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REVIEW



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*Image: John Finley Crowe (1787-1860), photograph and date unknown.  
Courtesy of the Archives of Hanover College.*

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# THE HANOVER HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Foreword

*by Dylan Woods* ..... 5

### Student Submissions

“Education, Slavery, and The Democratic Vision of Presbyterian  
Minister John Finley Crowe”

*by Jeremiah Castle and Caroline Templeton* ..... 7

“David Walker’s Appeal”

*by Bradley Robinson* ..... 20

### Get Me to the Promised Land!

Exhibition Checklist

*by Douglas F. Denné* ..... 24

Colonization Society Address of John Finley Crowe

*Introduction by Caroline Templeton* ..... 29

Letter from James M. Priest to John Finley Crowe, King Will Town,  
July 2, 1840

*Introduction by Christina Ferkinhoff* ..... 36

Letter from Alexander M. Cowen to John Finley Crowe, Frankfort, .....  
Kentucky, January 3, 1851

*Introduction by Douglas F. Denné* ..... 38

Letter from Hariat Thomkins to John Finley Crowe, Kentucky,  
Liberia, January 26, 1852

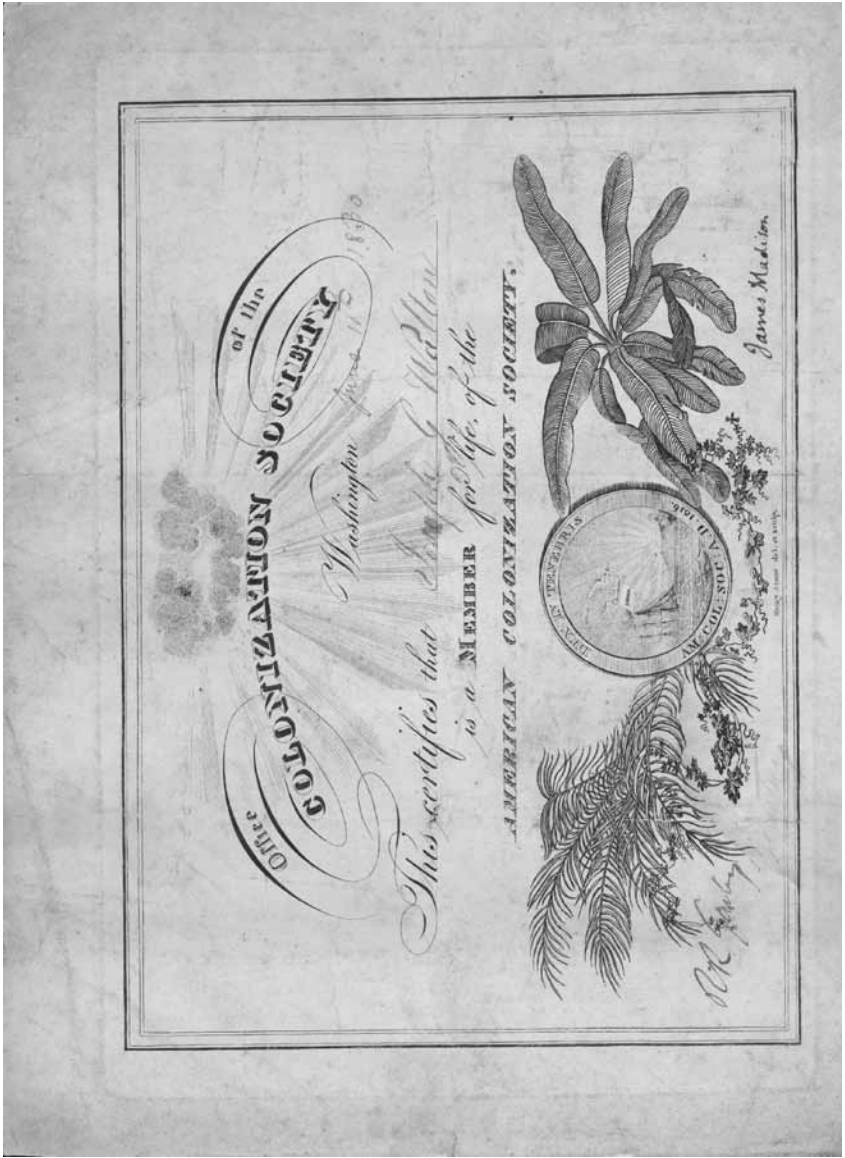
*Introduction by Dylan Woods* ..... 40

## **Foreword**

*by Dylan Woods*

As both a historian and editor of this Review, I recognize the importance of depicting historical events and people in an accurate and impartial manner. The essays and documents in this Review represent the attempt to depict John Finley Crowe and his work in just that way. The first document, an essay written by Jeremiah Castle and Caroline Templeton, relates the life and work of Crowe, especially as it pertained to the abolition movement. They present a vivid and detailed account of the man as a historical figure. His work with the abolition movement was among Crowe's most noble, and the images found throughout the Review are a testament both to his work and to the movement generally. The primary documents include an address given by Crowe and several letters from people who were well acquainted with him. The writers of these letters were free blacks who had made the journey to Africa as part of the Colonization effort. The second student submission is an essay by Bradley Robinson describing the life and writings of David Walker, a free black and anti-slavery advocate from North Carolina. The final image in the Review is a photograph of Hanover's Old Classic Hall, a building central to the college he founded and its educational purpose.

The Hanover Historical Review is a valuable and important production of the college, and I am happy to have been a part of reviving and creating it. Of course, this publication is the result of much hard work on the parts of many people, and they deserve credit and thanks for what they have done. But the task of producing the Review ultimately rests on the willingness of students to put in the effort to write, edit, and submit their historical works. The collaboration of the Review board of editors with Hanover College Archives has resulted in a wonderful mix of primary documents with student essays, each relating to a common theme. As the Review moves ahead and prepares for the coming years, it will be important to continue that partnership and thematic approach. I hope that doing so will result in a fruitful and beneficial relationship for both.



Above: Membership Certificate of the American Colonization Society, signed by James Madison, June 10, 1830. Courtesy of the Archives of Hanover College.

## Education, Slavery, and The Democratic Vision of Presbyterian Minister John Finley Crowe

*By Jeremiah Castle and Caroline Templeton*

### Abstract

*Historians have traditionally viewed the period from 1800 to approximately 1830 as a period of democratization in American society. The usual argument is that the Second Great Awakening brought greater democracy to Christianity, including the increasing openness to African Americans, particularly among Methodist and Baptist denominations. However, this argument ignores a number of important contributions made by members of other denominations. In spite of social pressures against abolitionists at the national, state, and local levels, Presbyterian minister John Finley Crowe (1787-1860) maintained a personal commitment to fighting slavery and helping former slaves, demonstrating that racial progressivism was not limited to just a few denominations.*

Historians have consistently viewed the period from 1800 until roughly 1830 as a time of democratization in the United States. According to this perspective, the period saw the destruction of the previously existing hierarchical society, greatly expanded suffrage for white males and sometimes black males, greater social mobility, and a growing acceptance of populism and frontier culture.<sup>1</sup> Historian Nathan O. Hatch points out that American religion became more democratic through the development of Methodist and Baptist movements that swept across the frontier during this period, known as the Second Great Awakening.<sup>2</sup> Hatch contrasts these new, “democratic” denominations against more traditional churches, including the Presbyterian Church. Hatch paints a picture of a Presbyterian denomination struggling to keep up with the trends of the rapidly expanding Methodist and Baptist denominations. One of the central appeals of the Methodist and Baptist traditions was that they “welcomed African-Americans as full participants in their communions and condemned the institution of slavery.”<sup>3</sup> Methodist and Baptist efforts to recruit African-Americans were successful largely because of “the number of white preachers willing to preach against slavery in the face of entrenched opposition.”<sup>4</sup> This perspective ignores many of the changes taking place in Presbyterianism on the frontier as ministers there became active in the fight against slavery. An examination of the life of the Reverend John Finley Crowe, Presbyterian minister and founder of Hanover College, reveals that he consistently disregarded social

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<sup>1</sup>Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*, Abridged College Edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008).

<sup>2</sup>Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>3</sup>Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 102.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 103.

norms to campaign against slavery and befriend former slaves in his church, demonstrating racial progressivism within his own orthodox Presbyterian faith.

In many ways, Crowe's life testifies to the opportunities present in the rapidly democratizing America of the early 19th century. John Finley Crowe was born in Tennessee on June 16, 1787.<sup>5</sup> When he became a Christian around 1808, Crowe's interest in education grew, but he was initially reluctant to pursue religious training himself. After a friend suggested that he consider going into ministry, Crowe wrote, "I told him that I had not the necessary talents, and that if I had, both my age and the want of means would forbid the effort to get an education."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, in April 1809, Crowe moved to Danville, Kentucky, to live with his uncle while he studied theology privately for two years.<sup>7</sup> Crowe then enrolled at Transylvania University, where he met Professor James Blythe, whom Andrew Lee Feight calls the "leading Kentucky Presbyterian minister of his generation."<sup>8</sup> Blythe is perhaps best known as the mentor of Barton W. Stone,<sup>9</sup> whose more radical ideas regarding independence from denomination and doctrine led him to break with the Presbyterian Church in 1802 to form the Disciples of Christ.<sup>10</sup> That a young man from Crowe's humble background was able to study with someone as influential as Blythe is a testament to the increasing democratization of American society and American religious life during the Second Great Awakening.

Professor Blythe played an important role as a spiritual mentor for Crowe and was influential in the formation of Crowe's abolitionist beliefs. Blythe grew up in a biracial household and was taught to read by slaves.<sup>11</sup> Through this experience, Blythe formed the kind of emotional bond with the slaves that scholars note often leads to viewing blacks as spiritual equals, in turn making them unfit for slavery.<sup>12</sup> Born in 1765, Blythe came of age at a time when it still seemed politically feasible to institute legal measures intended to stop the spread of slavery. In 1784 Connecticut and Rhode Island adopted gradual emancipation laws, with New York following in 1785, and in 1787 the Northwest Ordinance banned slavery in the Northwest Territories.<sup>13</sup> The trend toward using institutions to gradually increase opportunities for blacks continued in the religious sphere.

