entire dealing with the question of slavery, at the framing of the Constitution, was a series of compromises. This is seen again in the postponement of forbidding the slave trade from abroad. Some of the Southern States had absolutely declined to listen to any proposition which would restrict their freedom of action in this matter, and they were yielded to so far that Congress was forbidden to make the traffic unlawful before the year 1808. As that time approached, President Jefferson urged Congress to withdraw the country from all "further participation in those violations of human rights which have so long been continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa." Such an act was at once adopted, and by it heavy fines were imposed on all persons fitting out vessels for the slave trade and also upon all actually engaged in the trade, while vessels so employed became absolutely forfeited. Twelve years later another act was passed declaring the importation of slaves to be actual piracy. This latter law, however, was of little practical value, as it was not until 1861 that a conviction was obtained under it. Then, at last, when the whole slave question was about to be settled forever, a ship-master was convicted and hanged for piracy in New York for the crime of being engaged in the slave trade. In despite of all laws, however, the trade in slaves was continued secretly, and the profits were so enormous that the risks did not prevent continual attempts to smuggle slaves into the territory of the United States.

The first quarter of a century of our history, after the adoption of the Constitution, was marked by comparative quietude in regard to the future of slavery. In the North, as we have seen, the institution died a natural death, but there was no disposition evinced in the Northern States to interfere with it in the South. The first great battle took place in 1820 over the so-called Missouri Compromise. Now, for the first time, the country was divided, sectionally and in a strictly political way, upon issues which involved the future policy of the United States as to the extension or restriction of slave territory. State after State had been admitted into the Union, but there had been an alternation of slave and free States, so that the political balance was not disturbed. Thus, Virginia was balanced by Kentucky, Tennessee by Ohio, Louisiana by Indiana, and Mississippi by Illinois. The last State admitted had been Alabama, of course as a slaveholding State. Now it was proposed to admit Missouri, and, to still maintain the equality of political power, it was contended that slavery should be

prohibited within her borders. But the slave power had by this time acquired great strength, and was deeply impressed with the necessity of establishing itself in the vast territory west of the Mississippi. The Southern States would not tolerate for a moment the proposed prohibition of slavery in the new State of Missouri. On the other hand, the Middle and Eastern States were beginning to be aroused to the danger threatening public peace if slavery were to be allowed indefinite extension. They had believed that the Ordinance of 1787, adopted simultaneously with the Constitution, and which forbade slavery to be established in the territory northwest of the Ohio, had settled this question definitely. A fierce debate was waged through two sessions of Congress, and in the end it was agreed to withdraw the prohibition of slavery in Missouri, but absolutely prohibit it forever in all the territory lying north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ latitude. This was a compromise, satisfactory only because it seemed to dispose of the question of slavery in the territories once and forever. It was carried mainly by the great personal influence of Henry Clay. It did, indeed, dispose of slavery as a matter of national legislative discussion for thirty years.

But this interval was distinctively the period of agitation. Anti-slavery sentiment of a mild type had long existed. The Quakers had, since Revolutionary times held anti-slavery doctrines, had released their own servants from bondage, and had disfellowshipped members who refused to concur in the sacrifice. The very last public act of Benjamin Franklin was the framing of a memorial to Congress deprecating the existence of slavery in a free country. In New York the Manumission Society had been founded in 1785, with John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, in turn, as its presidents. But all the writing and speaking was directed against slavery as an institution and in a general way, and with no tone of aggression. Gradual emancipation or colonization were the only remedies suggested. It was with the founding of the "Liberator" by William Lloyd Garrison, in 1831, that the era of aggressive abolitionism began. Garrison and his society maintained that slavery was a sin against God and man; that immediate emancipation was a duty; that slave owners had no claim to compensation; that all laws upholding slavery were, before God, null and void. Garrison exclaimed: "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch. And I will be heard." His paper bore conspicuously the motto "No union with slaveholders." The Abolitionists were, in numbers, a feeble band; as a party they never acquired strength, nor were their tenets adopted strictly by any political party; but they served the purpose of arousing the conscience of the nation. They were abused, vilified, mobbed, all but killed. Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck—through those very streets which, in 1854, had their shops closed and hung in black, with flags Union down and a huge coffin suspended in mid-air, on the day when the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, was marched through

them on his way back to his master, under a guard of nearly two thousand men. Mr. Garrison's society soon took the ground that the union of States with slavery retained was "an agreement with hell and a covenant with death," and openly advocated secession of the non-slaveholding States. On this issue the Abolitionists split into two branches, and those who threw off Garrison's lead maintained that there was power enough under the Constitution to do away with slavery. To the fierce invective and constant agitation of Garrison were, in time, added the splendid oratory of Wendell Phillips, the economic arguments of Horace Greeley, the wise statesmanship of Charles Sumner, the fervid writ-



A COTTON FIELD IN GEORGIA.

ings of Channing and Emerson, and the noble poetry of Whittier. All these and others, in varied ways and from different points of view, joined in educating the public opinion of the North to see that the permanent existence of slavery was incompatible with that of a free Republic.

In the South, meanwhile, the institution was intrenching itself more and more firmly. The invention of the cotton-gin and the beginning of the reign of Cotton as King made the great plantation system a seeming commercial necessity. From the deprecatory and half apologetic utterances of early Southern statesmen we come to Mr. Calhoun's declaration that slavery "now preserves

in quiet and security more than six and a half million human beings, and that it could not be destroyed without destroying the peace and prosperity of nearly half the States in the Union." The Abolitionists were regarded in the South with the bitterest hatred. Attempts were even made to compel the Northern States to silence the anti-slavery orators, to prohibit the circulation through the mail of anti-slavery speeches, and to refuse a hearing in Congress to anti-slavery petitions. The influence of the South was still dominant in the North. Though the feeling against slavery spread, there co-existed with it the belief that an open quarrel with the South meant commercial ruin; and the anti-slavery sentiment was also neutralized by the nobler feeling that the Union must be preserved at all hazards, and that there was no constitutional mode of interfering with the slave system. The annexation of Texas was a distinct gain to the slave power, and the Mexican war was undertaken, said John Quincy Adams, in order that "the slaveholding power in the Government shall be secured and riveted."

The actual condition of the negro over whom such a strife was being waged differed materially in different parts of the South, and under masters of different character, in the same locality. It had its side of cruelty, oppression, and atrocity; it had also its side of kindness on the part of master and of devotion on the part of slave. Its dark side has been made familiar to readers by such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," as Dickens' "American Notes," and as Edmund Kirk's "Among the Pines;" its brighter side has been charmingly depicted in the stories of Thomas Nelson Page, of Joel Chandler Harris, and of Harry Edwards. On the great cotton plantations of Mississippi and Alabama the slave was often overtaxed and harshly treated; in the domestic life of Virginia, on the other hand, he was as a rule most kindly used, and often a relation of deep affection sprang up between him and his master. Of insurrections, such as those not uncommon in the West Indies, only one of any extent was ever planned in our slave territory—that of Nat Turner, in Southampton County, Virginia—and that was instantly suppressed.

