

Appendix

to Part I: Nantucket's First Peoples of Color

Excerpts from documents relevant to Part I

Spelling and punctuation standardized to facilitate reading.

Appendix 1a. *Experience Mayhew 1726, p. 50:*

“A godly Englishman, who had formerly been a schoolmaster to the Indians here, and had taught Japheth and many others to read and write, and had also learned them their catechism, and instructed them in the principles of religion, having unhappily imbibed the errors of the *Antipedobaptists*, thought himself obliged to bring Mr. Japheth over to his persuasion: To this end he therefore visited him at his house, took much pains to convince him that theirs was the right way, and that ours of baptizing infants and sprinkling them in baptism was very wrong....Japheth told him he would only say one thing more before he went. ‘You know, Sir, said he, that we Indians were all in darkness and ignorance before the English came among us, and instructed us, and that yourself are one of those Englishmen by whom we have been taught and illuminated. You taught us to read, and instructed us in the doctrines of the Christian religion, which we now believe, and endeavor to conform our practices to. And when, sir, you thus instructed us, you told us, that it may be there would shortly false teachers come among us, and endeavor to pervert us, or lead us off from our belief of the things wherein we had been instructed; but you then advised us to take heed to ourselves and beware that we were not turned aside by such teachers, so as to fall into the errors into which they would lead us. And now, sir, I find your prediction true; for you yourself are become one of these teachers you cautioned us against: I am therefore resolved to take your good counsel, and not believe you, but will continue steadfast in the truths wherein you formerly instructed me.’”

Appendix 1b. *Zaccheus Macy 1792, pp. 4-5:*

“There happened one thing more, something strange in about the year 1669. King Philip came to the island to kill an Indian whose name was John Gibbs for speaking or naming the name of the dead which we supposed was one of his nigh connections [relatives], for it was a sort of law they had that no one was to speak the name of the dead. And when the said Philip came, he landed at the west end of the island intending to travel along shore under the bank to the east part of the island where said John lived so as not

to be discovered. But an Indian [who] happened to know his business ran and told the said John the plans, and John ran to town and went to Thomas Macy and got him to hide him. And the English held a party with the said Philip and it took all the money they could muster to satisfy the said King. The above story we have handed down to us from our forefathers so that we do not doubt the truth of it. And so the said Philip went off satisfied.”

Appendix 1c. *Obed Macy 1880 (1835), pp. 74–76:*

“The putting to death of these persons was, of course, in accordance with the requirements of the law of the land, and cannot be considered as expressing the opinion of the inhabitants on that mode of punishment. We believe the sentiments of this community are, and always have been, strongly against capital punishments.

“Taking the lives of human beings, as an expiation for the most heinous crimes, has so long been practiced throughout the world, that the greater part of mankind has become reconciled to the measure: they seem to have become fully convinced that this punishment is absolutely necessary for the safety of society, and justifiable in the sight of God.

...

“Much might be said on this very interesting subject, but it is not our intention to enlarge this work by discussing matters that may be considered irrelevant to it. We leave the matter for more able writers, with strong desire that a reform may take place, not doubting that it would prove a blessing to society, and be productive of increased harmony, to wholly annul the laws by which criminals are deprived of life.”

Appendix 1d. *Three petitions to the General Court of Massachusetts, originals in the Massachusetts State Archives, Indians, Volumes 31, 36:*

“In the year 1741–2 in the 11th month.

“We the Indians of Sakedan Nantucket meet with hurt by the English of Nantucket for taking away our creatures from us and also from our fathers. But we now speak for ourselves, for we know what they have taken from us in time past, . . . James Asab and John Asab make complaint against the Englishmen of Nantucket for their father Asab, for they took from him 12 cows and oxen in his day. This was done more than 40 years ago. And we Indians of Sakedan, some of us have horses, and we have pasturing for our horses hired from Englishmen. They asked us for 3 pounds first, [then] 4 pounds, and now they ask us 5 pounds.