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<sup>5</sup> John Finely Crowe, *John Finley Crowe Memoir*, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College, pg. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Crowe, *John Finley Crowe Memoir*, 5-6.

<sup>7</sup> William Alfred Millis, *The History of Hanover College from 1827 to 1927* (Greenfield, IN: Wm. Mitchell Printing Co., 1927), pg. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Lee Feight, "James Blythe and the Slavery Controversy in the Presbyterian Churches of Kentucky, 1791-1902." *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 102 (2004): 13-38. Pg. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 70-71.

<sup>10</sup> Feight, "James Blythe and the Slave Controversy," 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>12</sup> Keith A. Roberts, *Religion in Sociological Perspective*, 4th Ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> Wilentz, *Rise of American Democracy*, 14, 98-100, 119.

For example, in 1787 the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia announced that it approved of recent states' efforts to discourage slavery.<sup>14</sup> However, as Feight points out, "While the principles of the Revolution led the synod to an indictment of slavery, the political theory of republicanism restrained the commissioners from calling for an immediate end to the institution."<sup>15</sup> The failure to carry the ideas of freedom to their logical end did not stop Blythe, who created a controversy when he addressed slavery in a 1789 speech to his classmates at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia.<sup>16</sup> As an adult, Blythe continued to advocate gradual emancipation and colonization, even speaking at the Indiana Colonization Society.<sup>17</sup> For the most part, Crowe's views on slavery echoed Blythe's, and later in life Crowe himself became an active member of the American Colonization Society.

During the first few years of his career, Crowe developed a reputation for racial progressivism, at least within the context of the early nineteenth century. Shortly after graduation, Crowe was licensed to preach by the West Lexington Presbytery and was quickly appointed to serve the congregations at Fox Run and Bullsken, both near Shelbyville, Kentucky.<sup>18</sup> This posed a problem for Crowe because at the time, Kentucky was a slave state and the public was quite hostile towards abolitionists. Although Crowe had initial success in roughly doubling the attendance at one of the churches, such success soon gave way to controversy. Crowe writes in his memoir:

I felt a strong desire to preach to the slaves and to do what I could to ameliorate their condition. Hence, during the first summer of my residence in Shelbyville I suggested to some of the Elders of the Church and to other influential friends, the propriety of opening a Sunday school for the benefit of the colored people.<sup>19</sup>

Some may label this desire to educate blacks as arrogant and presumptive on the part of Crowe, but in reality the quote points to theological differences between Presbyterianism and the more rapidly expanding Methodist and Baptist faiths. Hatch notes that one of the reasons for the success of the Methodist and Baptist versions of Christianity on the frontier was that they offered sermons in vernacular language, "capable of being readily understood and immediately experienced" by even the most uneducated frontiersmen and blacks.<sup>20</sup> Crowe's advocacy of education reveals his desire to spread his version of the Gospel without truncating or simplifying the rich Calvinist theology on which

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<sup>14</sup> Feight, "James Blythe and the Slavery Controversy," 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>18</sup> Crowe, *John Finley Crowe Memoir*, 25.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 28

<sup>20</sup> Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 104.

Presbyterianism was founded. Rather than simplifying the Gospel to make it more understandable to uneducated blacks and others on the frontier, Crowe sought to educate them, thus enabling him to teach the Gospel in full.

Crowe's belief in the importance of education echoes the denomination's general regard for its importance. For example, in 1794 the Transylvania Presbytery adopted a resolution that called for slave owners to "teach every slave not above the age of fifteen years to read the Word of God & give them such good education as may prepare them for the enjoyment of freedom."<sup>21</sup> More generally, Hudson points out that Presbyterians were among the most active denominations at founding academies and colleges.<sup>22</sup> With this history in mind, it becomes clear that Crowe's Sunday school for blacks is an early example of how Crowe exercised his progressive political ideals while maintaining doctrinal orthodoxy.

Crowe's Sunday school was popular among the local black population, but created much controversy within the church and community. Crowe's class was attended by roughly forty people for the first few weeks.<sup>23</sup> Apparently this success was enough to arouse the passions of the slaveowners in town, and soon the church asked him to discontinue the school. Crowe responded by obtaining permission to use a nearby Baptist Church to preach to the black population, but after a few successful meetings Crowe writes, "I received a polite note from the pastor of the Church informing me that he had concluded to hold forth to the colored people himself on Sunday afternoon."<sup>24</sup> Apparently content that the black population was being cared for, Crowe undertook a new venture that brought his abolitionist views greater exposure.

In 1822, the Shelbyville branch of the Kentucky Abolition Society approached Crowe about publishing an anti-slavery periodical.<sup>25</sup> Foreshadowing his eventual transition to academia, Crowe gladly accepted the offer and began publishing the *Abolition Intelligencer*. Since the Second Great Awakening was peaking in Kentucky during this time, Crowe paired his anti-slavery paper with a Missionary Magazine in an attempt to increase circulation in the slave states. The *Abolition Intelligencer* regularly featured discussions on the theological implications of slavery, information on the abuses suffered by blacks, updates on the activities of anti-slavery societies, and calls for readers to become involved in the abolition movement.

The *Abolition Intelligencer* eventually cost Crowe his job and there is reason to believe that it nearly cost him his life as well. In his journal, Crowe writes that, "This day I learned that one of my nearest neighbors and a member of our church has taken at me (claiming adverse influence over his slaves) and used

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<sup>21</sup> Feight, "James Blythe and the Slavery Controversy," 25.

<sup>22</sup> Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America*, Third Ed., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 154.

<sup>23</sup> Crowe, *John Finley Crowe Memoir*, 27.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

unjustifiable language; among other things that he will never hear me preach again unless I give him satisfaction.”<sup>26</sup> Later that year, he writes, “Under a conviction of duty and a sense of divine approbation my mind has remained calm and in some degree happy in the full prospect of the desertion of my friends and the loss of my congregation in consequence of my paper.”<sup>27</sup> However, Crowe’s diary entries do not fully express the danger he faced in Kentucky. While the original source has been lost, a Crowe family legend tells that a group of men “bound themselves to neither eat nor drink until they had killed him... The plan was to waylay him while going to his distant preaching place a certain Sabbath morning, but he being warned, passed around another way and safely preached the Gospel.”<sup>28</sup> After living the remainder of the year on edge, Crowe discontinued the paper “for want of patronage” and accepted a call to the Hanover Presbyterian Church in Indiana.<sup>29</sup> Crowe’s actions during his ministry in Kentucky, including his attempts at starting a Sunday school for blacks and his editorial work on the *Abolitionist Intelligencer*, serve as counterexamples to Hatch’s argument that Presbyterians were not as accepting of blacks as the Methodist and Baptist denominations.

### **Crowe and Hanover College**

In Indiana, Crowe quickly realized that there were not enough ministers to supply the frontier and he complained that those who came from the north, “seemed [in]disposed to encounter the toils and privations of a settlement in the Wilderness, and of those who consented to remain, four, within two or three years fell victims to the acclimating [sic] fever.”<sup>30</sup> Again demonstrating the denomination’s commitment to education, in October 1826 the Madison Presbytery passed a resolution to explore the possibility of establishing a school for Presbyterian preachers, and Crowe was named one-half of the exploratory committee. On January 1, 1827 John Finley Crowe opened the Hanover Academy in a log cabin with six students.<sup>31</sup> Here, Crowe’s dedication to education was allowed to flourish. In his “History of Hanover College,” Crowe notes that in 1828 revivals swept through Indiana as the Second Great Awakening spread, and many of the recent converts sought an education to prepare them for

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<sup>26</sup> John Finley Crowe, “Diary,” 22 May 1822, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College, pg. 1

<sup>27</sup> Crowe, “Diary,” 11 July 1822.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah Crowe Garritt, “John Finley Crowe in Connection With Slavery and Colonization,” Presented to the Hanover Historical Club in 1893, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Crowe, “Diary,” 15 May 1823.

<sup>30</sup> John Finley Crowe, “History of Hanover College,” (1857), John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College, 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

ministry.<sup>32</sup> As such, Hanover Academy grew quickly and in 1830 the Synod and the Trustees of the Academy decided to turn the Theological Department into a seminary, forming Indiana Theological Seminary.<sup>33</sup> The school continued to expand and Hanover Academy was re-chartered as a four-year college in January 1833. William Millis, President of Hanover College from 1908-1928, wrote that, “Hanover College is the extension and embodiment of the spirit and purpose of John Finley Crowe.”<sup>34</sup> However, historical inquiry points to contradictions in the racial policy of Hanover College and Crowe during this era. While Hanover College was forced to take a conservative position regarding slavery for the purposes of institutional preservation, John Finley Crowe remained personally involved in the anti-slavery cause.

Early in its history, the Hanover College student body was reflective of the progressive racial views of Crowe. In 1832, an African-American from Ripley, Ohio named Benjamin Templeton enrolled at Hanover Academy after receiving hostile treatment at Ripley College, signaling that Templeton’s mentors, including Underground Railroad conductor and Ripley College president Reverend John Rankin, recognized Crowe and Hanover Academy as racially progressive.<sup>35</sup> In 1835, Templeton entered the Indiana Theological Seminary at Hanover, and in 1838 he was ordained in the Ripley Presbytery and later served as pastor of the Second African Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.<sup>36</sup> Templeton’s experience at Hanover shows how Crowe’s racially progressive beliefs affected Hanover College during the first decade of its existence.