With this state of public feeling North and South, it was with increased bitterness and increased sectionalism that the subject of slavery in new States was again debated in the Congress of 1850. The Liberty Party, which held that slavery might be abolished under the Constitution, had been merged in the Free Soil Party, whose cardinal principle was, "To secure free soil to a free people" without interfering with slavery in existing States, but insisting on its exclusion from territory so far free. The proposed admission of California was not affected by the Missouri Compromise. Its status as a future free or slave State was the turning point of the famous debates in the Senate of 1850, in which Webster, Calhoun, Douglas and Seward won fame—debates which have never been equaled in our history in eloquence and acerbity. It was in the

course of these debates that Mr. Seward, while denying that the Constitution recognized property in man, struck out his famous dictum, "There is a higher law than the Constitution." The end reached was a compromise which allowed California to settle for itself the question of slavery, forbade the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but enacted a strict fugitive slave law. To the Abolitionists this fugitive slave law, sustained in its most extreme measures by the courts in the famous—or as they called it, infamous—Dred Scott case, was as fuel to fire. They defied it in every possible way. The Underground Railway was the outcome of this defiance. By it a chain of secret stations was



A NEGRO VILLAGE IN ALABAMA.

established, from one to the other of which the slave was guided at night until at last he reached the Canada border. The most used of these routes in the East was from Baltimore to New York, thence north through New England; that most employed in the West was from Cincinnati to Detroit. It has been estimated that not fewer than thirty thousand slaves were thus assisted to freedom.

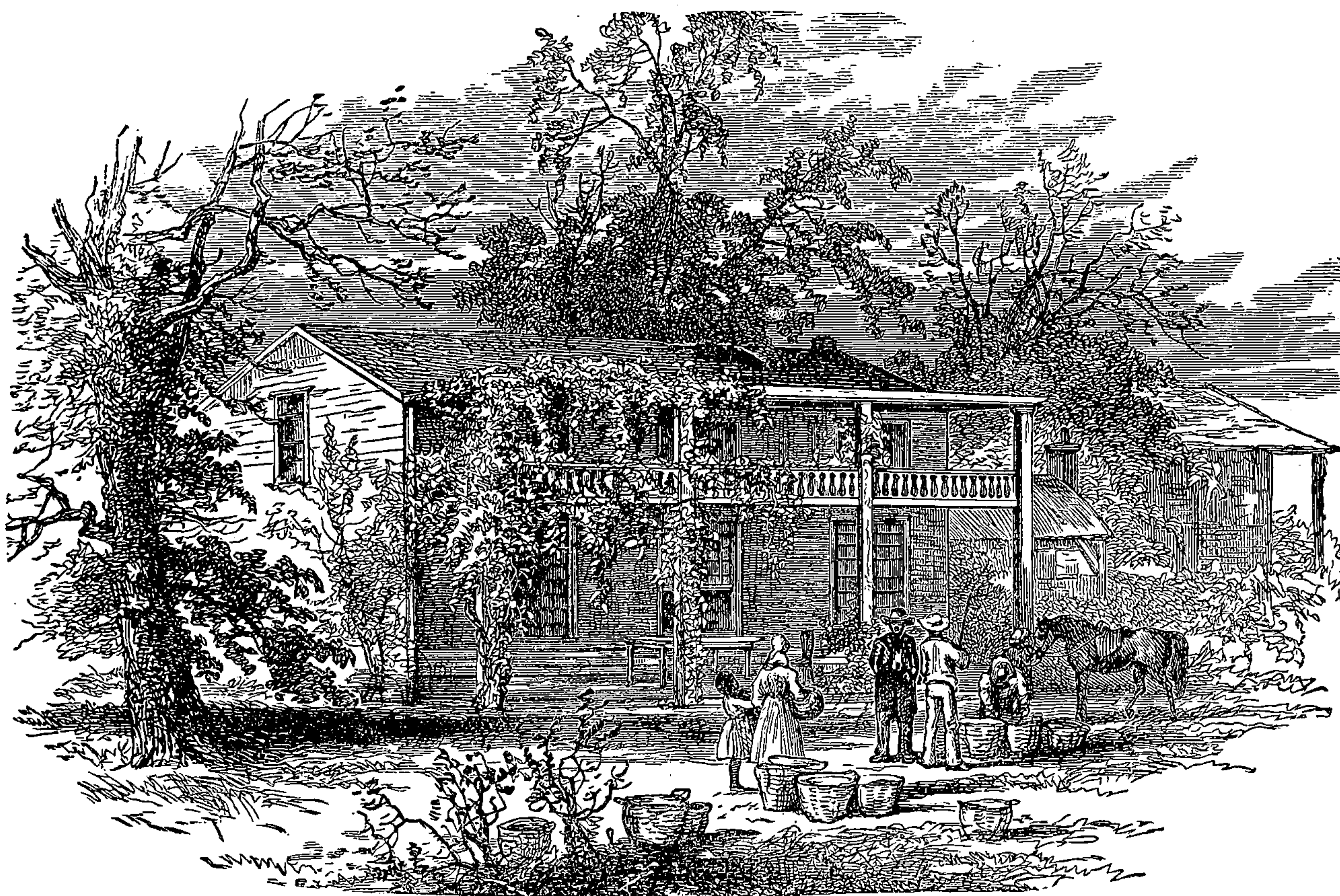
Soon the struggle was changed to another part of the Western territory, now beginning to grow so rapidly as to demand the forming of new States. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill introduced by Douglas was in effect the repeal of the

Missouri Compromise in that it left the question as to whether slavery should be carried into the new territories to the decision of the settlers themselves. As a consequence immigration was directed by both the anti-slavery and the pro-slavery parties to Kansas, each determined on obtaining a majority to control the form of the proposed State Constitution. Then began a series of acts of violence which almost amounted to civil war. "Bleeding Kansas" became a phrase in almost every one's mouth. Border ruffians swaggered at the polls and attempted to drive out the assisted emigrants sent to Kansas by the Abolition societies. The result of the election of the Legislature on its face made Kansas a slave State, but a great part of the people refused to accept this result; and a convention was held at Topeka which resolved that Kansas should be free even if the laws formed by the Legislature should have to be "resisted to a bloody issue."

Prominent among the armed supporters of free State ideas in Kansas was Captain John Brown, a man whose watchword was at all times Action. "Talk," he said, "is a national institution; but it does no good for the slave." He believed that slavery could only be coped with by armed force. His theory was that the way to make free men of slaves was for the slaves themselves to resist any attempt to coerce them by their masters. He was undoubtedly a fanatic in that he did not stop to measure probabilities or to take account of the written law. His attempt at Harper's Ferry was without reasonable hope, and as the intended beginning of a great military movement was a ridiculous fiasco. But there was that about the man that none could call ridiculous. Rash and unreasoning as his action seemed, he was yet, even by his enemies, recognized as a man of unswerving conscience, of high ideals, of deep belief in the brotherhood of mankind. His offense against law and peace was cheerfully paid for by his death and that of others near and dear to him. Almost no one at that day could be found to applaud his plot, but the incident had an effect on the minds of the people altogether out of proportion to its intrinsic character. More and more as time went on he became recognized as a pro-martyr of a cause which could be achieved only by the most complete self-sacrifice of individuals.

Events of vast importance to the future of the negro in America now hurried fast upon each other's footsteps—the final settlement of the Kansas dispute by its becoming a free State; the forming and rapid growth of the Republican party; the division of the Democratic party into Northern and Southern factions; the election of Abraham Lincoln; the secession of South Carolina, and, finally, the greatest civil war the world has known. Though that war would never have been waged were it not for the negro, and though his fate was inevitably involved in its result, it must be remembered that it was not undertaken on his account. Before the struggle began Mr. Lincoln said: "If

there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to destroy or to save slavery.' 'And the Northern press emphasized over and over again the fact that this was "a white man's war." But the logic of events is inexorable. It seems amazing now that Union generals should have been puzzled as to the question whether they ought in duty to return runaway slaves to their masters. General Butler settled the controversy by one happy phrase when he called the fugitives "contraband of war." Soon it was deemed right



to use these contrabands, to employ the new-coined word, as the South was using the negroes still in bondage, to aid in the non-fighting work of the army—on fortification, team driving, cooking, and so on. From this it was but a step, though a step not taken without much perturbation, to employ them as soldiers. At Vicksburg, at Fort Pillow, and in many another battle, the negro showed beyond dispute that he could fight for his liberty. No fiercer or braver charge was made in the war than that upon the parapet of Fort Wagner by Colonel Shaw's gallant colored regiment, the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth.