“And in the year 1741 the Englishmen’s creatures ate our corn almost up, and some they did eat all up. John Quaab had an acre of corn about half eaten up by Englishmen’s cattle, and he had not near half as much as he expected he should have of that acre. And Solomon Zachariah had half an acre all eaten up by Englishmen’s cattle.

“John Jethro had half an acre of rye all eaten up by Englishmen’s cattle and had his wigwam house broken down, and the English never gave him anything for it. John Tashama had half an acre of corn all eaten up by Englishmen’s cattle and had nothing for it. Esau Cook had two acres of corn all eaten up and had nothing for it. These Englishmen who have taken our creatures away from us make other Town Indians come in upon us and take away our wood from our land. These Indians—as there are no Englishmen to befriend the Sakedan Town Indians—they care not what hurt they do unto us. Chief of these Indians are Barnabas Spotso, James Paupamo, and his son.

“And these Englishmen of Nantucket, they never take their sheep early in the spring of the year, but they let them alone out there [until] the month of May comes in. And after their sheep have done some hurt to our plantations, then they take their sheep from our land. And after[ward] they will let go their sheep too soon in the year. They let them go to our land sometimes the last of August. Then they let go their sheep to go to our land to eat up our corn. . . . and perchance then they should pay us for the hurt these creatures have done in our land, but they never did, and their creatures have hurt us so these eight years.”

(Reproduced in original form in Starbuck 1924, pp. 246–47. The village name *Sakedan* appears frequently in documents of this period. It is thought to refer to a settlement on the east side of the island at considerable distance from the village of Miacomet, but its location is unknown.)

“This written instrument was made at the place called Sakedan Indian Town at Nantucket. This is what these Englishmen have done unto us poor Indians at Nantucket. When the Englishmen take us out whaling

with them to sea, they will leave us no time to rest on the Sabbath days. If they see a whale or whales, then we must row after them if it be on the Sabbath day. All day long we must be rowing after the whale or whales or be killing whales that Sabbath day. This is what Nantucket Englishmen do unto us, we poor Indians of Nantucket. And now we hear they say at the General Court that the Indians of Nantucket are in no ways like Christians. And the Governor at Boston and the Council know nothing of what these men do. How can we be in any ways like Christians? When we should be praying to God on the Sabbath day morning, then we must be rowing after whales or killing whales or cutting up whales on the Sabbath day when we should be at rest on that day and do no worldly labor, only some holy duties to draw near to God. And when on land, then we have no time to go to the meeting, and then we are called to go away again to sea whaling. How can we serve God or worship Him on the Sabbath days or at any time, when our masters lead us to darkness and not in light?

“And these young Indians who are brought up by the English of Nantucket, they take no notice of the Sabbath day. If they be at the meeting house, they will go away again to see their friends. There are Indians in our town who are willing to worship God or to serve God at all times if they can, and I hope there are some of us Indians who have true fear of God. It is we who were brought up by our own parents and have seen our fond fathers’ ways of worshipping God. We will do all that we can to serve God, but these Englishmen hinder us from being more constant in serving God. We Indians say of these English as they say of us that they are in no ways like Christians, for if they were, they would go by the rules of the Gospel and should be in true fear of God. Now we Indians of Sakedan Town make our complaint of these Englishmen of Nantucket to this honorable General Court at Boston. And we old fathers make complaint with these Town Indians concerning our children. The names of these old men are Saul Quaskenit and old [Con]stable Caleb and old Taster and James Pocknet.

“And we are the men of this Sakedan Town, Indians. We will take the counsel of these old men in making the complaint to this court. The names of these men are John Quaab and James Asab and Israel Acrika.”

July 24, 1747 (reproduced in original form in Starbuck 1924, pp. 153–54).