Despite this apparent progressivism early on, the college quickly took a more conservative racial stance both because of college financial issues and the growing polarization of the American public on the slavery question. In 1836, a group of students from the Seminary and the college formed the Anti-Slavery Society of Hanover College and Indiana Theological Seminary, declaring in their constitution that, “In endeavoring to aid in advancing the cause of the oppressed, we will advocate the doctrine of emancipation without expatriation as the duty of the master, the right of the slave, and the only remedy at once safe and practicable, for the system of slavery.”<sup>37</sup> The society opposed Crowe’s activism on behalf of the American Colonization Society, which advocated sending freed slaves to the African colony of Liberia, instead favoring William Lloyd Garrison’s

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>33</sup> Millis, *The History of Hanover College*, 86-87. After a short time at Hanover, the Indiana Theological Seminary was relocated to New Albany, and later Chicago, where it was renamed McCormick Theological Seminary.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 11

<sup>35</sup> Ann Hagedorn, *Beyond the River: The Untold Story of the Heroes of the Underground Railroad*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 63.

<sup>36</sup> Frank Baker, *Glimpses of Hanover’s Past* (Seymour, IN: Graessle-Mercer Company, 1978), 75.

<sup>37</sup> “Preamble and Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society of Hanover College and Indiana Theological Seminary,” The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College, [original at Tennessee State Library], pg. 6.

doctrine of immediate emancipation.<sup>38</sup> Records show immense debate between those who favored expatriation and the society's more liberal stance up until 1843, when Crowe and the Trustees signed an order prohibiting discussion of slavery on the Hanover Campus. Suddenly, the topic of race disappears from literary society debates and other campus records from the era.

The controversial decision to ban discussion of slavery has long tarnished Crowe's image as the "hero founder of Hanover College," but further examination shows that Crowe's actions can be explained in light of the history of both the college and the United States. Aside from the order to prohibit discussion of slavery, 1843 was also the year of one of the greatest crises Hanover College ever faced. In December 1843 then-President Erasmus MacMaster and the Board of Trustees attempted to move the college to Madison, renaming it Madison University in the hopes of alleviating the college's long-standing financial troubles.<sup>39</sup> It is thought that the ban on addressing the issue of slavery was an early attempt of the Board of Trustees to prevent Southern students from leaving in protest of the college's liberal attitude towards slavery, because their leaving would only hurt the college as it sped towards bankruptcy.<sup>40</sup>

A look at American history more generally suggests that 1843 was a time of growing tension regarding slavery. While discussion of slavery was banned in Congress, anti-slavery organizations such as the American Anti-Slavery Society had been sending petitions to Congress frequently beginning in 1831. In 1836, the United States House of Representatives adopted South Carolina Representative Henry L. Pinckney's infamous "gag rule" resolution that prevented discussion of these petitions by sending them to a committee, which subsequently tabled them.<sup>41</sup> In 1839, slaves took over the ship *Amistad*, killing the captain and cook, and were arrested upon docking at Long Island.<sup>42</sup> In part because of the polarizing rhetoric of Southern leaders like John Calhoun, the *Amistad* rebellion and subsequent trial of the slaves generated both fear and hostility among southern slaveowners, who felt that their way of life was under attack both from unruly slaves and meddling northerners.<sup>43</sup> Thus, for the Board members of Hanover College, the decision to ban discussion of slavery was rooted in both the growing national polarization regarding slavery and the vulnerable financial condition of the college.

Shortly after the Trustees voted to ban discussion of slavery, the faculty and Trustees set a precedent that effectively kept blacks out of the college for almost an entire century. In 1857 an African-American named Moses Broiles applied for admission to the college, and despite the fact that he was supported by a scholarship, the faculty decided that, "considering the present circumstances

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<sup>38</sup> Wilentz, *Rise of American Democracy*, 177.

<sup>39</sup> Millis, *History of Hanover College*, 59-62.

<sup>40</sup> Baker, *Glimpses of Hanover's Past*, 75.

<sup>41</sup> Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 235.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

of the institution, and its situation, it was unadvisable to receive him into College.”<sup>44</sup> The Board of Trustees supported the Faculty’s decision and “voted to return the Sloan Scholarship to the donor.”<sup>45</sup> A black student did not attend Hanover College again until Alma Gene Prince came to Hanover in 1948, which even then generated controversy among some members of the Board of Trustees.<sup>46</sup>

Again, it seems that a combination of college-level circumstances and the national political climate were factors in their decision. In 1852 the college had begun work on a new building, which eventually became known as Classic Hall. Due to a combination of unmet financial pledges from the Synod, the crop failure of 1855, and overbudget construction, the college once again found itself in dire financial straits.<sup>47</sup> A financial statement from August 1858 shows that the college had just \$100 cash on hand, with liabilities of \$30,959.33 in building debts and \$12,006.02 in back salaries due to professors.<sup>48</sup> On such uncertain ground already, the Faculty and Board of Trustees surely felt that the risk of controversy if Broiles was admitted was too great, thus refusing him admission despite the still-firm anti-slavery views of the aging but active Crowe.

On the national level the slavery debate was red-hot and tensions were high. The Compromise of 1850, a package of five bills, was intended to diffuse conflicts that had arisen as part of the territorial acquisitions the United States made after winning the Mexican American War. California was admitted as a free state, while Texas was admitted as a slave state. In addition, the slave trade was prohibited in the capital beginning on January 1, 1851. The bill also gave permission to Washington D.C. to form corporations “from time to time, and as often as necessary, to abate, break up, and abolish” slave trading within the district.<sup>49</sup>

To counter the above laws favorable to abolitionists, the Compromise of 1850 also contained a new Fugitive Slave Law. Section seven of the act stated that any person who hindered the arrest of a suspected fugitive could be fined up to \$1,000 and jailed up to six months.<sup>50</sup> The burden of proof rested with the slave owner, who had to prove that the arrested person owed him or her labor. However, the accused was not allowed to testify during the trial.<sup>51</sup> Still, many blacks were arrested even though they were free, including John Freeman of Indiana, who was accused of being a fugitive slave in 1853. Freeman lost nearly

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<sup>44</sup> “Hanover College Faculty Board Meeting Minutes,” 19 Jan 1857, HC 2, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

<sup>45</sup> Baker, *Glimpses of Hanover’s Past*, 75.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>47</sup> Millis, *The History of Hanover College*, 133-36.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>49</sup> *The Compromise of 1850*. Accessed 10 Dec 2009 via [www.ourdocuments.gov](http://www.ourdocuments.gov).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 536, 538-539.

\$6,000 of property before he was able to prove that he was free.<sup>52</sup> Through these and other provisions, the new Fugitive Slave Law greatly increased tensions between free states and the slave states.

In the latter half of the 1850's, tension over slavery gave way to open conflict. The 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act overthrew the Missouri Compromise and instead allowed Kansas and Nebraska to resolve their slavery disputes through popular sovereignty, leading to violent encounters pitting pro- and anti-slave factions against one another in what became known as "Bleeding Kansas." The infamous *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case of 1857, in which the United States Supreme Court ruled that slaves, ex-slaves, and slave descendents did not have the same rights as whites, further increased tensions.<sup>53</sup> The Compromise of 1850, Kansas-Nebraska Act, and Dred Scott case are just a few examples of national happenings that brought about increasing polarization on slavery.

In addition to the national-level events, laws at the state level played an important role in increasing the tension over slavery. In 1852 the Indiana Legislature ratified a new Constitution that included a number of provisions regarding blacks and mulattoes living in the state. In line with other states at the time, as well as the federal government, Indiana denied suffrage to blacks and mulattoes and stipulated that marriages could be declared void if one party was white and the other was more than one-eighth black.<sup>54</sup> Chapter 18 of the new Constitution provided funds to buy lands in Africa to start a colony for blacks, as well as a beginning amount of money to be given to each black family upon request. Only those blacks that were residents of Indiana as of November 1, 1852 were eligible to receive land in the Indiana Colony.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps the most infamous article of the new Constitution was Article 13, which prohibited any black or mulatto person from entering or settling in Indiana. Furthermore, if a person entered into a contract with a black person it was considered encouraging him to settle in Indiana, now a punishable offense. It also stipulated that all contracts made with blacks were now void, again to discourage blacks from living in Indiana.<sup>56</sup> To make this article enforceable, each county clerk was responsible for creating a registry of the blacks living in the county so that the court system could distinguish them from blacks who would enter the state in the future. Once the clerk had ascertained that a particular black person had a right to live in Indiana, he issued that person a certificate allowing him or her to remain in Indiana.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, a fine of between \$10 and \$500 was instituted for anyone encouraging a black person to settle in

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<sup>52</sup> Gwendolyn J. Crenshaw, "*Bury Me In Free Land*": *The Abolitionist Movement in Indiana*, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1986), 34.

<sup>53</sup> Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 390.

<sup>54</sup> *Revised Statutes of the State of Indiana Passed at the Thirty-Sixth Session of the General Assembly*, (Indianapolis, J.P. Chapman, 1852), 47, 361.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 222.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 67.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 375.

Indiana. Likewise, any black who attempted to settle in Indiana was liable for a fine of between \$10 and \$500,<sup>58</sup> although the distinctions between a \$10 fine and a \$500 fine are never made.

In spite of the institutional injustice at Hanover College and the increasingly polarized political environment, Crowe remained firm in his opposition to slavery, as evidenced by his continued involvement in the American Colonization Society. Crowe was clear in his reasoning for supporting the end of slavery. In 1845 he wrote, "Sixty nine times has the 4 of July proclaimed to the world by the thunder of 10,000 cannon & the shouts of 1,000,000s of freemen that we as a nation are emancipated from a foreign yoke. And while we exalt in the blessings of freedom, shall we make no effort to secure for others the same privileges?"<sup>59</sup> Crowe believed that the only way to secure freedom for blacks was to send them to Africa because they would not obtain true social equality following emancipation due to "disadvantages from the aristocracy of colour [sic] in this country."<sup>60</sup> Crowe asserted that Colonization, "furnishes a home for the expatriated coloured man, and a noble theater on which to exhibit demonstrative evidence that his mental & moral capabilities are not inferior to those of his bretheren of Caucasian origin" (emphasis in original).<sup>61</sup> Crowe's reasons for supporting colonization show that his racially progressive attitudes were founded on a genuine concern for the physical and spiritual condition of African-Americans.