In a thousand ways the negro figures in the history of the war. In its

literature he everywhere stands out picturesquely. He sought the flag with the greatest avidity for freedom; flocking in crowds, old men and young, women and children, sometimes with quaint odds and ends of personal belongings, often empty-handed, always enthusiastic and hopeful, almost always densely ignorant of the meaning of freedom and of self-support. But while the negro showed this avidity for liberty, his conduct toward his old masters was often generous, and almost never did he seize the opportunity to inflict vengeance for his past wrongs. The eloquent Southern orator and writer, Henry W. Grady, said: "History has no parallel to the faith kept by the negro in the South during the war. Often five hundred negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety and the unprotected homes rested in peace. . . . A thousand torches would have disbanded every Southern army, but not one was lighted."

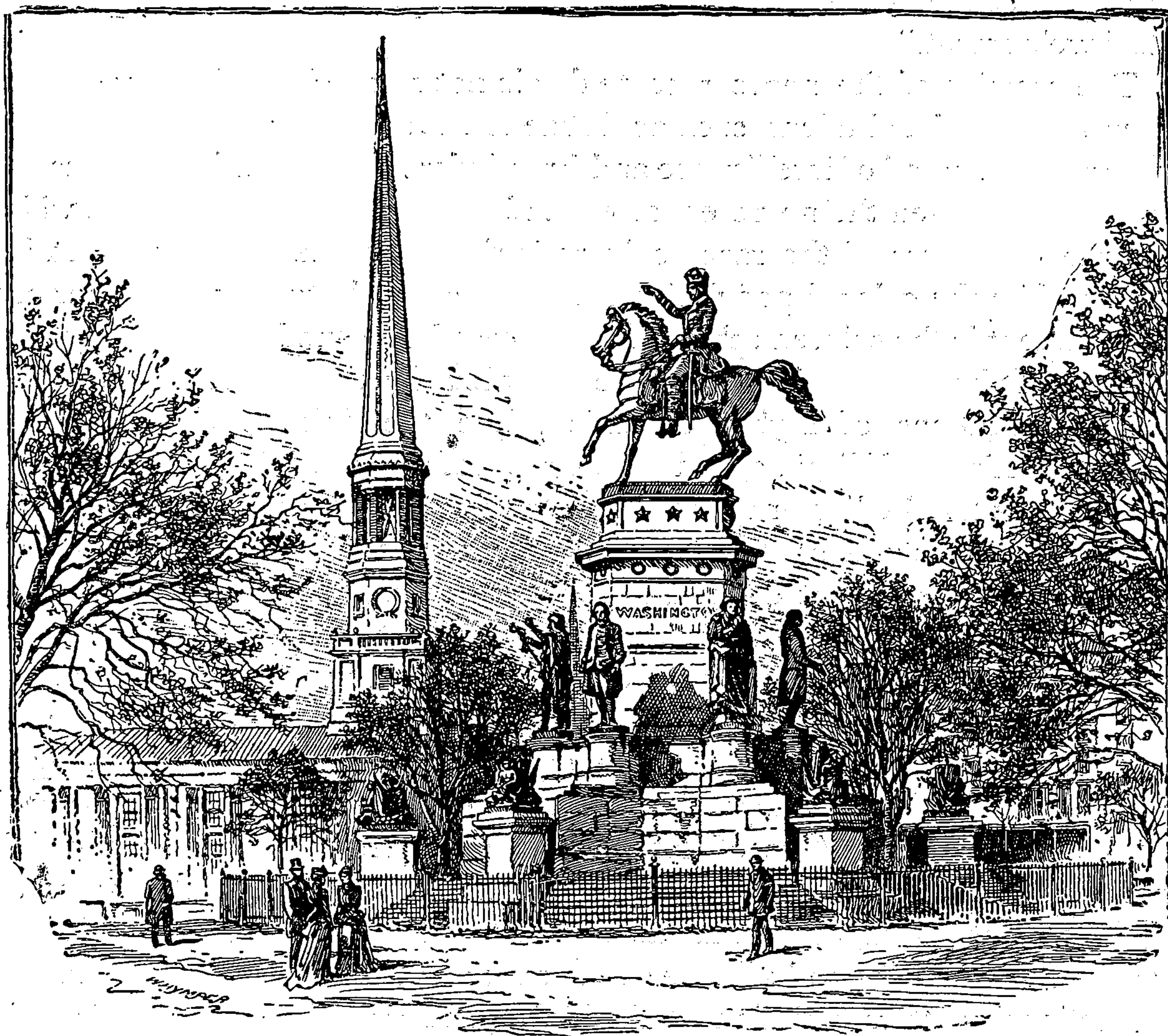
It was with conditions, and only after great hesitation, that the final step of emancipating the slaves was taken by President Lincoln in September, 1862. The proclamation was distinctly a war measure, but its reception by the North and by the foreign powers and its immediate effect upon the contest were such that its expediency was at once recognized. Thereafter there was possible no question as to the personal freedom of the negro in the United States of America. With the Confederacy, slavery went down once and forever. In the so-called reconstruction period which followed, the negro suffered almost as much from the over-zeal of his political friends as from the prejudice of his old masters. A negro writer, who is a historian of his race, has declared that the Government gave the negro the statute book when he should have had the spelling book; that it placed him in the legislature when he ought to have been in the school house, and that, so to speak, "the heels were put where the brains ought to have been." A quarter of a century and more has passed since that turbulent period began, and if the negro has become less prominent as a political factor, all the more for that reason has he been advancing steadily though slowly in the requisites of citizenship. He has learned that he must, by force of circumstances, turn his attention, for the time at least, rather to educational, industrial, and material progress than to political ambition. And the record of his advance on these lines is promising and hopeful. In Mississippi alone, for instance, the negroes own one-fifth of the entire property in the State. In all, the negroes of the South to-day possess two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of property. Everywhere throughout the South white men and negroes may be found working together.

At the beginning of the war the negro population of the country was about four millions, to-day it is between seven and seven and a-half millions; in 1880, fifteen-sixteenths of the whole colored population belonged to the Southern States, and the census of 1890 shows that the proportion has not greatly changed.

This ratio in itself shows how absurdly trifling in results have been all the movements toward colonization or emigration to Northern States. The negro emphatically belongs to the Southern States, and in them and by them his future must be determined. Another point decided conclusively by the census of 1890 is seen in the refutation of an idea based, indeed, on the census of 1880, but due in its origin to the very faulty census of 1870. This idea was that the colored population had increased much more rapidly in proportion than the white population. The new census shows, on the contrary, that the whites in the Southern States increased during the last decade nearly twice as rapidly as the negroes, or, as the census bulletin puts it, in increase of population, "the colored race has not held its own against the white man in a region where the climate and conditions are, of all those which the country affords, the best suited to its development."