“...Eight days past they made a general call among us poor Indians to come and hear the paper that Governor Shirley had sent, and we went the Monday following and heard it read by Abishai Folger and Jonathan Coffin and Richard Coffin. And they read that we were to plant as much as they liked [where] these three men thought fit and where they liked. They will give liberty, and without their consent, we shall do nothing. And that we should let [out] no land to any poor man. They need not [be] giving that charge, [since] we can’t get it to plant our own, because they keep it out of our hands. And I pray you to

take it in consideration and assist us. And I pray that God might be on our side and be your guide and do the thing that is just. We want not Abishai Folger or any other man that is living on the island to be over us, for all they that are living here that are concerned with the commons, their spirits are of the devil, and they can do nothing that is good or just concerning us. All we want is our land which is called Squam for us to make use of as we have all our days until they have taken it by force away. We desire to have it returned to be our own [for] our lifetime and forever, and not to be disturbed from our comfort in this world. I don't understand why there should not be justice for us and why our names may be wiped out.”

August 9, 1747 (reproduced in original form in Starbuck 1924, pp. 155–56).

Appendix 1e. *Two deeds of manumission*

i. William Worth's manumission of Ishmael in 1718, Deed book 3, p. 126

To all people to whom these presents shall come, William Worth of the Island of Nantucket in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Esqr., sendeth greeting. Know ye that I the s^d William Worth, taking into consideration the faithful service done for me by my servant Ishmael and for other reasonable causes and considerations me thereunto moving, do by these presents declare that my servant Ishmael from and after my decease shall be a free man absolutely at his own dispose, and do hereby acquit and discharge the s^d Ishmael from any right, title, challenge or demand which my heirs or any other person or persons might have in or unto him as a servant by, from or under me. And further for and in consideration of the service done and to be done by my s^d servant Ishmael, I do by these presents freely and absolutely give, grant and convey and confirm unto him the s^d Ishmael two acres of land on Nantucket of that land enclosed adjoining to my dwelling house and lying the eastward end thereof, to be laid out and bounded unto him by myself or my heirs, and also the liberty or privilege of keeping one horse on the commons of the s^d Island of Nantucket to him the s^d Ishmael and to his heirs and assigns to his and their own proper use, benefit and behoof forever, but subject nevertheless to this condition and limitation following, that is that if the s^d Ishmael or his heirs shall at any time hereafter sell and alienate the s^d two acres of land or the liberty of keeping a horse as above mentioned, that then those of the family and posterity of me the s^d William Worth shall have first offer and opportunity of buying and purchasing the same, they giving as much for it as any other. In witness whereof I the s^d William Worth have hereunto set my hand and seal the nineteenth day of July in the fourth year of the Reign of George of Great Britain &c, King, annoque domini 1718.

William Worth (seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered

in the presence of

George Bunker

Jonathan Bunker

July 22: 1718

Nantucket, July the twenty-first day, 1718,

William Worth, Esqr. appeared before me and did acknowledge this above-written Instrument to be his act and deed.

George Bunker

Justice of Peace

ii. Benjamin Coffin's manumission of Rose and her children, December 15, 1775, NHA Collection 335, Folder 51.

To all Christian people to whom this may come, know that I, Benjamin Coffin of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England have had in my possession a Negro woman named Rose, who according to custom of said Province is deemed a slave and as my property, but believing it to be contrary to true Christianity and divine injunction of the Author thereof to hold a person as my property or continue her in a state whereby she may be subjected to slavery after my decease, I in consideration thereof and other causes me thereunto moving, I do for myself, my heirs, executors and administrators manumit, release and discharge the aforesaid Negro Rose and her two sons Bristol and Benjamin from a state of slavery. I hereby declare them to be henceforth as amply and fully free as if they had been born of free parents, and also I do for myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators warrant, secure, and defend the Negro Rose and her said two sons Bristol and Benjamin from all claims of right, title or property in them of any person whatsoever so claiming or pretending to claim from, by or under me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 15th day of the 12th month, 1775. Signed in the presence of us, Jonathan Macy and Joseph Mitchell.