Crowe took an active role in attempting to "secure for others the same privileges" he enjoyed, including serving as a liaison for several African-Americans traveling to Liberia through the American Colonization Society. Letters reveal that Crowe was in contact with former slaves who he had helped gain passage to Liberia in the period between July 2, 1840 and at least August 22nd, 1854, including James M. Priest. In 1840, Priest wrote Crowe from King Will Town, West Africa discussing his first few weeks in the new country. The author asked about the state of affairs in the church and college, as well as "something of your colored members- Mrs. Shares, Thomson, Torry, Steps, etc."<sup>62</sup> This level of familiarity makes it almost certain that Priest was from the Hanover area. Like Crowe, Priest seemed to appreciate the value of education. Priest complained that many of the people were falling for folk remedies and did not understand religion, and noted that missionaries were scarce around his new home. He suggested to Crowe, "If some of the Presbyteries in Indiana could Educate a

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 376.

<sup>59</sup> John Finley Crowe, "Colonization", 30 June 1845, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College, pg. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>62</sup> James M. Priest to John Finley Crowe, 2 July 1840, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

Colored for this Mission, it would be doing good for Africa. He should have a thorough college course of four year theological course...if colored men are educated they will be respected equal [sic] to the white man. These are facts known to yourself.”<sup>63</sup> Such comments no doubt reinforced Crowe’s conviction that education was an important means of improving the condition of African Americans.

Crowe’s close relationship with another family, Peter and Harriet Thomkins, shows he maintained personal friendships with free blacks even after they left for Liberia. The records of Hanover Presbyterian Church show that Harriet Thomkins became a member on March 29, 1835, breaking the convention that blacks could not become members in predominantly white churches.<sup>64</sup> In 1850, Crowe assisted Thomkins and her family in obtaining passage to Liberia through the American Colonization Society. Correspondence reveals that Crowe had written a Mr. J. Mitchell to inquire whether the Thomkins family could be passengers on a January 20th, 1851 voyage to Liberia.<sup>65</sup> Mitchell gave permission for them to join the voyage, and soon thereafter Crowe received instructions from Alexander M. Cowan, agent for the Kentucky Colonization Society, including how the travelers should pack their bags, what types of items they would need in Liberia, and where they should meet in Louisville to catch the steamboat to New Orleans.<sup>66</sup> The documents reveal that Crowe was acting as a liaison between the former slaves and the Colonization Society, again showing hints of good-natured paternalism on his part. Cowan apparently knew of and shared Crowe’s religiosity and racial progressivism, for he concludes his letter, “May the Lord our God bless them & prosper them, & make them useful in advancing his Kingdom in Africa.”<sup>67</sup>

The depth of the friendship between Crowe and the Thomkins family becomes more apparent in Harriet Thomkins’ letter to Crowe from January 26, 1852, in which she informs him that, “I have lost Five of my Family [sic] since I have landed in Liberia on the 30th of May,” including her husband.<sup>68</sup> After receiving this news, Crowe took it upon himself to write to a Mr. John King, who had access to ships traveling to Liberia. Crowe sent along \$25 to be used to buy her supplies, writing to King, “I felt it was my duty to make some effort to relieve

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> *Hanover Presbyterian Church Session Minutes and Membership Rolls*, May 29 1841-October 1 1886, Hanover Presbyterian Church Collection, PA C41, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

<sup>65</sup> J. Mitchell to John Finley Crowe, 20 Dec 1850, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

<sup>66</sup> Alexander M. Cowan to John Finley Crowe, 3 Jan 1851, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Harriet Thomkins to John Finley Crowe, 26 Jan 1852, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

Mrs Thomkins in her distress.”<sup>69</sup> These efforts on the part of Crowe to continue to support Thomkins demonstrate that he was not advocating colonization simply to bring about the end of slavery. Rather, Crowe’s actions and continued concern for Thomkins show that he legitimately wanted what he believed was best for her and the others he helped get to Liberia.

In response to Crowe’s letters and gift, Thomkins wrote, “The letters that you sent me gave me mu pleasure to here from you all and to lern that you had not forgotten me all tho we are fare a part [sic].”<sup>70</sup> Thomkins regretfully informs Crowe that, “The thing[s] you sent me wor all lost.”<sup>71</sup> She later boldly requests that Crowe send another package, including nails to build a house with, a box of soap, cotton clothes, and a small spinning wheel.<sup>72</sup> This request suggests that they had a strong friendship, or else she would not have dreamed of asking Crowe for another favor. Finally, she states that her and another woman, Ann Eliza, had been attending the Presbyterian Church in Liberia until it fell down, at which time they began attending the Methodist Church there.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, her transition to the Methodist Church is documented in the Hanover Presbyterian Church Membership Roll, showing that someone had taken the time to update the registry after Crowe received her letter. Crowe’s friendship with Harriet Thomkins demonstrates that, although the social climate was such that Hanover College was reluctant to take a racially progressive stance, in his personal life Crowe continued to live out the same racial progressivism he advocated in his youth. Crowe passed away on January 17, 1860, only a few years before slavery was proclaimed illegal by the Thirteenth Amendment on December 6, 1865.

The case of John Finley Crowe simultaneously reinforces and critiques historians’ accounts of the democratic trends of the early nineteenth century. While Crowe’s own education and activism support the case for the increasing social mobility and social justice characteristic of the wave of democracy during this period, Crowe highlights the problems with Hatch’s assertion that Presbyterianism was not as progressive as Methodism. His status as the heir of James Blythe’s anti-slavery convictions and his inspiration to the next generation of anti-slavery activists demonstrates that, while he remained faithful to his Presbyterian theology, Crowe was an active part of the anti-slavery movement in the Indiana and Kentucky region. From his early days as the editor of the *Abolition Intelligencer* and *Missionary Magazine* to his support of the American Colonization Society, Crowe was consistently outspoken in his belief that slavery was a moral evil. This shows that, even if the Presbyterian denomination failed to

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<sup>69</sup> John Finley Crowe to John King, 29 Mar 1852, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

<sup>70</sup> Harriet Thomkins to John Finley Crowe, 28 Feb 1853, John Finley Crowe Family Collection, MSS 1, The Archives of Hanover College, the Duggan Library, Hanover College.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

be as outspoken as others on slavery, individual Presbyterian ministers like Crowe were indeed representative of the democratic trends in American society during the early nineteenth century.

## David Walker: The Faith of Freedom

By Bradley Robinson

*David Walker, a free black from North Carolina, was an anti-slavery advocate that predated Frederick Douglass. In 1829, Walker wrote *The Appeal*, a dissertation which contained venomous assertions opposing black enslavement in America that were supported with a well-educated knowledge of both history and theology. Though the more immediate responses to Walker's appeal came in the form of reprisals, his thesis made a significant impact on the emerging abolitionist movement of the 19th century.*

“I have known tyrants or usurpers of human liberty in different parts of this country to take their fellow creatures, the coloured people, and beat them until they would scarcely leave life in them; what for? Why they say, ‘The black devils had the audacity to be found *making prayers and supplications to the God who made them!!!!*’”<sup>74</sup> David Walker, a free black in the Civil War North, published such statements as this one in his work, *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of The United States of America*, in September, 1829. Born free, Walker was able to acquire an education during his North Carolinian upbringing. This education is apparent in his use of historical and theological knowledge throughout the *Appeal*. Walker, a Christian himself, makes his boldest claim in his attack on the contradictory practice of Christian slaveholders: a man cannot subject another man to such a cruelty as slavery and hope to attain salvation. Through his eloquent yet zealous persecution of slaveholders on a theological front, Walker established a powerful argument. However, for his target audience, his claims were offensive to a degree that compromised his agenda.

Although never a slave himself, Walker's anecdotes attest to a full knowledge of the inhumane practices of the Civil War South. The fact that Walker was not a slave himself but nevertheless sought to combat slavery strengthens his case. He has not directly suffered the brutality of slavery, but nevertheless the fervency with which he opposes is equivalent to that of a slave. The problem with his arduous opposition is that in his appeal, his message to “the colored citizens of the world, but very expressly to those of the United States of America” carries a heavier connotation towards a persecution of the white citizens of the world, but those of the United States in particular.

Walker's preamble in his address is geared towards the state of depravity in which enslaved blacks live. This statement is more of a defense for the slave community than a thrust at the matters of the slaveholders. “The result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we, (the coloured people of these United States,) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began.”<sup>75</sup> As controversial

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<sup>74</sup> Walker, David. “David Walker's Appeal.” (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965). p. 37.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

as this statement was viewed, it was only a meager shove against pro-slavery advocates in comparison to the majority of Walker's argument.

Still in the first paragraph, Walker supplements his message with historic references, saying, "They tell us of the Israelites in Egypt, the Helots in Sparta, and of the Roman Slaves, which last were made up from almost every nation under heaven, whose sufferings under those ancient and heathen nations, were, in comparison with ours, under this enlightened and Christian nation, no more than a cipher."<sup>76</sup> With this statement, Walker propagates his staunch anti-slavery statement that slaves in a Christian nation suffer worse than those in a nation without faith in God.