The promise of the negro race to-day is not so much in the development of men of exceptional talent, such as Frederick Douglass or Senator Bruce, as in the general spread of intelligence and knowledge. The Southern States have very generally given the negro equal educational opportunities with the whites, while the eagerness of the race to learn is shown in the recently ascertained fact that while the colored population has increased only twenty-seven per cent. the enrollment in the colored schools has increased one hundred and thirty-seven per cent. Fifty industrial schools are crowded by the colored youth of the South. Institutions of higher education, like the Atlanta University, and Hampton Institute of Virginia, and Tuskegee College, are doing admirable work in turning out hundreds of negroes fitted to educate their own race. Within a year or two honors and scholarships have been taken by half a dozen colored young men at Harvard, at Cornell, at Phillips Academy and at other Northern schools and colleges of the highest rank. The fact that a young negro, Mr. Morgan, was in 1890 elected by his classmates at Harvard as the class orator has a special significance. Yet there is greater significance, as a negro newspaper man writes, in the fact that the equatorial telescope now used by the Lawrence University of Wisconsin was made entirely by colored pupils in the School of Mechanical Arts of Nashville, Tenn. In other words, the Afro-American is finding his place as an intelligent worker, a property owner, and an independent citizen, rather than as an agitator, a politician or a race advocate. In religion, superstition and effusive sentiment are giving way to stricter morality. In educational matters, ambition for the high-sounding and the abstract is giving place to practical and industrial acquirements. It will be many years before the character of the negro, for centuries dwarfed and distorted by oppression and ignorance, reaches its normal growth, but that the race is now at last upon the right path and is being guided by the true principles cannot be doubted.

Says one who has made an exceedingly thorough personal study of the subject in all the Southern States: "The evolution in the condition has kept pace with that of any other races, and I think has been even a little better. The same forces of evolution that have brought him to where he is now will bring him further. One thing is indisputable: the negro knows his destiny is in his own hands. He finds that his salvation is not through politics, but through industrial methods.



STATUE OF WASHINGTON IN THE GROUNDS OF THE STATE HOUSE, RICHMOND.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

NATIONAL TRIBUNE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
4.1505

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By JOHN McELROY.

CHAPTER VI.

Development of the Slavery Issue.

It is with the utmost difficulty that men can be made to see yesterday in its own light. They are bent on seeing it in the misleading light of to-day. This is particularly true of slavery. To-day every intelligent man wonders why so monstrous an evil as slavery was allowed to exist so long. There are multitudes of quite intelligent men yet living who remember when they were sure that slavery would last forever.

Slavery had always existed. It seemed part of the order of the universe. All of the churches except the Quakers had accepted it, they provided for it as a social order, and many championed it as a divine institution. It had slowly died out in northwestern Europe, partly from a broadening recognition of the rights of man, but still more because of its own faults and abuses and its unprofitableness. Slaves could not compete successfully with freemen, nor the owner of slave labor with the man who hired his labor. Like many other vicious things, slavery gave an illusion of creating wealth, but led inevitably to bankruptcy.

The dissemination of sound economic ideas has ever been notoriously slow, slower, if possible, than the diffusion of sound moral ideas, and slavery had drawled backward as tardily as the snowdrifts shrink in March. All of the Colonies had slavery, Massachusetts being the only one that did not come into the new Government as a Slave State. She escaped this narrowly, for it was as late as 1773, only two years before Concord and Lexington, when the "shot heard round the world" was fired, that the Superior Court decided that slavery had no warrant of law in Massachusetts, and this decision was confirmed by the Supreme Court in 1780. About the same time a similar decision by the King's Bench ended slavery in England. Prior to that time crowned Kings and coroneted Dukes were not ashamed to be stockholders and directors in slave-trading corporations, nor to share in their enormous profits.

The Northern States provided for gradual emancipation, but as late as the census of 1840 there were still slaves in Rhode Island, Connecticut,



HORACE GREELEY.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania. One-sixth of the population of New York City were slaves at the time of the first census, and there were 20,000 in the State at the time of the passage by the Legislature of the emancipation act in 1799, by which all slaves were to be free July 24, 1827.

Anti-Slavery Southerners.

It is quite singular that the ablest and most effective opponents of slavery at first were from the Southern States. Substantially all of the leading men saw the blight on their section of "the institution," as it was euphemistically termed, and desired to end it. They were far more hostile and unfriendly to it than was the dominant sentiment in Boston and New York, where the slave-trading companies influenced public opinion.

Thomas Jefferson was conspicuously

HENRY CLAY

earnest in his opposition to the clause for the year of 1787, which was later parties asunder and to the of 1,000,000 Americans by made part of the Constitution of the United States:

"That after the year 1800, no Christian era there shall slavery nor involuntary any of the said States, or in punishment of crimes, party shall be duly convicted personally guilty."

All of the States represented in the Continental Congress voted in favor of the momentous ordinance, which created to freedom all of

north of the Ohio and between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi did not extend south of the Ohio because Kentucky and Tennessee Counties of Virginia and Carolina.

The invention of the cotton gin changed the attitude of a part of the Southerners toward

transplanted. The cen
filled up from Pennsylvani
land, while the lower part
of its population from Vir
Carolina, Georgia, Kentuc
nessee.

In New England and Ne
had been much earnest thi
question of slavery, much
writing, which had transla
to legislative action pr
emancipation. But little
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of those States, since all
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separate State was a stro
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had gone to northern Il
their Free Soil opinions w
elected men holding suc
the Legislature, where
into contact with them.
seed sown by these men
fruitful ground in Lincoln
in his second term he
their instructions.

Some of the more hot-l
tionists, who had the too
pensity of using a disagre
truth as a bayonet to pro
begun to attract attention
sparing fulminations ag
and slaveholders. The p
North took very little noti
temperate vociferation, b
holders were unduly excit
class had the natural sens
ready inflammability of
wrong, and they became
aggressive as the liquor n

Slave...

Free...

SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE EXTENT OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE TIME OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

Slaves could be worked to great profit in raising cotton on the new lands taken from the Indians, and Marylanders, Virginians and Kentuckians gained wealth in raising slaves for the cotton planters. Then the slave owners' attitude suddenly changed from the defensive and apologetic to the haughty and aggressive.

Real leaders of men always keep in close touch with the people. The march of progress is like the march of an army—steady, deliberate, measured, with the leaders at the heads of the columns and close to the colors.

Abraham Lincoln was from the first a genuine leader of men. Never claiming the discovery of some startling moral principle, never exacting himself as the apostle of a righteous revolution, he was yet from his boyhood at the front of the best thought of his little neighborhood, and moving forward, shoulder to shoulder, with those who wanted to make things better to-morrow than they are to-day.

Much that is mythical, much that is absurd, has been written about young Lincoln's antipathy to slavery and the threats he made against it. For a raw, almost unlettered young flatboatman to say that "If I ever get a chance to hit slavery I am going to hit hard" has about as much sense in it as for a Western plowboy to say that if he ever gets a whack at the National bank system he is going to give it a terrible thump.

The people with whom Lincoln lived and talked as a boy were bothering very little with such an abstract question as slavery. The actual needs of every-day life were far too pressing to waste time on something that had absolutely no relation to the price of land, the building of cabins, the clearing of fields or the raising and marketing of crops. Possibly Lincoln was far advanced toward manhood before he ever heard a word in opposition to slavery. It does not appear that in any of the school-house debates he was so fond of attending slavery was the subject of discussion. The Abolitionists were only beginning to attract attention, and the American Anti-Slavery

Society was formed in Philadelphia in December, 1833, just after Lincoln had been re-elected to the Legislature.