Benj^m Coffin

Appendix 1f. *Elihu Coleman's arguments against slavery, 1733.*

Between 1729 and 1730 Elihu Coleman wrote *A testimony against that anti-Christian practice of making slaves of men, wherein it is shewed to be contrary to the dispensation of the law and time of the Gospel, and very opposite both to grace and nature*. It was published in 1733, republished in 1825, and reprinted again in 1935.

To begin with, Coleman reminds his readers that Quaker leader George Fox had spoken and written against the enslavement of Africans after observing it first-hand in Barbados in 1671–72. He then quotes the Book of Deuteronomy in which Jews are commanded to release slaves at the end of seven years and to provide their former slaves with livestock and material goods.

He then turns to the **first “objection”** (argument in support of slavery), that “God’s people” had always bought and kept bond-servants. Coleman points out that this was not life-long servitude. He distinguishes between the terms *servant* and *slave* and reminds the reader of the commandment in Deuteronomy that no purchased servant is to be kept for a term of life.

The **second objection** is that “these negroes are not of our nation but are mere infidels and strangers.” Coleman quotes the Book of Exodus, in which Jews are commanded not to vex or oppress strangers, since they themselves were once strangers in Egypt. He also quotes the Golden Rule of doing to others only what one is willing that others do to oneself.

A corollary to the second objection is that Africans bore the mark of Cain “because of their hair, and their being so black, differing from all others” and also that the Canaanites (taken to be the descendents of Cain) were to serve others. Coleman rejects this as well, asserting that the descendents of Cain all died in the biblical Flood, and that the Canaanites were the descendants of Shem, not Cain.

Continuing the theme of the Flood, he points out that by God’s permission animals designated as unclean in the Old Testament were nonetheless taken onto Noah’s ark along with those designated clean. He reminds his readers that by the will of God not only righteous people but also wicked ones are permitted to live, that the sun shines on the just and the unjust, likewise the rain falls on both alike, and that Jesus commanded his

disciples to leave weeds alone lest that in pulling them out, they might accidentally uproot the wheat as well.

He concludes with the ironic comment that if anyone think people are justified in making Africans slaves because the Africans are ignorant or wicked, then it wouldn't be necessary to travel all the way to Africa to find ignorant and wicked people to enslave. There are plenty of such people near at hand.

Warming to the subject, Coleman embarks on another argument against enslaving non-Christians. He points out that Muslims make slaves of people they consider infidels, but when any such slave embraces Islam, that person is immediately freed from slavery and given a position of responsibility. Christian slave-owners, on the other hand, insist that their slaves embrace Christianity, but when this is accomplished, the slaves remain slaves.

How is it consistent, he asks, that when an African slave runs away from a Christian master, Christians consider it right and proper to beat him, but when a Christian slave manages to escape from a Muslim master, Christians consider him a hero?

Coleman then states his belief that even people whose conscience permits the killing of other people in self-defense should look upon taking people into slavery as a sin, because such people have offered no threat or offence to the people who trade in them. Indeed, those small children taken into slavery or born into slavery are incapable of having done anything to warrant their deprivation of liberty.

Finally he cites two Old Testament books and one of the New Testament letters equating the taking of people into slavery with murder.

The **third objection** is that slavery has been generally practiced by all societies. If it is such a sin, how could it have gone on universally and throughout history?

Coleman remarks that if all human societies were as much in agreement about other matters as they have been about the acceptability of slavery, there would be just one big human society. He likens this cross-cultural like-mindedness to the unanimity with which "diverse sects of people and of very differing minds" joined in agreement that Jesus Christ should be crucified.

Despite the universality of slavery throughout human history, Coleman says, there have always been people who protested the institution as cruel and oppressive. As to the rejoinder that all such protests have failed, he responds that “a good cause may be badly managed” and that failure is no reason to give up striving against an evil.

He then addresses the resistance of people who already own slaves and say they don’t know how what to do about them. What will become of the people they set free? They will be in a strange country far from their original home. Will former owners be obliged to support these people once they no longer own them? Coleman says that he personally does not think it would be wrong to set Africans free in the place to which they have been brought, but even people who do feel that way should join in denouncing the taking of more slaves, since their silence on the subject of slavery encourages its continuance. He compares the situation to a marriage in which one spouse is an unbeliever. The union should have been avoided in the first place, but a decent person would not put aside a spouse on this basis.