What made Walker so intimidating was his self-taught knowledge of a great deal of European history. According to Davis, "He [Walker] not only had first-hand knowledge of southern slavery but could place the institution within a coherent social framework. Walker was well aware, for example, that whites had long enslaved fellow whites and that slavery based on racial distinctions was a relatively recent by-product of New World colonization."<sup>77</sup> This knowledge Walker employed in conveying the chronicle of American slave history, from 1503 to 1829, his present day. This chronicle encompasses the malicious act of Bartholomew Las Casas, a Catholic priest that *underhandedly invoked the slave trade through manipulation of King Ferdinand who was in declining health.*

Walker's cathartic accusation is delivered boldest at the conclusion of the third article in the Appeal, titled, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Preachers of the Religion of Jesus Christ". In his conclusion, Walker had the audacity to state the following:

Can any thing be a greater mockery of religion than the way in which it is conducted by the Americans? It appears as though they are bent only on daring God Almighty to do his best - they chain and handcuff us and our children and drive us around the county like brutes, and go into the house of the God of justice to return him thanks for having aided them in their infernal cruelties inflicted upon us. Will the Lord suffer this people to go on much longer, taking his holy mane in vain? Will he not stop them, **Preachers** and all? O Americans! Americans!! I call God - I call angels - I call men, to witness, that your **Destruction** is at hand, and will be speedily consummated unless you REPENT.<sup>78</sup>

With a statement of such dogmatic proportions, Walker severely jeopardized his physical well-being. In spite of his noble intentions, his Appeal shocked and infuriated southern slaveholders, and even invoked a pervasive sense of nervousness in Northern anti-slavery advocates. According to Wilentz, there

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Davis, David Brion. "Antebellum American Culture: An Interpretive Anthology." (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.). p. 288.

<sup>78</sup> Walker. p. 36.

was a three thousand dollar bounty placed on Walker, and he died abruptly on August 6th, 1830. Suspicion of poison was the only conclusive evidence that came of the investigation.<sup>79</sup>

Wilentz claims that David Walker's movement was, "The most ambitious black-led campaign in all of American history to incite a general insurrection of southern slaves [. . . that] marked the emergence of a new, and defiantly radical, abolitionist movement, at first composed almost completely of northern free blacks."<sup>80</sup> It wasn't only northern free blacks that join the anti-slavery effort, as abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, inspired by Walker's courage, would make his mark in history on the same front as Walker.<sup>81</sup>

David Walker's appeal brought about a change in social standards in which a free black, whom Walker had defined at the lowest level of human in all of history, could take a stand against a social class that was arguably the most sophisticated in the world. Though his stand was as heroic as it was humanitarian, his audience was far too paranoid and proud to let him live in his audacity. The paradigm shift brought about by acts such as Walker's aided in ushering in an age where men such as William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglas, and Abraham Lincoln could make significant impact. Their social prevalence was paved for with the blood of David Walker.

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<sup>79</sup> Wilentz, Sean. "The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln [Abridged College Edition]" (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006.), 174.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p. 174.

**Get Me  
to the  
Promised  
Land!**

## Exhibition Checklist

By Douglas F. Denné

*In cooperation with the Madison Bicentennial (1809-2009) and through the generous support of the Community Foundation of Madison & Jefferson County, the Archives of Hanover College created an exhibition entitled "Get Me to the Promised Land!" which focused on anti-slavery initiatives in Jefferson County before the Civil War. The Archives borrowed original documents from the Oldham County Historical Society relating to Henry Bibb. It also hosted a traveling exhibit from the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History in New York City called "Free at Last: A History of the Abolition of Slavery in America" which traces the history of the movement to abolish slavery from the framing of the Constitution to its abolition during the Civil War. The exhibition ran through December 18, 2009 and was followed by a traveling exhibition on modern slavery entitled *Invisible: Slavery Today* created by the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati.*

*The following items were on display during the exhibition:*

### THE SLAVE TRADE

*The Africa Diaspora Map* based on research by Joseph E. Harris, n.d.

Blake, William O. *The History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, Ancient and Modern*. Columbus, OH: Published and sold exclusively by subscription by J. and H. Miller, 1857.

Hakluyt, Richard. *Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1598-[1600].

[Slave Trade] Copperplate engraving of 18th Century men transacting the sale of an African slave, pencil-dated 1773.

Wilberforce, William. *A Practical View*. Philadelphia: Printed by John Ormrod, 1798.

### GET ME TO THE PROMISED LAND!

Bibb, Henry. *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave*. New York: Published by the author, 1849. First edition.

[Bibb, Henry] "Summons for William Gatewood," March 15, 1831.

[Bibb, Henry] Document showing William Gatewood as Justice of Peace for Oldham County, taken statement by William Webb, August 21, 1828.

[Bibb, Henry] "Judgment rendered by William Gatewood in the Case of James Falconer," January 1, 1831.

[Slave Auction Facsimile] Auction of Six Negro Slaves published in the *Anderson Kentucky News*, March 1, 1849.

[Slave Auction Image] Bibb, Henry. Narrative, 1849.

### **THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY**

*The African Repository and Colonial Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. 23. Washington, December 1, 1840.

[American Colonization Society] *Constitution, Government and Digest of the Laws of Liberia, Confirmed and Established by the Board of Manager of the American Colonization Society, May 23, 1825*. Washington City: Printed by Way & Gideon, 1825.

[American Colonization Society] Lifetime Membership Certificate from the American Colonization Society for Joseph G. Walton signed by James Madison, June 10, 1830.

[American Colonization Society] *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society*. Washington: Joesph Ettes, Printer, 1841.

[Crowe, John Finley] Address by Crowe on "Colonization," June 30, 1845.

[Crowe, John Finley] Letter from Harriet Thomkins, Kentucky, Liberia, February 28, 1853.

Griffin, Edward D. "A Plea for Africa." A Sermon Preached at the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New-York. New York: Gould, Printer, 1817.

[Hanover Presbyterian Church] *Session Minutes and Membership Rolls*. Record of Admission of African American member Harriet Thomkins, March 29, 1835.

*Report of Rev. John McKay. Colored Agent of the State Board of Colonization on Liberia*. Indianapolis: Austin H. Brown, State Printer, 1854.

### **HANOVER AND THE PRESENT AGITATION**

[Moses Broiles] Hanover College Faculty Meeting Minutes, January 19, 1857.

Crowe, John Finley. *Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine*. Shelbyville, KY, 1822-23. Copy from microfilm.

[Crowe, John Finley] Marriage record of former slaves Nancy and William Gray conducted by John Finley Crowe, June 28, 1827. Signed by George Logan of the Session of Hanover Presbyterian Church.

Hanover College Board of Trustee Minutes, March 29, 1836.

[Hanover College] Letter from W. W. Hill to John Finley Crowe dated January 3, 1851 in which Hill conveys his worry on how the slavery question will negatively impact Hanover College.

[Hanover College Anti-Slavery Society] *Preamble and Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society of Hanover College and Indiana Theological Seminary*. Hanover, IN: Printed by James Morrow, 1836.

[Templeton, Benjamin] *A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Indiana Theological Seminary and Hanover College, 1836-7*. South Hanover, printed by James Morrow, 1837.

## **FREEDOM AND EQUALITY**

“Map of Underground Railroad Routes in Jefferson County, showing link between Madison and Lancaster.” Photocopy from a facsimile of the *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Indiana*. Chicago: Baskin, Forster & Co., 1876 [1968, Indiana Historical Society].

[Photograph] Image of the front of Eleutherian College and the Indiana Historical Bureau Marker as they appear today.

[Photograph] Image of the Lyman Hoyt home and the Indiana Historical Bureau Marker as they appear today.

Thompson, William C. “Eleutherian Institute: A Sketch of a Unique Step in the Educational History of Indiana.” *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, June 1923.

## **THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF**

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. Boston: Published at the Anti-Slavery Office, 1845. First edition.

Douglass, Frederick. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. Hartford, CT: Park Publishing Co., 1882.

Douglass, Frederick. “Fred Douglass Dead.” Newspaper clipping from the *Noros Papers*, February 21, 1895.

Garrison, William Lloyd. *The Liberator*. Vol. XXVII, No. 9. Boston, Friday, February 27, 1857. Whole No. 1364.

Johnson, Oliver. *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; or, Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1881.

Lundy, Benjamin. "The Genius of Universal Emancipation and Quarterly Anti-Slavery Review." No. I, Vol. I – Fifth Series, July, 1837.

## **LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY**

"Chapter 74. An Act to Enforce the 13th Article of the Constitution." The Revised Statutes of the State of Indiana Passed at the Thirty-Sixth Session of the General Assembly. Indianapolis: J.P. Chapman, State Printer, 1852.

[Fugitive Slave Law of 1850] "Wednesday, September 18, 1850." *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America Being the First Session of the Thirty-First Congress*. Washington, Printed for the Senate, 1849-'50.

"Freedom National; Slavery Sectional." Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, on His Motion to Repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill in the Senate of the United States, August, 26, 1852.

"Recapture of Fugitive Slaves." *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, August, 19, 1850.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*. Boston: John P. Jewett & Company, 1852. First edition.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co., 1853.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Dred; a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1856.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Men of our Times; or Leading Patriots of the Day*. Harford, Conn.: Hartford Publishing Co., 1868.

## **THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD**

Chapter 1 serialization of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *The National Era*, Vol. V, No. 23, Whole No. 231. June 5, 1851.

"Hanover College and *The National Era*." *The Bohemian*, Vol. I, No. 7. March 10, 1883.

Coffin, Levi. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad*. Cincinnati: Western Tract Society, 1876.

Greeley, Horace. *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion of the United States, 1860-'64*. Hartford: Published by O. D. Case & Company, 1865. Vol. 1.

[Rankin, John] Gilliland, James. *Two Letters, on the Subject of Slavery, from the Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Churches Under Their Care*. Hillsborough: Printed by Whetstone & Buxton – Cincinnati, 1830.

“Selected Routes of the Underground Railroad.” *National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior Official Map and Guide*, 1996. I 29.6/6:R 13.

## Colonization Society Address of John Finley Crowe, June 20, 1845

*In 1845, John Finley Crowe delivered an address on behalf of the American Colonization Society. The purpose of the Society was to provide funds for free blacks to relocate to Africa. The Society ultimately aimed to abolish slavery and the slave trade. Crowe discusses what he believes to be the advantage of the colonization, as opposed to other methods of abolition, as well as some of the actual practical successes of the project. Crowe closes his address by refuting some of the criticisms of the Society, claiming that the colonization of the free blacks from America is of benefit to both continents, additionally it is the duty of Americans to ensure that others experience the "blessings of freedom."*

I rise my friends as the humble advocate of the Col. Soc. (Colonization Society). For altho there is no enterprise of this age of benevolent effort which can compare with this, in the moral sublimity of its conception, or in the benign results of its consummation [sic]; yet it labours under the weight of a deep & chilling prejudice. A prejudice confined not to the ignorant & narrow minded bigot, but cherished by many, very many whose philanthropy & public spirit are an honor to their country & to their age.