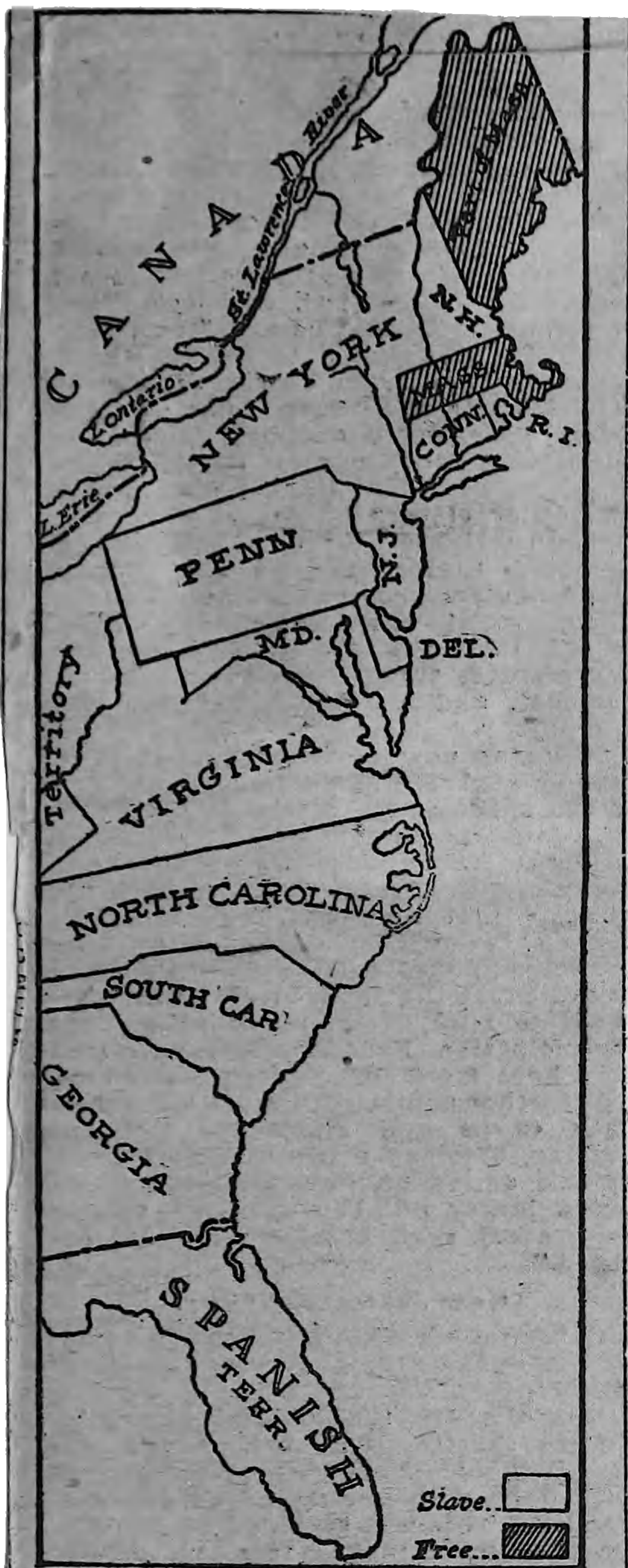
The Quakers were the only ones that as a church organization had taken an uncompromising stand against slavery. It is true that the Methodist-Episcopal Church at its organization had declared very strongly against slavery, and as early as 1796 it had made a disciplinary question to read: "What regulation shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of American slavery?" But as the years went by and slave labor in raising cotton became so immensely profitable the discipline of the Church relaxed on the subject, and the laws against its ministers and elders owning, buying and selling slaves were repealed or modified. This matter came to an issue at the General Conference in 1844 in an attempt to discipline Bishop James O. Andrew, who had come into possession of slaves subsequent to election. The conference, by a vote of 111 to 69, adopted a resolution to the effect that the Bishop must desist from the exercise of his office as long as he continued to hold slaves. At this the delegates from the 13 Annual Conferences of the South withdrew, and at Louisville, in 1845, established the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

The Presbyterian Church, then by far the richest and most powerful denomination in the country, recognized slavery, and provided for the care of the spiritual education of the slaves. While there was a growing dissent against slavery manifested in the Church's councils, the real rupture on the question came as late as 1858.

The Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches had always recognized slavery and provided for it, and were not at any time troubled by the contentions on the subject which tore asunder the other denominations.

Beginning of Antagonism.

Lincoln's active aversion to slavery doubtless dated from his first term in



SLAVE AND FREE STATES AT THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

der the lashings of the temperance advocates.

William Lloyd Garrison was born in 1805, the son of a poor laboring man in Massachusetts, and at first worked at shoemaking, woodsawing and cabinetmaking and then learned the printing art. He and another man, who would be described to-day as a tramp printer, started several little papers under different names, attacking slavery as a monstrous evil which should be torn up by the roots without any ceremony. These papers attracted little attention except among some of the more violent advocates of slavery, and Jan. 1, 1820, Garrison started in Boston

States, whereat there may be more or less satisfaction on the part of today's residents.

They point with pride to Lincoln's visit to Henry Ward Beecher in Brooklyn one Sunday morning in 1859 and to the fact that interest in the abolition movement aroused at that time led to the historic public meeting at Cooper Union, which set the country aglow with interest for or against freedom for slaves.

Great numbers of Brooklynites pride themselves on being descended from patriots willing to give their lives—many of them did—for the cause.

And yet, many of the Brooklynites of today would find if they would search their family histories, that their honored forebears were slaveholders. They were of the leading families. It was a matter of distinction, a source of pride, to have one or more Negro slaves. It is a matter of public record.

In the year 1755, for example, there were according to the official census ordered by the Assembly of the Province of New York, 419 slaves in the area now covered by the Borough of Brooklyn. Of these 224 were males, 195 females. They were listed as follows: Bushwick, 43; Brooklyn, 132; Flatbush, 108; Flatlands, 35; New Utrecht, 67; Gravesend, 34.

L. I. Had 1,203 Slaves

So in 1755 Long Island went on the official record as having 1,203 slaves. They were recorded generally as men and women, though one captain mentioned that he listed all slaves of 14 years or older.

In Bushwick there were: John Misroll, John Liequare, George Durje, Abraham Liequere, Folkert Folkertsen, William Brambosch, John Roseveldt, Jacob Misroll, Nicholas Lefferts, Catherine Lefferts, Abraham Miller, Marritje Woertman, David Van Cote, Theodorus Polhemus, Daniel Burdett, Jacob Durge, Peter Lot, Abraham Schenck, Evert Van Gelder, Necios Folkertsen, Andris Stucholm, Peter Conselye, Capt. Francis Titus.

In the Brooklyn lists—there was one signed by Samuel Hopson, Capt. of the West Company of Brookland in Kings County, and one by Capt. John Lott "in Kings County in brucklen"—were these names of slave owners:

Isaac Sebring, John Bargay, Derk Bargay, Simon Booram, Cormel Sebring, Saml Hopson, Peter Van Pelt, Micael Barga, Chrispr Seehar, John Carpenter, Whitead Cornwell, John Middagh, John Vandike, Cloes Van Naughty, John Griggs, Israel Hosfield Junr, Peter Stots, Sam: De Bevoice, Mr. Van Downe, Jacob

Sebring, Abrm Brewer, Israel Hosfield George De Bevoice, Jury Bloue, Winant ennet, Mrs. Vandike, Earsh Middagh, Jacob Bruington, Christopher Codwise, John Cowenhoven, Martin Reyerse, Jeremias Remse, Lammert Sudam, John Lott, Jacobus Degreaew, Barent Jansen, Jan Ryerse, Rem Remsen, Hendrik Sudam, Abraham Remsen, Tuenes Bogaert, D. W. Sara Rapelia, Benjamin Waldron, Joost Debovois, Jakes Durje, Jan Noorstrant, Jeronemus Rapelie, Jacobus Lefferse, Jacob bergen, Pieter V. D. Voort, Karel Debavois, Johanis Debavoise, Jacobus Debavoise, Cornelius V. Dhoef, Arsus Densen, Adriaen Hegeman, D. W. Dina Rapelje and John Rapelje.