He says that it is self-interest that blinds people to the evil of enslaving other people, and no one should participate in the practice “for all the riches and glory of this world.”

Slavery, an evil in itself, leads to attendant evils. Husbands and wives are separated by it, and children are separated from their parents. Men and women apart from their spouses are forced to form other transitory unions, children are deprived of loving bonds with their parents, and “all this is done by violence, which is forbidden in the scriptures: for we are commanded to do violence to no man.”

Finally, there is no merit in the argument that the institution of slavery is a means of spreading the Gospel. Coleman remarks that the price of knowledge of the Gospel would be expensive indeed if it meant life-long involuntary servitude to another human being. Moreover, the Gospel was not meant to be bought or sold for money, and God compels no person to accept it. If Christians pervert this and profit by it, it is no wonder that other peoples of the world come to hate Christians.

If it is in our power to help, and we do nothing, Coleman reminds his readers, then God will not forgive us.

Appendix 1g. Report of the banquet for the crew of the *Loper*.

FESTIVAL.—On Thursday last, through the munificence of the owners of the Ship *Loper* of this port, a very excellent dinner was given to the crew of that ship (people of colour) and others. The entertainment was provided by Capt. A. F. Boston and Mr. Samuel Harris, and we are told was served up in neat and handsome style.

Previous to dining, the crew of ship *Loper*, marshalled by Capt. Boston and Mr. Harris, (on horseback, with boarding knives for swords) marched through the principal streets and made a very interesting appearance. Instead of guns, the crew carried harpoons, whale-spades, lances, &c. The generalship displayed by the marshals, the correct time of the music, and the soldierly step of the little band of whalers, together with the novelty of the scene, afforded a rare treat of amusement to numerous spectators.

The occasion is said to have been one of great hilarity and social enjoyment, and after the removal of the cloth [i.e., after dinner], the following sentiments were drunk with great enthusiasm.

REGULAR TOASTS.*

- 1.—*Captain Obed Starbuck*—No man living has given so much *real light* to the world, in the same length of time. [joke about record amount of whale oil for lighting brought in on such a short voyage]
- 2.—*The memory of all good whalemén*—May they never want oil to smooth their ways.
- 3.—*Captain Obed Starbuck*.—He that keeps the best look out from mast head, will the soonest see home.
- 4.—*Fourteen months*—Long enough for a good captain and a good crew.
- 5.—*Short voyages*—He that *tries* hardest will *try* most. [joke on trying out oil]
6. *The Loper's BUCKS*—Like the American Ensign, adorned by the STAR.
7. Whalebone and Ivory.
- 8.—*War*—That war which causes no grief, the success of which produces no tears—war with the monsters of the deep.
- 9.—*Black Skin*—The best skin which whalemén can see. [joke on black skin of both the *Loper's* crew and of the whales]
- 10.—*Cabin, Steerage, and Forecastle*—If well filled, will secure a full hold, and between decks. [A competent crew insures a return with a full cargo.]
- 11.—*The fair sex*—Short voyages make sweet faces.
- 12.—*Death to the Living and long life to the killers*—

Success to wives of sailors,

And greasy luck to whalers.

13. *Ship Loper's voyage*—No good luck, but great exertion.

*The names of the persons who gave the above toasts were written with a *pencil*, and as a part were not legible, we omitted all.

VOLUNTEER TOASTS

De ship Loper and her crew—Strong to de lion, meek as de ram, catch de whale when he can see him, who do dat?—*Tune*—Keep a look out there. [*To the ship Loper and her crew*—Strong as the lion, meek as the lamb, catch the whale when they can see him. Who does that? *Answer: The ship Loper and her crew.* Followed by the song “Keep a look out there.”]