It is no part of my design to enter the lists of controversy on this subject—I would simply endeavor to divest it of those extraneous appendages & distorted features, by which partizen [sic] zeal has disfigured it, and set it before you in the benevolence, the simplicity & the grandeur of its character.

What are the objects of the Colonization Soc.?<sup>?</sup> The great ultimate objects are the salvation of a continent of 150,000,000 of immortal beings & the annihilation [sic] of the slave trade with all its unutterable horrors. The immediate, though secondary & incidental objects are the providing a home (a ?) an honorable home for the expatriated colored man and at the same time furnishing a favourable theater for the development of his mental powers, and for giving a demonstration of his capacity for self government. Let no one suppose that I have either mistaken or misstated the objects of the society. For whatever prominence interested & partizen orators & writers may have given to secondary & incidental objects, the great objects which inspired the minds of Finley & Mills & and their coadjutors [sic] who originated the scheme, were as I have stated; and such are the objects of its enlightened friends now.

Africa, the native land of the black-man is an immense continent 4300 miles long & 4100 broad—containing a population estimated at 150,000,000; seven or eight times the population of the whole U. States. And altho it has for many ages been sunk in ignorance & barbarism, and altho its inhabitants are sometimes represented as being incapable of high intellectual attainments; yet it is undeniable that it was the cradle of science, and that to it, under God, Europe and America are indebted for much of the knowledge which gives them their proud pre-eminence among the nations of the earth. To the Egyptians & Carthaginians were the Greeks & Romans indebted for the arts and sciences

which gave them the empire of the world. Nor was Africa shorn of all her glory, until the same hoards [sic] of barbarians who overran the Roman Empire, swept like its own Sirocco over the northern parts of Africa.

But for the last thousand years, a despotism as cruel & relentless as the very deamon [sic] of slavery himself has presided over that devoted country. And the only merchandise in which its merchants have trafficked [sic] is the souls & bodies of men. The petty chiefs have been armed by the slavers against each other, and whole towns desolated in order to furnish the slave ship with its cargo of human bones & sinews [sic]. Hundreds of thousands of the ignorant & unoffending inhabitants of Africa, torn from their homes & their friends, have either perished amid the perils of the middle passage, or have been sold into absolute, unconditional & perpetual slavery in foreign lands. And we as a nation have shared deeply in the guilt & the infamy of this unnatural trafic [sic], having been the first to denounce the slave trade as piracy on the high seas.

But intelligent [sic] men long ago soon became convinced that the slave trade could never be abolished, while the slave market was kept open, & those barbarous people were tempted to sell each other for rum & tobacco. Consequently the establishment of Christian colonies, on the coasts of Africa, became a favorite project with philanthropists both of Europe & America. The first colony was established by the British after the close of the American Revolution at Sierra Leone, on the western coast of Africa. The immediate object was an asylum for the slaves who had joined the British standard during the war & for those who should be rescued from slave ships; and the ultimate object, through them to extend the blessing of the gospel & of civilization to the surrounding nations. But in the consequence of an unhealthy location & a strong anti-republican prejudice in the minds of the Directors the colony has never flourished.

We have a much more interesting establishment in the colony of Liberia— More interesting because the fruits of American philanthropy, & because it promises to be more, much more extensively useful in promoting the cause of humanity. \* The Society for colonizing the poor people of colour in the U.S. with their own consent on the coasts of Africa, was organized in Dec. 1816, at the city of Washington. But altho patronized by the first men of the nation, nothing of importance was done, until the fall of 1819, when the Society appointed the Rev. Saml. J. Mills & Mr. Ebenezer Burgess to proceed to Africa & make the necessary explorations & inquiries as to a suitable location for a settlement. These agents visited & explored the western coasts of Af. And though the lamented Mills fell a victim to the African fever yet the survivor returned & reported favorably of the country southeast of Sierra Leone. Consequently the year following—viz. in 1820, the first emigrants—80 in number, were sent to Africa under the direction of three agents. But the agents found it impossible to obtain a suitable place for the location of the Colony & were compelled to make a temporary establishment on the low & unhealthy island of Sherbro, a little south of Sierra Leone. There they were detained, endeavoring to purchase land until they were attract [sic]

by a fatal disease, which carried off the three agents & one fourth of the whole number of the colonists.

The year following, four new agents & 28 emigrants were sent out. But in the course of the summer, two of these agents died & one returned to the U. States. The survivor with all the emigrants found a temporary settlement near Free-town in the Colony of Sierra Leone. In the meantime Dr. Ayres, a new agent appointed by (the) Society in conjunction with Lieutenant Stockton on the part of the U. States, purchased the country called Montserado for three hundred dollars, payable in fire-arms, ammunition, tobacco & clothing. They immediately sent for their colonists at Sierra Leone, commenced their settlement—changed the name of the country to Liberia, and called their first town Monrovia in honor of exPresident Monroe who was a warm & an efficient patron of the colony.

But they had scarcely provided shelters for their families when a difficulty arose with one of the petty Kings which threatened the extinction of the infant colony. Their whole number of effective men now was only 35, when an army of 800 natives made a furious attack upon them, resolved on their extermination. The barbarians were, with the blessing of God, repulsed with great loss. In the course of a month the enemy, 1500 strong, renewed the attack. But the colonists had so far completed their fortifications, that with their diminished number of less than 30 they again defeated the enemy with great loss. A treaty, signed by all the native princes in the neighborhood, which has remained unbroken until the present time.

A regular government was not adopted until the year 1824. Since that time the colony has been gradually rising in numbers, wealth, & political importance. And now the commonwealth of Liberia consists of between 3 & 4000 American colonists & some 5000 natives who have enroaled [sic] themselves under their government, and voluntarily placed themselves under the protection & control of their laws. To these may be added from 60,000 to 100,000 more of the natives who have entered into treaties of amnesty with the colony, binding themselves by solemn compact to renounce the slave trade and other barbarous usages.

In fine I feel bold to say that in the history of colonization Liberia stands alone in the wisdom & the success of its plans. Without entering into details on this subject, I state, without fear or contradiction that it has accomplished more, with less expense of life & treasure, than any other colony on record, either in ancient or modern times—during a like period of its incipient existence. And while it is the only means by which everything has been accomplished in the way of Christianizing & civilizing Africa & of abolishing the slave trade; it furnishes a home for the expatriated coloured man, and a noble theater on which to exhibit demonstrative evidence that his mental & moral capabilities are not inferior to those of his brethren of Caucasian origin. I surely need not here undertake to prove by argument that the colored man labors under disadvantages from the aristocracy of colour in this country that must create a chilling nay a paralyzing influence on his intellectual energies. But then an asylum is proviend (?) when he may enjoy social equality, civil immunity & political rights & privileges in a wide

& well ordered republican government, and where he has all the advantages for the development of his intellect, and all the stimulants to his hopes of eminence & distinction, which under God have made such men as Gov. Roberts, Judge Benedict & other leading minds in the commonwealth of Liberia.

This is not theory. In the language of another—"There stands the Commonwealth of Liberia, just of age & able to speak for itself. There it is on the western coast of Africa in the very central regions of barbarism & the slave trade. There are laid the foundation of a free & happy government with all the appliances of education & religion. There is the germ of a rising, a prosperous & a mighty empire. There are some three thousand persons removed from this country, organized into a regular republican government, on a model like our own, where all the offices are filled & all the power is held by coloured men. There are laws, & courts of justice, & civil institutions and all the accompaniments of advanced civilization. There are churches, & schools & Sabbath remembered & hallowed, & sanctuaries well filled with worshippers. There is the public press & two newspapers regularly issued. There are towns, & villages, agriculture & commerce, comfortable houses & increasing wealth. There the slave trade has been abolished. Wherever they could obtain the right to the soil, they beat down the barracoons, dispersed the wretches that kept them & knocked off the chains from the slave & set the captives free. The nations around, beginning to understand the nature of the colonial institutions, and regarding the colony as an asylum, have sought refuge within its borders by thousands. The colonists hail them as an accession to their strength, & encourage them in all the pursuits of an honorable life. IN this way the minds of the nations have been changed in regard to the slave trade, and more has been done to remove this scourge of Africa, by the little colony of Liberia, than by the British nation with her Spanish treaty and all the world put together.

I am aware my friends that a very different picture of the colony of Liberia has been given. That picture many of you may have seen, and may consequently feel some difficulty in determining what to believe. No wise man would be willing to take anything on trust in a case like this; when partizan [sic] zeal has been called forth on both sides. And I remark that the friends of colonization invite investigation, & confidently appeal to testimony. Its history proves incontestable that amid all the opposition & discouragements with which it has to contend, its course has been onward & upward. But as many are unwilling to receive the most undoubted documentary evidence drawn from the archives of the Colony, I beg leave here to present the testimony of some disinterested persons, who have visited the colony & who speak from personal observation. The first is from Cap. Wm. M. Hornbury of N. O. Hear him. "that the present colonies of Liberia are destined to become a great, flourishing & powerful nation I am fully convinced. I have dined frequently with the inhabitants in company with the officers of the American Navy, the Governor of the Colony & other respectable citizens of Monrovia. They live well, and have plenty of everything around them."

Comodore [sic] Perry in a letter addressed to the Sec. of the Navy about a year since says: -- "It is gratifying to witness the comforts that most of these people have gathered about them. Many of them are familiar with luxuries which were unknown to the early settlers of America. Want would seem to be a stranger among them. If any suffer, it must be the consequence of their own idleness.