Flatbush Owners Named

The "true list of all the slaves, both male and female of 14 years old and above in the township of Flatbush in Kings County on Nassau Island, in the Province of New Yorke, this eighteenth day of April, ang Dom, 1755," names these owners:

Dominie Van Sindere (he had only one: Isbael), Peter Stryker, John Stryker, Johannes V. Sickelen, John Waldron, Dr. V: beuren,, Barent V: Defenter, Barent Andriese, Widdow Clarkson, hendirck Suydam, David Sprong, henry Cruger, Engelbart, Lott, Jacobus Lott, Cornelis Van D: Veer, Johannes Ditmarse, Laurens Ditmars, Adriaen Voorhees, Rem Martense, Phillip Nagel, Phillip Nagel, Junr., Seytje V: D Bilt, Leffert Martense, Rem Hegeman, Evert Hegeman, Peter Lefferts, Jeremyes V: D: bilt, Adriaen Martense, Antje Ver Kerck, John V: Der Veer, Cornelis V. Duyn, Gerret Cozyn, Jeromus V: D: Veer, Stephen Williamse, Johannes Lott, Junr.' Isaac Snediker, Gerret boorem, Cornelis Wykhoff, Abraham Bloom, Jan boerem, Mauritis Lott, Douwe Ditmarss., Johannes Elderts Thomas Batts hendrick Lott, Joseph houward, Larmje Lefferts and Rem V: D: bilt.

Report on Flatlands

Jan Schenck, captain of Flatlands Town, reported himself as owner of a male and a female slave, and these others: John V. Der Bilt, Wilhelmus Stoothoff, Jur., harmanis hooglant, Roelif Van Voorhees Esqr., Wilhelmus Stoothof, Abraham Voorhees, Cornelia Voorhees, Steve Schenck, John Ditmars, William Kouwenhoven Esqe., Gerrit Kouwenhoven, John Amerman, Gerrit Wykof, Marten M. Schenck, Johannis Lott, Dirrick Remsen, Johannis W. Wykof, Pieter Wykof and Joost Van-nuis.

Capt. Petrus Van Pelt reported as slave owners in New Utrecht: Petrus Van Pelt, Jacobus Van Nuys, Hendricks Johnsen, Haert Van foerhees, Jacques Cortelyou, Jacques Cortelyou, Junior, Pieter Cortelyou,

Deneys Deneys, Saartje Barkeloo, Thomas Van Dyck, John Laan, Casper Crapster, Gerrit Kounover, Gerrit Van Duyn, Willem Van Neys, Willem Van Nuys Junr., Rutgert Van Brunt Junior, Evert Suydam, John Johnson, Rutgert Van Brunt, Andries Emans, Wilhelmis Van Brunt, Thomas Pollock, Roelof Van Brunt, Joris Lott, Neeltje Pietersen and Rebecca Emans.

At Gravesend the names of slave masters reported as of May 1, 1775, were: Richard Stillwell, John Grigg, John Voohears, Nicholas Stillwell, Roeliff terhunen, Isaac Denyce, Samuel Garritson, Neeltje Voorhears, Farnandus Van Sicklen, Nicholas Williamson, James Hubbard, Daniel Lake, Cornelious Stryker, Fernandus Van Sicklen, William Johnson, Peter Williamson, Bengaman Steimets and Cort Johnson.

Denys Denys had 12 slaves and Rutgert Van Brunt Junior, ten. The rest in few instances had more than

Favorite names for the male slaves two, in most cases-only one. were: Prince, Lew, Giah, Seasor, Jack, Sam, Saul, Dick and Petor. Those of wenches were: Nan, Gin, Hannah, Peg, Sarah, Diannah, Bet, Bess, Jude, Cate and Jemima.

the connection of Thomas Jefferson with the contest over slavery in the territorial period, which ended with its becoming a free state. In my "History of Indiana," published in 1888, I detailed his connection with the ordinance of 1787, and also showed the use made of his published articles against slavery in the discussion of the question in Indiana, but there was nothing then available to show any direct connection of Jefferson with the struggle in Indiana Territory.

Later I published all the documentary evidence then extant in regard to slavery in Indiana, in the second volume of the Indiana Historical Society's publications. Since then none of the writers on Indiana history have added anything to the facts then presented, but in Illinois conclusive evidence has been found that Thomas Jefferson was a very influential factor in this Indiana fight. The principal documentary evidence is in the diary of the Rev. James Lemen, a Virginian, who came to the Illinois country in 1786, and became a man of prominence there, establishing a settlement known as "New Design." The diary tells its own story.

Extracts From James Lemen's Diary.

"Harper's Ferry, Va., Dec. 11, 1782.

"Thomas Jefferson had me to visit him again a short time ago, as he wanted me to go to the Illinois country in the Northwest, after a year or two, in order to try to lead and direct the new settlers in the best way and also to oppose the introduction of slavery in that country at a later day, as I am known as an opponent of that evil and he says he will give me some help. It is all because of his great kindness and affection for me, for which I am very grateful, but I have not yet fully decided to do so, but have agreed to consider the case."

"May 2, 1784.
"I saw Jefferson at Annapolis, Md. today and had a very pleasant visit with him. I have consented to go to Illinois on his mission and he intends helping me some, but I did not ask nor wish it. We had a full agreement and understanding as to all terms and duties. The agreement is strictly private between us, but all his purposes are perfectly honorable and praiseworthy."

"Dec. 28, 1785.
"Jefferson's confidential agent gave me \$100 of his funds to use for my family, if need be, and if not to go to good causes, and I will go to Illinois on his mission next spring and take my wife and children."

"New Design, May 3, 1803.
"As Thomas Jefferson predicted they would do, the extreme Southern slave advocates are making their influence felt in the new territory for the introduction of slavery, and they are pressing Governor William Henry Harrison to use his power and influence for that end. Steps must soon be taken to prevent that curse from being fastened on our people."

"New Design, May 4, 1805.
"At our last meeting, as I expected he would do, Governor Harrison asked and insisted that I should cast my influence for the introduction of slavery here, but I not only denied the request, but I informed him that the evil attempt would encounter my most active opposition in every possible and honorable manner that my mind could suggest or my means accomplish."

"New Design, May 10, 1805.
"Knowing President Jefferson's hostility against the introduction of slavery here and the mission he sent me on to oppose it, I do not believe the pro-slavery petitions with which Governor Harrison and his council are pressing Congress for slavery here can prevail while he is President, as he is very popular with Congress and will find means to overreach the evil attempt of the pro-slavery power."

messenger to Indiana to ask the churches and people there to get up and sign a counter petition to Congress to uphold freedom in the territory and I have circulated one here and we will send it on to that body at next session or as soon as the work is done."

"New Design, Sept. 10, 1806.
"A confidential agent of Aaron Burr called yesterday to ask my aid and sympathy in Burr's scheme for a southwestern empire with Illinois as a province and an offer to make me Governor. But I denounced the conspiracy as high treason and gave him a few hours to leave the territory on pain of arrest."

"New Design, Jan. 10, 1809 (1810).
"I received Jefferson's confidential message on Oct. 10, 1808, suggesting a division of the churches on the question of slavery and the organization of a church on a strictly anti-slavery basis, for the purpose of heading a movement to finally make Illinois a free state, and after first trying in vain for some months to bring all the churches over to such a basis, I acted on Jefferson's plan, and Dec. 10, 1809, the anti-slavery element formed a Baptist Church at Cantine Creek on an anti-slavery basis."