By the vice-President

Our Nantucket Carmen and Butchers—no more like de Boston gentlemen than Aunt Philis Painter's nose like a bunch of Horse radish. *Tune*—Pitman's march. [*To our Nantucket carmen and butchers*—They are no more like the Boston gentlemen than Aunt Phillis Painter's nose is like a bunch of horseradish. Followed by Pitman's March.]

Mister President Jackson—No more like Henry Clay than Sam. Harris fiddle like a roll of blackball. [*To President Andrew Jackson*—He is no more like Henry Clay than Sam Harris's fiddle is like a roll of blackball. *This probably refers to a ball of tarred rope used for caulking. Joseph Hart introduces his novel Miriam Coffin with the conceit that the manuscript was found “carefully tied up with a piece of tarred rope-yarn”* (Hart 1995, p. xlvi)]

Mister General Lafayette—He free de poor Frenchmen—hope he come 200 years age and free poor darky to de South. [*To General Lafayette*—He freed the poor Frenchmen. May he live two hundred years and free the poor blacks in the South.]

Whale Captains of Nantucket and New Bedford—No more like Capt. Starbuck, than horse-foot like elephant. [The whaling captains of Nantucket and New Bedford are no more like Captain Starbuck of the *Loper* than horses are like elephants.]

People of Colour—May de enemy of our celebration and of African freedom, hab ternal itch and no benefit of scratch so long as he lib. 5 times 4. [*To People of Colour*—May the enemy of our celebration suffer from an eternal itch that he can't scratch his whole life long. *Followed by cheer.*]

City of Boston—Where seed ob liberty come from—Washington plant him. Lafayette till him, may African reap him. 9 times 11. [*To the City of Boston*—It is where the seed of liberty came from. Washington planted it. Lafayette tilled it. May the African reap it. *Followed by cheer.*]

Woahoo—Glad he can't speak no cuckold telltale, den all our captains go by him just like ship Loper. 11 times 19. [*O'ahu*—We're glad he can't betray our secret. Then all our captains would by-pass him like the ship *Loper* did. *Followed by cheer.* *The Loper's log (NHA Collection 220, log 308) indicates that the Loper rounded Cape Horn, cruised the west coast of South America, then traded at Hope and Clark's Islands and cruised the Gilbert Islands before sailing on to New Zealand and thence back to Cape Horn without putting in at Hawai'i. This is apparently the secret of their short voyage.]*

Nantucket Inquirer, September 25, 1830

Appendix 1h. Two paid notices announcing the Anti-Slavery Reading Room in *Nantucket Inquirer*, Jan. 16, 1841

i. A CARD

The Committee appointed by the (colored) legal voters in Nantucket to superintend their Reading Room beg leave to return their grateful acknowledgements to all those who so kindly contributed to their aid in erecting the above named establishment.

WILLIAM HARRIS, HENRY T. WHEELER, WILLIAM H. HARRIS –Committee

WILLIAM M. MORRIS, Sec'ry

Jan. 16 1t*

An Anti-Slavery Library has been established in the room over Obed Barney's store, recently occupied by J. Cowan. It comprises as extensive a variety of the standard Anti-Slavery productions of British and American authors as can be found in any Anti-Slavery depository in the country. The leading A.S. periodicals can also be examined in the room.—The public generally are invited to take advantage of this means of obtaining correct information, FREE OF EXPENSE, respecting the present condition of 3,000,000 of American citizens, and the most effectual means for bettering their condition. The room will be open for the delivery of books, Tuesday and Friday of each week, from 2 to 5, and from 6 to nine o'clock P.M.

jy13

(This ad continued to be printed for several months.)

Appendix 1i. *Two Independence Day observances in New Guinea.*

i. *Inquirer*, July 18, 1829

Abolition Jubilee—On Tuesday last, the “African Society” of this town celebrated the day, in commemoration of the principles which extend equal rights to all. We understand a very pertinent and appropriate address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Perry, Pastor of the Society; and that a dinner on the occasion was provided in fine style—after which a procession was formed, accompanied by martial music, that passed through some of the principal streets of the town. We have not seen any of the toasts given on the occasion, consequently it is not in our power to oblige our readers by publishing them.

ii. *Inquirer*, July 11, 1838

Mr. Jenks—You have made some comments upon the observance of our National Anniversary by a portion of our community; allow me to give a brief sketch of what I witnessed in a part of the town that did not probably come under the notice of many of your readers.