"At all the settlements the established laws are faithfully administered, the morals of the people are good and the houses of religion are well attended. In truth the settlers as a community appear to be strongly imbued with religious feelings. On the whole, Sir, I cannot but think most favourably of these settlements. The experiment of establishing the free coloured people of the U. States upon this coast has succeeded beyond the expectation of many of the warmest friends of Colonization; and I may venture to predict that the descendants of the present settlers are destined to become an intelligent [sic] & thriving people.

"Increasing attention has been given to the education of the rising generation. The Colonial council are concerting measure for establishing a general system of public schools in which efficient & competent teachers shall be employed, & a thorough course of instruction given."

So far Com. Perry. And his statements are corroborated, especially as to the moral & religious character of the colony, by all who have visited it. There are but two dram shops in the whole Col. & these are closed on the Sab. They have 23 churches, Methodist, Presbyterian & Baptist; and 1482 communicants—upward of 450 of whom are native Africans. And here we may remark that Christian missions have uniformly succeeded under the protection of the colonies which have been established on the coasts of Africa. There are consequently at this time in Liberia proper, Cape Palmas, Sierra Leone & Gambia more than 100 missionaries & assistant missionaries most of them of African descent, & some of them Native Africans, who are engaged in successful labours for the regeneration of Africa—More than 5000 regular communicants in Christian churches—More than 12,000 regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of the natives perfectly accessible to missionary labours—All done within the last fifty years & most since 1822.

Now in view of the whole subject, we are surely prepared to come to the following conclusions—1. That Africa, humanly speaking, can never be converted to God by sending solitary missionaries among its savage inhabitants. The labours, & prayers, & sufferings of hundreds of missionaries continued for more than 100 years have failed to make any impression on the dark mass on which they attempted to operate—They emphatically labored in vain & spent their strength for naught.

2. That the combined operation of colonization & missions may be depended on as an effectual means, with the blessing of God, to enlighten and regenerate even dark & degraded Africa, & consequently to annihilate the slave trade with all its untold horrors.

And now, who that believes this, can withhold either his contributions or his

prayers from the enterprise in which the Col. Soc. is engaged. The Society claims on your benevolence are founded:

1. On the benefits which it proposes to confer on the free people of colour in the United States. This is a very large & unfortunate class of our population—About 400,000 people nominally free, but really striped [sic] of many of the dearest rights of freedom—Crushed under weight of prejudice against their colour from which there is no hope of their rising while they remain among us. And the Col. Soc. has not only provided them a home in the land of their fathers, where, under a republican government, administered by themselves, they may rise in all the majesty of men to the enjoyment of all the privileges & immunities of citizens, & to the highest stations of honor & influence; but also provides the means of transporting them there & providing for them during their first year.

Objections—The prejudices are wicked. The people won't go &c.

2. On the benefits which it proposes to confer on the slave population in the U.S. One of the most plausible objections to the emancipation of slaves is the difficulty of making such a disposition of them as will be really an advantage to them & safe to the community. – All such objections removed by the Col. Soc. More than 2000 have been actually emancipated & sent to Liberia.

3. The benefits which it promises to Africa. Poor despised trodden-down Africa. For ages give up to the domination of Satan & all the horrors of those intestine & interminable & bloody wars, which have been instigated by slave trade. This infamous, this horrid trade lies at the root of the evil, and all attempts to Christianize & to civilize Africa must prove utterly unavailing while it exists. And how will you destroy it? By naval force? The combined fleets of the whole Christian world would prove insufficient while the slave market is kept open. What has the power of the British navy effected? Nothing unless it be to increase the horrors& sufferings of the middle passage. This is now generally admitted, & Capt. Harris who was sent to Africa & charged especially by the British government to investigate the matter & report the best method of extinguishing the slave trade, gives it as his deliberate conviction, & his matured, decided opinion that the remedy lies not in armed squadrons on the seas, but must be one of the kind which can be applied to Af. herself. He declaims in the most unequivocal terms, that the slave trade can never be abolished, while the barbarous & pagan spirit of Africa herself is in its favor. The only remedy which he thinks at all adapted to remove the evil is the civilization & Christianization of the native Africans themselves. A work which all experience has shown can be done only by colonization, and which one colony is actually effecting a distance of 300 miles, it has abolished the inhuman trafic [sic] with the exception of one or two points. And here is the present emergency. It is of vital importance to the success of the enterprise that they should secure title to the unbroken coast from C. Mount to C. Palmas. They have twelve settlements scattered along the coast between these points & the integrity of their government & the success of their plans, depend on their securing the intervening country. For this purpose \$15,000 is necessary. &c. 1, or 2 thoughts more.

1. No Christian nation so much indebted to Africa as ours. As a evidence of this point, there are at this moment more than 4,000,000 of black faces in the U. S. while it is a rare thing to meet one of them in any country of Europe. And be it remembered that they are here not as voluntary immigrants, but draged [sic] as slaves by the hand of violence from their country, their friends, & all that the heart holds dear. They have for us converted the forest into fruitful fields, have borne the extremes of heat & cold, & most of our luxuries are the product of their sweat and tears. And how is this debt to Af. To be paid, but by sending back her long oppressed sons laden with all the rich blessings of Christianity?

2. Gratitude for our own inestimable civil & ecclesiastical privileges. Sixty nine times has the 4 of July proclaimed to the world by the thunder of 10,000 cannon & the shouts of 1,000,000s of freemen that we as a nation are emancipated from a foreign yoke. And while we exalt in the blessings of freedom, shall we make no effort to secure for others the same privileges?

## Letter from James M. Priest to John Finley Crowe

*This letter from Rev. James M. Priest was sent to John Finley Crowe from a missionary settlement in King Will Town, Liberia on July 2, 1840. Priest and his family had immigrated to Liberia from the United States fifteen months earlier as part of the missionary program under the American Colonization Society. James Priest was originally a slave from Kentucky whose former master, Jane Anderson Meaux, went against the standard convention of the time, and the law, by educating him before she died. His first trip to Liberia was an assignment from Mrs. Meaux to evaluate the settlements established there for former slaves. When Priest returned to the United States, he was sent to school for three years and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister. During this time, Crowe came into contact with Priest through their mutual interest in the American Colonization Society and their belief in the value of education. In 1864, Priest went on to become the Vice President of the Republic of Liberia, serving in the position until 1868.*

Rev & Dear Sir

Knowing that you will be glad to hear from this country I will drop you a line or two. We, I mean my wife & myself are now at King Will Town, about twelve or fifteen miles from Settra Kroo. After remaining at the latter place fifteen months the Board instructed us to move to this place to form a new station, to be under our direction. The station on Settra Kroo, was designed for white persons & yet the natives call all of us white, not understanding the distinction as well as it is understood in the U.S.--- We have been here nine months, but owing to the want of means & to the movement of the Board, we have not been able to do much save hearing preaching every Sabbath day, & the teaching of some seven or eight boys & girls. But the Lord has been very merciful unto us ever since we came to this country, in protecting us from harm & in giving us health & notwithstanding he saw fit to take away our first born--- God has been mindful of us to a very great degree ever since we undertook to farm this station for we came here under distressing circumstances. We had no house ready for us to enter. We had to rent one, which contained only twelve or near feet, for the reception (of) my wife, two workmen, a woman & a girl, a young man & three native children & myself. We soon had to rent one more room-- in a months time however, we moved into the house that I had building though no roof on it. I had to have my wife carried for she was not able to walk & was sick for some time after we entered the house, through it all I could see the hand of God in preserving our lives. In two months after my coming into the house my wife was confined. I had to be Dr, granny nurse, cook & everything of the kind. But I must leave my own account & return to the Native--- Two days ago two men died; The way by which they were brought to their end is enough to cause humanity to weep-- And it will give you a knowledge of the degraded state in which the people are to whom we are called to labor-- There is a specie [sic]

of wood called Saucywood from it poisonous effects, used as a test in finding out witches, this mixture has respect to no one, Yet the people think it to be an unparshal [sic] judge, "A greater specimen of superstition can be found. An old man went to his palm wine to drink & finding that someone had been to it beside himself, separated the wine into two things, puting [sic] the poison into the one designed for his friend. --The man who had been drinking or stealing the wine came & drank the poison, but finding that he was poisoned, threw a part of the mixture into the other. --Thus when the owner came he drank poison also-- Thus you see the value that is placed upon an immortal soul by this ignorent [sic] & wicked people. Two lives have been squandered away for a drink of palm wine; not worth one cent. Two sould [sic] have been hurried into endless misery for less than one cent. This is the state in which poor Africa is in, & yet there is not a missionary for every thousand square miles but I trust God that humanity is unveiling her face to behold, & help Africa-- Inasmuch as you have done much for your own species, will you not try & do a little for Africa? Before you go hence you can do something by reminding your church of Africa or by sending us a box of clothes either for my wife & myself or for the native children, or by praying for us? Yet you must try, since I saw you last, I have been trying to improve myself in a spiritual & in an intellectual point of view, but have made but little progress. I still find that I have a depraved heart--- You must pray for me, pray that I may arrive at a greater degree of perfection in every respect. Pray for this people, they are ready. I would be glad if you will give me some account of the state of affairs in South Hanover. The Collige [sic] & the church in that place. Let me know something of your colored members-- Mrs. Shares, Thomson, Torry, Steps etc. As I have not been in the Colonies for some time I am not able to say how they are getting along. I hope well, however--- If some of the Presbyteries in Indiana could Educate a Colored for this Mission, it would be doing some good for Africa. He should have a thorough College course of four year theological course-- I am not in favour of hurrying person off to Africa without a compatanat [sic] Education, that they can occupy all the purpose for which a missionary is needed-- The different orders on the coast have employed [sic] only one man to be at the head of thier [sic] mission operation the others take an under station,-- No colored man ought to take an under station on Africa. If colored men are educated they will be respected euqual [sic] to the white man. These are facts known to yourself. So I will add no more, but remain yours truly,

James M. Priest

P.S. If you send anything direct to King Will Town, West Africa

King Will Town

July 2, 1840

## Letter from Alexander Cowen to John Finley Crowe

*This letter is in response to several that John Finley Crowe wrote on behalf of the Thomkins family, trying to help them find passage on a steamboat that would take them to New Orleans and then on to Liberia. The letter gives a vivid description of the logistics involved and the goods a family was expected to take with them – and leave behind - on such a passage.*

Frankfort Jan. 3. 1851.