"New Design, March 3, 1819.
"I was reared in the Presbyterian faith, but at 20 years of age I embraced Baptist principles and after settlement in Illinois I was baptized into that faith and finally became a minister of the gospel of that church, but some years before I was licensed to preach. I was active in collecting and inducing communities to organize churches, as I thought that the most certain plan to control and improve the new settlements, and I also hoped to employ the churches as a means of opposition to the institution of slavery; but this only became possible when we organized a leading church on a strictly anti-slavery basis, an event which finally was marked with great success, as Jefferson suggested it would be."

"New Design, Dec. 10, 1820.
"Looking back at this time, 1820, to 1809, when we organized the Canteen Creek Baptist Church on a strictly anti-slavery basis as Jefferson had suggested as a (center) from which the anti-slavery movement to finally save the

state to freedom could be directed, it is now clear that the move was a wise one as there is no doubt but that it more than anything else was what made Illinois a free state."

An interesting confirmation of these statements is found in a letter from Jefferson to Robert Lemen, a brother of James, who lived near Harper's Ferry, Va. It is dated Sept. 10, 1807, and includes the following:

Thomas Jefferson's Statement.

"If your brother, James Lemen, should visit Virginia soon, as I learn he possibly may, do not let him return until he makes me a visit. I will also write him to be sure and see me. Among all my friends who are near he is still a little nearer. I discovered his worth when he was but a child and I freely confess that in some of my most important achievements his example, wish and advice, though then but a very young man, largely influenced my action. This was particularly true as to whatever share I may have had in the transfer of our great Northwestern Territory to the United States, and especially for the fact that I was so well pleased with the anti-slavery clause inserted later in the ordinance of 1787. Before any one had ever mentioned the matter, James Lemen, by reason of his devotion to anti-slavery principles, suggested to me that we (Virginia) make the transfer and that slavery be excluded, and it so impressed and influenced me that whatever is due me as credit for my share in the matter

in 1879 Jefferson returned to his mission to France and his first thought was of Mr. Lemen, his friend in Illinois, and he lost no time in sending him a message of love and confidence by a friend who was then coming to the West. After Jefferson became President of the United States he retained all his early affection for Mr. Lemen, and when S. H. Biggs, a resident of Illinois, who was in Virginia on business and who was a warm friend of both Jefferson and Mr. Lemen, called on him in 1808, when President, he inquired after him with all the fondness of a father, and when told of Mr. Lemen's purpose to soon organize a new church on a strictly anti-slavery basis Jefferson sent him a message to proceed at once to form the new church and he sent it a twenty-dollar contribution. Acting on Jefferson's suggestion, Mr. Lemen promptly took the preliminary steps for the final formation of the new church and when constituted it was called the Baptist Church of Canteen (Quentin) Creek and Jefferson's contribution, with other funds, was given to it. This church is now called the Bethel Baptist Church, and it has a very interesting history."

"But in view of the facts and circumstances the church might have been called the 'Thomas Jefferson Church,' and what volumes these facts speak for the benefactor and marvelous influence which Mr. Lemen had over Jefferson, who was a reputed unbeliever. The great love he had for James Lemen not only induced him to tolerate his churches, but he became an active adviser for their multiplication."

"The original agreement between Jefferson and Mr. Lemen was strictly confidential; on the part of Jefferson, because, had it been known, his opponents would have said he sent paid emissaries to Illinois and Indiana to shape matters to his own interests, and the extreme South might have opposed his future preferment if it were known that he had made an anti-slavery pact with his territorial agents; and it was secret on the part of Mr. Lemen because he never wished Jefferson to give him any help, and his singularly independent nature made him feel that he would enjoy a greater liberty of action, or feeling at least, if it were never known that his plans and purposes to some extent were dictated and controlled by another, even by his great and good friend Jefferson; so the agreement between them was strictly private."

"And there was another circumstance which finally determined Mr. Lemen to always preserve the secrecy, and that was that some of Mr. Jefferson's opponents, shortly before Mr. Lemen's death, informed him that he had become an absolute unbeliever, and this so impressed his mind that he wept bitterly for fear, if the fact should ever be known that he had an agreement with Jefferson, that they would say that he was in alliance with an unbeliever in the great life work he had performed, and he exacted a promise from his sons, his brother-in-law, the Rev. Benjamin Ogle, and Mr. Biggs, the only persons who then knew of the agreement, that they would never divulge it during his lifetime, a pledge they all religiously kept, and in later years they told no one but the writer and a few other trusted friends, who have not, and never will, betray them. But the writer advised them to carefully preserve all the facts and histories we are now writing, and to tell some of their families and let them publish them at some future time, as much of the information is of public interest."

It was only natural, as the national struggle over slavery developed, that these documents, together with some letters of Jefferson to James Lemen which have since disappeared, should be shown to some of the leaders at that time. Among these was Senator Douglas, who, on March 10, 1857, wrote to James Lemen's son the following estimate of them:

of Stephen A. Douglas.
anti-slavery pact or agreement
the two men and its far-reach-
comprise one of the most in-
creasing chapters in our na-
state histories. Its profound
the splendid loyalty of Jeffer-
ds which preserved it were
a to the success of the
well as for his future prefer-
had it been known that Jeffer-
nt Lemen as his special agent
slavery mission to shape mat-
territories to his own ends it
wrecked his popularity in the
d rendered Lemen's mission
useless.

It always been a mystery why
ing demands of Governor Har-
his council for the repeal of the
ry clause in the ordinance of
ch excluded slavery from the
t Territory, should make no
before a cession (?) of pro-
ongress, but the matter is now
he great Jefferson, through his
al leaders in Congress (held
back until Mr. Lemen, under
s) had rallied his friends and
nti-slavery petitions demanding
enance of the clause, when the
where Harrison's demands were
ding, denied them. So a part
nor of saving that grand clause
licated the territory to freedom
your father. Indeed, consider-
son's ardent friendship for him
admiration and approval of his
ti-slavery labors in Virginia,
tedated the ordinance of 1787
1 years, there is but little doubt
father's labors were a fac-
equence which quickened, if it did
st to Jefferson the original pur-
ch finally resulted in putting
al clause in the ordinance."

Squatter Sovereignty.
"History of Indiana," I called at-
o the fact that the doctrine of
Sovereignty" was first pro-
in this Indiana controversy. It
ting to note that this fact im-
cnator Douglas; and he refers

matter assumes a phase of per-
erest with me, and I find myself,
in the good company of Jef-
nd your father. With them,
g turned on whether the people
territory wanted slavery or not.
and his council had informed
that the people desired it; but
and Lemen doubted it, and
e latter assisted in sending in
i-slavery petitions, Jefferson's
n Congress granted the people
h, and denied Harrison's pro-
emands. That is, the voice and
the people in the territory were

heard and respected, and that appears
to me to be the correct doctrine.

"Should you or your family approve
it, I would suggest that the facts of the
'Jefferson-Lemen Anti-Slavery Pact' be
fully written up and arranged for pub-
lication, since they embrace some ex-
ceedingly important state and national
history, and in fact, will necessitate
a new or larger personal history of
Jefferson, as these facts will add another
splendid chapter to the great story of his
marvelous career."

These letters were also shown to
Abraham Lincoln, and on March 2, 1857,
he wrote to James Lemen Jr.

Letter of Abraham Lincoln.

"Springfield, Ill., March 2, 1857."

"Rev. James Lemen, O'Fallon, Ill.