Returning from a solitary ramble on the eve of this day, my attention was attracted by the appearance of two conspicuous buildings in the southern borders of the town, illuminated as for some sort of a gathering. My curiosity was not a little excited to know what these colored people could be about on *Independent Day*. I approached the door of the nearest house: all was quiet, there was no sound of merry making; no notes of music; no joyous laugh. I entered, and there, in a room nearly filled as for public worship, were seated about hundred and fifty persons, mostly colored; whilst the pulpit was occupied by one of true African descent. Seating myself in an obscure corner, I noted with great interest what passed before me. The audience were neat and modest in their attire, and during the whole time, which could not have been less than an hour and a half, gave the strictest attention to all that was said and done. Indeed there seemed to be a sort of solemn awe resting on the assembly. The speaker, I found by his discourse, was addressing an Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society; the members of which, thirty or forty in number, surrounded the pulpit. The discourse was written in a correct, plain, classic style and would, I think, read very well; but owing apparently to the diffidence of the speaker and his want of practice in public speaking, it lost much of its excellence. But if his oratory was faulty, his good composition and acquaintance with his subject made ample amends. He was followed by three or four others, who spoke extemporaneously and spoke well—one in particular, whose style and manner were quite above mediocrity. Then their female preacher with her silvery toned voice said a few gospel words to them in her peculiarly bland and persuasive manner. After this the Society chose their officers for the ensuing year, attended to sundry little matters of business as appointing committees, &c., and closed with singing an appropriate hymn.

All the performances were serious and some even solemn. There was no ranting, no mere declamation; they appeared to feel they were about a *holy* work, that they were laboring for their wronged and miserable brethren in bonds. It was perhaps a very obvious remark made by one of the speakers, and yet the time, the place, and particularly the *manner* impressed itself deeply on my mind. “The Fourth of July is no day of rejoicing to the *colored* man; his day is not yet come. *You* (addressing himself to the youthful President of the Society) may see it. *I* shall not.”

Leaving this place, I passed on to the other building mentioned above, which I found was also a church. The people were just coming out, and I asked what had been going on in there. “Only a meeting, a prayer meeting,” was the answer. I passed down the principal street, and the silence of the Sabbath eve pervaded it. Some were at their doors and windows enjoying the coolness of the evening air, but all was still and quiet. And this is the way these despised people spend the Fourth of July, and very appropriately too. Their brethren are yet in bonds; no liberty or independence do they know; they are crushed under the strong arm of Republican despotism. There is no peace, no liberty for the colored man in these *Independent States*. So think the ten thousand colored citizens who escaped into Canada. They understand that though our Constitution proclaims freedom and equality, it is freedom and equality only to the *white* man. But I forbear; it was my intention simply to state how some of our colored citizens celebrated this anniversary and leave reflections to the reader.

Appendix 1j. Excerpts from the diary of George H. Gardner, summer 1842

Tuesday, August 9: “Abolitionists came today. Foster, Garrison, Collins, &c.”

Wednesday, August 10: “Abolitionist convention.”

Thursday, August 11: “Abolitionist convention at the Atheneum this eve, About 200 outside throwing eggs, beans, stones, &c.”

Friday, August 12: “Abolitionist convention this eve at the Atheneum. Regular mob, would not let them speak, threwed [*sic*] eggs, beans. Stamped, &c. Garrison, Collins, Foster, &c. undertook to speak but could not be heard. Adj[ourned] at 1/4 past 10 p.m. Several windows broken in.”

Saturday, August 13: “Another abolition meeting held at Franklin Hall this eve, but was broken up by a volley of rotten eggs thrown in. They had to clear the hall. Foster was speaking.”