Bro. Crowe,

I arrived here this evening from Lexington, & find a letter from you, which I promptly reply to. I am the agent of the Ken. Col. Soc. What I raise in Ken'y is applied to the removal of emigrants from Ken'y. The Parent Society has no control over the funds. We pay the Parent Society the required price to take our emigrants to Liberia, & sustain them 6 months – This money is to be paid when I reach N. Orleans to the agent of the A. Col. Soc. who charters the vessel. Of course I could pay the expenses of the emigrants you write about from Louisville to N. Orleans out of the money, & charge the same to the A. Col. Soc. to do so. The expense from Louisville to N.O. (with that of their expenses in Louisville) would be \$28 to 30. Can you not raise a part or the whole of that amount in your town? But let them not be kept back on that amount. I will venture if necessary to take them. They should be in Louisville on Saturday the 11th of January. For on Monday the 13th, I leave with the emigrants from Ken'y for N.O. to be in N. Orleans deo volente) on the 19 or 20 of Jany. The 20th of Jany is fixed by Mr McLain, Sec of A Col. Soc. to sail from N.O. If a boat from Madison can bring them down Saturday. They will enquire for me at Cassady & Hopkins' store on Main Street, Louisville. Their things should be packed up in good strong boxes except what they will need on the way. The boxes should have their name fully written out and numbered 1-2. They will be allowed to take, their bedding & beds, cooking utensils, clothes,- cups, saucers, plates, knives, forks, etc.etc.etc. all their goods in their house except chairs, tables, stands, & bedsteads. – Such articles take up so much room on board ship, that the Society advise against it, because they are not needed on the passage – take up the room of articles the Soc. wish to send to sell or feed the emigrants with on passage & the 6 months in Africa. If your emigrants take pork or flour or beef etc they will have to pay the steamboat for taking the articles to N. Orleans, the drayage one dollar for each bbl. they take on board the vessel that takes the emigrants from N. Orleans to Liberia. Your emigrants should have at least a year or more supply of clothing (winter & summer) – the man an axe, hoe etc – the woman cotton cards - a small spinning wheel, knitting needles, thread, etc etc – garden seed of different kinds – You will see in the Presbyterian Herald our standing notice of what articles are necessary. Beds should not be packed. For your emigrants will want their beds & some of the bed clothing on the passage down to N.O. & when on board ship. Let them take their poorest clothing. If whole & clean, they need not be ashamed. They will then keep their good clothing for

their arrival in Liberia. Let them come with bibles & their hymn-books & what school books they have, or can get. And may the Lord our God bless them & prosper them, & make them useful in advancing his Kingdom in Africa.

Yours in the bond of the Gospel

Alexr M. Cowen

A. Ken. Col. Soc.

Rev J Finley Crowe

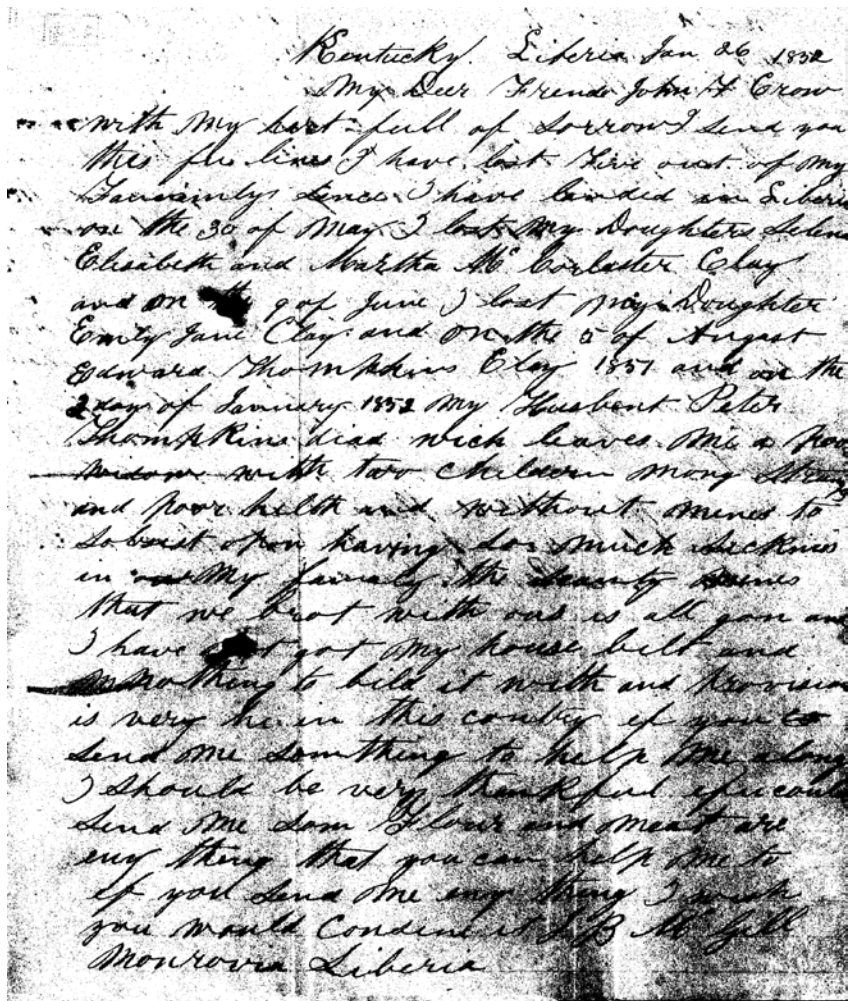
Hanover

Ind.

Each of the family should have a tin plate & save out of their things a half dozen knives & forks and have a half doz tin cups. Pack up all their crockery etc. The tin will not break on board the vessel.

**Letter from Harriet Thomkins to John Finley Crowe Kentucky, Liberia,  
January 26, 1852**

This is a letter written in 1853 from Harriet Thomkins and sent to Dr. John Finley Crowe. Ms. Thomkins had immigrated to Liberia from the United States as part of the mission of the Colonization Society championed by Dr. Crowe. As is clear in the letter, Ms. Thomkins and Dr. Crowe maintained a friendly association, with Dr. Crowe providing both spiritual and physical comfort to his friend in what ways he was able. Ms. Thomkins provided an account of her life in Liberia and the difficulties she faced, while maintaining her faith and determination.



Above: an image of Thomkins' original letter to John Finley Crowe

## My Deer Friends

I reseaved your kind letter which give me much some time sence, but have bin delaing the time of writing expecting that a vessel would be here from new orleans tha has no come as yet The letters that you sent me gave me mu pleasure to here from you all and to lern that you hade not forgotten me all tho we are fare a part the thing you sent me wor all lost with the alf cross which wase a grate laws I ashore you I have bin put to very much to get the real comfort hade not bin some good frends we should have sofferd byt thanks to the Lord we have bin able to get a long so far we have bin sometimes pretty close rain bu the Lord has bin kind to me My helth is quite good and the of Ann Eliyer and Josiah are all in good hel at this time and we all love the contry very much. Since I have bin in this contry I have hade a rofe(?) to discourige most eny person with the help of the Lorde I have bore up under it all and now I am able rejoyce you can sa to my frends that I am well contented in this contry as I could be with eny contry in the world I have never seen eny contry that I liked better than than this but times are hard as you may expect in a new contry and mony is hard to get but with that exception I could be no beter satisfied than i am if the things that you sent me hade not bin lost bin much more comfortable than I am at present but as ther wore I have had to do the best that I could but poverty makes me ask you a gain for a sistence My family being so long sick that before my husband dead he had spent all the mony that he had brot to this contry with him he left me withoutany thing and so I have not bin able to get my hopes up as yet I find it very hard to get along to have to live in a rented house and everything to by. So if you would send me a cage of nales a box of soap three or for peaces of coten clotsh calocos something of that kind and anything that would a siste me in geting my house finished some secant handed clothing and if you could send me some provision I asure you that anything that you mite send in that way would be very excptble My one cloths Ann Eliza all of us geting very vare for cloths and shoes everything eles sence we have bin here Ann Eliza perfessed relegan and her and me both both belongs to the Presbeterian church tho our church feldown sometime sence and we have not bin able to have aglur preaching only when we can get the youse of the Mehtodist tho I can tell you that I fele somewhat cast down the largest part of out men have goon to wore that started this morning and makes everything lock gloomy that left her for Monrovia this morning. tomorow the start on the march for cape mount tha is some disturbance and the malicia has been ordered to that piont. Tho we hope that thay will not have to fite tha will be able to setele the difrence without fiting tho we see some truble as the men that stas at home has to stand gard at nite. tho wwe do not think that we are in danger but think it is best to be reday.

Josia sas plees to tell Mr Josia Smith to plees to send him something that he is going to school and tring to lern as fast as he can We all join in sending our love to all of our frends and we should like to see our colored frends coming to

this contry for it is a plesent contry to live in all is wonten to make this the most plesent contry on erth a little mony to get a start with and tha is now doub but tha can get a long here the climis is very plesent and persons after tha be come aclamated they injoy as good helath hera as eny place in Indiana we have some chilles here our helth is good and i do not be le ave that the need to be a frade to come that two epidetons landed there of late and tha has bin no sickness of eny account among the emegrants tha has bin several expeditions here sence we have come out but tha has not eny that has sofford as bad as my family most think that it must have bin from some misterias case to me I cant tell what Sir if you could send me a small spinning wheel it would be a grate help to me in this contry nothing more than I remain yours truly

Hariat Thomkins

Dr J Findly Crow

(Original in the archives of Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana and copied without correction by Sadie Gilchrist Allison in January 1969)



*Image of Old Classic Hall (1857-1941), photograph and date unknown. Courtesy of the Archives of Hanover College.*