"Friend Lemen: Thanking you for
your warm appreciation of my views,
in a former letter as to the importance
in many features of your collection of
old family notes and papers, I will add
a few words more as to Elijah P. Love-
joy's case. His letters among your old
family notes were of more interest to me
as a part of the history of the 'Jefferson-
written to your father. Of course they
(the latter) were exceedingly important
as a part of the history of the 'Jefferson-
Lemen Anti-Slavery Pact,' under which
your father, Rev. James Lemen Sr.,
as Jefferson's anti-slavery agent in Illi-
nois, founded his anti-slavery churches,
among which was the present Bethel
Church, which set in motion the forces
which finally made Illinois a free state,
all of which was splendid; but Lovejoy's
tragic death for freedom in every sense
marked his sad ending as the most im-
portant single event that ever happened
in the new world.

"Both your father and Lovejoy were
pioneer leaders in the cause of freedom,
and it has always been difficult for me to
see why your father, who was a resolute,
uncompromising, and aggressive leader,
who boldly proclaimed his purpose to make
both the territory and the state free, never
aroused nor encountered any of that mob
violence which both in St. Louis and Al-
ton confronted or pursued Lovejoy, and
which finally doomed him to a felon's
death and a martyr's crown."

It is very certain, however, that while
the early contests over slavery were quite
warm, they did not develop the bitterness
that appeared in Lovejoy's time. This is in-
dicated by Lemen's relations to Governor
Harrison as set forth in the following
letter of Rev. John M. Peck to James
Lemen Jr.:

Statement of Rev. John M. Peck.

"Not only from my own personal ob-
servation, but scores of the old pioneers,
your father's followers and helpers, have
given me facts that fully establish the
claim that he was the chief leader that

saved Illinois to freedom. Not only the
state, but on a wider basis the evidence
is very strong that Rev. James Lemen
Sr. largely shared in saving the North-
western Territory for free states. This
was the estimate that Gen. (Governor)
William Henry Harrison placed on his
labors in his letter to Capt. Joseph Ogle
after his term of the governorship had
expired. In his letter to Capt. Ogle he
said that, though he and Mr. Lemen were
ardent friends, he (Lemen) set his iron
will against slavery here and indirectly
made his influence felt so strongly at
Washington and before Congress, that all
efforts to suspend the anti-slavery clause
in the Ordinance of 1787 failed.

"Many of the old pioneers to whom the
facts were known have informed me that
all the statements as to the Rev. James
Lemen's anti-slavery teaching and
preaching and forming his anti-slavery
churches, and conducting his anti-slavery
contest, and sending a paid agent to In-
diana to assist the anti-slavery cause,
were all true in every particular; and so
the evidence outside and independently
of that in the Lemen family notes is con-
clusive that Mr. Lemen created and
organized the forces which finally con-
firmed Illinois, if not the Northwestern
Territory, to freedom. But there was
just one fact that made it possible for
the old pioneer leader, practically single-
handed and alone, to accomplish such re-
sults, and that was because President
Jefferson's great power was behind him,
and through his secret influence Con-
gress worked for the very purpose that
Jefferson, more than twenty years be-
fore, had sent Lemen to Illinois, or the
Northwestern Territory, to secure, name-
ly, the freedom of the new country. The
claim that Mr. Lemen encompassed these
great results would, of course, be ridicu-
lous were it not known that the power of
the government through Jefferson stood
behind him."

Work of James Lemen.

Mr. Peck's estimate of the work of
James Lemen is probably quite just, but
Lemen was not annoyingly aggressive
in his earlier movements. In fact he
signed the petition from Randolph and St.
Clair Counties (i. e. what is now Illinois)
in 1806, and it expressly asks for the in-
troduction of slavery. He was active in
the work of the Baptist Church, and or-
ganized the anti-slavery division of that
church; but his messenger to the churches
of Indiana found men there ready for the
anti-slavery work, not only among the
Baptists, but also among the Methodists,
Quakers and other denominations. Their
petitions to Congress demonstrated that
the people were not united on the ques-
tion, and no doubt Jefferson's influence at
Washington was largely instrumental in
holding back any decision there until the
anti-slavery sentiment became prepond-
erant in Indiana.

The greater part of these documents
were first published in the Belleville
(Ill.) Advocate in 1908 and 1909. Later
they were collected with others by Wil-
lard C. MacNaul, who presented them,
with a paper on the subject, to the Chi-
cago Historical Society on Feb. 16, 1915.
These have been published by the so-
ciety in pamphlet form under the title,
"The Jefferson-Lemen Compact," and
thereby made accessible to all who de-
sire to investigate the matter fully. Com-
ing, as they do, out of this long period
of secrecy, they make a most opportune
addition to the centennial historical ma-
terial of Indiana.

Indiana files

July 25, 1915

ing Someone (Else) Would Abolish Slavery

A Pierpont Morgan exhibition highlights hypocrisy.

written from his home in on Sept. 9, 1786, to John rcer, a fellow Virginian, hington wrote: "I never ss some particular cir- should compel me to it) to her slave by purchase; it g my first wishes to see dopted, by which slavery try may be abolished by and imperceptible de-

me — a year before the ne Constitution — George Washington owned 216 er the provisions of his gton's slaves were freed th. Although he did stop selling slaves, his vague ne plan" of abolition was until the 13th Amend- tified after the end of the 1865.

nd? n's letter is among the 70 cuments of Americana in iscord: The Politics of n exhibition at the Pier- n Library in Manhattan il 24.

was the central issue in

the political campaigns until the Civil War," said Robert Parks, the curator of autograph manuscripts at the Morgan, who mounted the exhibition. "Being good gentlemen of the Enlightenment, the Founders thought that the demise of slavery would come about naturally. Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, all believed that somehow slavery would disappear."

The rich trove of original materials in the exhibition — drawn from the Morgan's own manuscripts and the Gilder Lehrman Collection on deposit in the library — range from the pre-Revolutionary era through the Emancipation Proclamation to the aftermath of the Civil War.

Nearly all the documents cry out against slavery for humane, libertarian or religious reasons. But they also

show that while some of the most prominent citizens of the time recognized the evil of slavery, they left it to succeeding generations to do something about it.

'Most Boisterous Passions'

James Madison, Patrick Henry and Jefferson (who inherited slaves under his father's will) were slaveholders. In his "Notes on the State of Virginia," a rare document privately printed in Paris in 1785, Jefferson argued: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

A letter sent by James Madison on Nov. 25, 1820, to the Marquis de Lafayette discussed the debate over admitting Missouri as a slave state and the confusion caused by the different rights of "free people of color" in various states. He deplored the "various disqualifications which degrade them from the rank & rights of white persons."

Dismayed by the growing divisiveness in the nation, which he had

helped to found, Madison added, "All these perplexities develop more and more, the dreadful fruitfulness of the original sin of the African trade."

'Dilute the Evil'

A letter from Jefferson to Lafayette dated Monticello, Dec. 26, 1820, advanced the unusual theory (which Lincoln would dispute in his debates with Senator Stephen A. Douglas in 1858) that extension of slavery could actually bring about emancipation: "Spreading them over a larger surface, will dilute the evil everywhere and facilitate the means of getting finally rid of it, an event more anxiously wished by those on whom it presses than by the noisy pretenders to exclusive humanity."

But Jefferson did look into the future in a letter written on July 18, 1824, to Lydia Howard Sigourney, a poet and advocate of women's education and Indian rights. The 81-year-old Jefferson called slavery a "blot in our moral history." And he concluded: "I shall not live to see it but those who come after us will be wiser than we are, for light is spreading and man improving. To that advancement I look, and to the dispensations of an all-wise and all-powerful providence to devise the means of effecting what is right."

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