Sunday, August 14: “Foster went into the Quaker meeting house on Fair St. and began to speak. They rose and put him out. Being driven from all houses, they went up to the Old Shop and held a meeting.”

Monday, August 15: “Abolition meeting at Town Hall. About 1/2 past 9 p.m. commenced throwing eggs. Some struck Collins. They were going to adjourn, but began again. Several eggs sailed into the house. At 1/2 past 10 p.m. they started to adjourn, and the mob rushed in after Foster. Collins jumped out the window. They cried fire and rung the bells until after 11. Sheriff Gardner cleared the house.”

Tuesday, August 16: “At meeting this eve they were not hove out.”

Wednesday, August 17: “Abolitionists & camp meeting folks went off this morn.”

Appendix 1k. The Ross sisters' obituaries

i. *Inquirer and Mirror*, March 2, 1895.

Obituary

Ross.—Miss Eunice F. Ross, who died at her home on York street last Wednesday, was the prominent figure in an event in the town's history, which, though well known to the older residents, will be of interest

to our younger readers. It was at the time when the color line was closely drawn in the public schools, and an attempt to gain admissions for a colored pupil on terms of equality with white scholars was frowned upon. Miss Ross had been a pupil of Miss Anna Gardner at what was known as the “African School” on York street. She was an apt scholar, and Miss Gardner had advanced her until she was qualified for entrance to the High School, where she made application for admission. Public indignation was aroused at this (as then termed) “outrage.” But the advocates of equal rights would not “down,” and clung tenaciously to their cause—and won the fight. Miss Ross was particularly fond of the study of French, in which language she became proficient.

ii. *Inquirer and Mirror*, August 8, 1896.

A Faithful Servant

Sarah M. Ross, who died at the residence of Mrs. Fred’k Worth, corner of Main and Pleasant streets, Wednesday morning, was an example of the faithful friend and servant. For a period of 57 years she served as a servant with Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Coffin, and since their decease, has continued an intimate of their home every season during the annual visits of the family here. Although the infirmities of age have incapacitated her for actual labor for several years, yet she has remained an esteemed member of the household, and a remarkable friend and servitor, covering a period of 63 years.

Appendix 11. *Thomas Boston’s wedding*

i. *Inquirer and Mirror*, October 29, 1869.

A FASHIONABLE COLORED WEDDING.—The Washington Chronicle of Saturday prints an account of a fashionable colored wedding, one of the first in that city where invitations to the reception were issued extensively to white people. The bridegroom was Professor Boston, a musician who furnishes music for dancing parties. The bride was richly attired in white satin, and the bridesmaids were also dressed in white. The reception took place at the residence of the bride’s father, which was filled with a gay throng of invited guests. Among the well-known citizens present were General [Oliver Otis] Howard, ex-President Roberts of Liberia and wife, John M. Langston, Professor Bascom and wife, Professor Barber and wife, Colonel D. L. Eaton, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Finney and Dr. Augusta, all of whom were white but the last-named.

The Professor Boston above mentioned, was Thomas Boston, youngest son of the late Capt. Absalom F. Boston, of this town, and now Assistant Cashier of the Freedman's Savings Institution at Washington. Prof. Boston was educated in our public schools and his success in life has been owing to the liberal system of education here, which gave all alike, white and black, an opportunity to profit by it if so disposed.

ii. *Island Review*, January 6, 1875

The Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette* is gushing over the beautiful colored girls there. He says "One pretty Creole married an officer of the Freedman's Bank, a colored man, who formerly played the piano for private Germans [cotillion dances], etc. He built her a fine house and took her to Niagara on the bridal trip. She was married in a white satin dress, with orange blossoms and tulle veil." The husband of this colored lady, who is famed in Washington for her personal charms, and intellect also, is Mr. Thomas Boston, a Nantucket man."

[This was old news. The wedding had taken place four and a half years previously, and by the date of the story, Freedman's Savings and Trust had failed, and Thomas Boston had been dismissed in disgrace.]